Minority Group in Methodist Church Lauds Red Policy

New York World Telegram 12/29/30

Spirit of Yule Exploited for Moscow Way

By FREDERICK WOLTMAN,
World-Telegram Staff Writer.

KANSAS CITY, Dec. 29.—The spirit of Christmas and the Sermon on the Mount were invoked here this week end as justification for an all-out attack on America's foreign policies and a glowing defense of the Soviet Union in both her foreign and domestic affairs.

Keynote speakers denounced the Marshall Plan and the Truman Doctrine, our atomic energy stand and our China policy at the annual meeting of the Methodist Federation for Social Action, a minority but highly articulate unofficial adjunct of the Methodist Church.

Had they been present, V. M. Molotov and William Z. Foster would have applauded enthusiastically. For what the speakers said, the Communists have been telling us all along.

But here religion was made the basic argument before about 75 delegates, including Methodist bishops, clergymen and church workers.

Charges U. S. Falsehoods.

The keynoter on American-Soviet relations was Jerome Davis, long an ardent Soviet apologist. He accused American "capitalistic interests" and newspapers of "perpetuating falsehoods about the Soviet Union."

Mr. Davis urged that "America be the good Samaritan to Russia."

"The Christmas story, the story of Mary," declared another speaker, "means not the improvement of the present social order but its revolutionary abolition and replacement anew." He was the federation's executive secretary, the Rev. Jack McMichael, 30, who was once active in the Young Communist League and has been a diligent supporter of Communist fronts to date.

He accused the United States

(Continued on Page Two.)

This meeting was followed by a long statement bearing names of prominent Methodist church leaders who did not attend; but claimed to have endorsed this infamous meeting!

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NEW YORK WORLD-TELEGRAM

Minority Sings Red Hymns

(Continued from Page One)

of backing "the rich and privileged of the world, the princes on their thrones, the grafters and the rich exploiters in China."

"The greatest moral and spiritual problem facing the American people," Mr. Davis told the delegates, "is not the struggle between Communism and democracy; that is a spurious issue. It is the struggle between reaction, the old order, the control of property and an emerging new order pushing its way up through blood, tears and strife."

The subject of the conference was "The Christian Church and Present Day Tensions." The Social Action program formulated here, according to Mr. McMichael, will be presented to the Methodist church for its formal adoption.

What the meeting's planners had in mind for the federation's stand on international affairs was evident from their literature display. It contained many books and pamphlets on the Soviets but not one by a critic.

On the contrary, there was "Soviet Russia Since the War," by the Dean of Canterbury, England's leading apologist for the Stalin dictatorship.

Display Red Pamphlets.

Scattered throughout the display were pamphlets from the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, which the Department of Justice recently termed a subversive, Communist group. One item from the council, the foremost pro-Soviet propaganda agency in America, was entitled "Bibliography, Recommended Readings of the Soviet Union."

While the speakers on foreign affairs spoke a line that paralleled the Communists, those on labor and agricultural problems did not. One was the Rev. Kermit Eby, CIO research and education director, who praised Walter Reuther, United Auto Workers president and chief foe of the Communists in the CIO.

Mr. Eby called for "Christian social action in co-operation with labor to conquer poverty and eliminate substandard conditions."

The guest of honor was the former Chinese war lord and so-called Christian general, Feng Yu-hsiang, who last week defied his government's order to return to China.

Feng Assails Chiang.

Through an interpreter, Gen. Feng, who claimed to speak "in the name of 450,000,000 Chinese," attacked Chiang Kai-shek as a dictator. Under Chiang today, the general said, "anybody who uses the word 'democracy' or 'peace' will immediately be condemned as a Communist and put into a concentration camp or thrown into a river and drowned."

"The Communist side," Feng said, "is really the army of the people, the peasants."

To escape concentration camps under Chiang, according to Feng, the wealthy have to pay 5,000,000 Chinese dollars and the poor "are told to sell their daughters to the bank to raise $5,000,000." He did not explain what the banks do with the daughters.

Following Dr. Davis' speech there was some skepticism expressed from the floor about his all-out defense of the Soviet Union. One delegate said:

"The crowd in control in Russia seems to me as totalitarian as Hitler. How can I stand up in my pulpit and make the speech you ask?"

Answers Questions.

"Russia isn't perfect," replied Dr. Davis. "But we, too, have some people who occasionally make some mistakes. We have all sorts of restrictions on Communists here."

He was asked about labor camps in Russia and replied "they are simply places to keep criminals." He was asked about Russia's seizure of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania and replied she was entitled to them.

"It is true," said Dr. Davis, "that you can't attack socialism in Russia or Stalin personally and say Stalin should be hung. But the average Russian doesn't want to.

"If Russia sends innocent people to concentration camps and is tightening up on its civil liberties," he declared, "that is the fault of America—the terrific campaign of war talk in the United States."

Asks More Missionaries.

"It's possible the Americans will come to their senses and realize they've got to get along with Russia," he stated. "I don't think we're absolutely bound to have Fascism in this country."

Bishop Lewis O. Hartman of Boston, president of the federation, called for more social missionaries in the opening address.

Bishop Hartman warned against "the blind alley of partisanship" in the federation and remarked:

"The totalitarians—both Fascist and Communist—seek, by stifling freedom of the press, assemblage and discussion, and by calling down fire from heaven in the form of secret police, to impose the millenium at once upon the ignorant masses of mankind."

There are times, he said, however, when Christians, Fascists, Communists, atheists and Republicans might be found supporting "some common program for humanity," but that does not mean all should be classified in the same bracket.

McMichael Denies Communist Link

By the United Press.

KANSAS CITY, Dec. 29.—The Rev. Jack R. McMichael, New York, executive secretary of the Methodist Federation for Social Action, said last night he had never been chairman of the Young Communist League, as stated in a United Press dispatch.

"The reporter apparently became confused," he said, "by the fact that I was once chairman of the national student division of the Young Men's Christian Assn."

Dr. McMichael said he was not a Communist and had never belonged to a Communist organization.

The dispatch dealt with a speech Dr. McMichael made before a meeting here of about 75 delegates representing more than 4000 members of the federation.

Dr. McMichael, in the speech, said that the U. S. foreign policy was one of "giving to the rulers of the corrupt machines instead of to the poor."

Frederick Woltman, in his Friday dispatch from Kansas City, did not refer to the Rev. Jack R. McMichael as chairman of the Young Communist League. Mr. Woltman termed Mr. McMichael "a former youth leader in the Young Communist League." This Mr. McMichael also denies.

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Full Speed Ahead

By GIL GREEN

Excerpt from Comrade Green's Report for the National Bureau to the meeting of the enlarged National Executive Committee, held in New York on Feb. 2nd and 3rd,, 1935.

WE MUST ASK ourselves what is the guarantee that this movement (the American Youth Congress.—*Ed.*) which we are helping to create will not become a Frankenstein which will later fight us? What guarantee have we that this movement will continue to base itself on a class program and will continue to remain an anti-capitalist movement? We must see clearly that the danger is very great that this movement may be swung off its present proletarian rails into petty bourgeois swamps. This is due to the mixed class composition of the movement, the fact that it contains not only young workers, but also large masses of farming and especially middle class youth. Also the fact that while the program of the movement is proletarian, as yet its leadership has come in the main from the middle classes.

The guarantee cannot be to eliminate these non-proletarian youth. It can only be to insure the working class leadership over this movement by increasing the role of the proletarian youth, especially the youth from the basic industries. If this is not done, and if on the other hand strong pressure is exerted by our enemies on the leaderships of the youth organizations, we will face the danger of having this movement transformed from its present class struggle program into one which may even later fight us.

This means the strengthening of our work precisely at its two weakest points: first, the work in the shops and trade unions and the leadership of the economic struggles both of the employed and the unemployed youth; and secondly, improving our work inside the large mass organizations controlled by the bourgeoisie and the winning of the youth within these organizations for a working class policy.

Without understanding this key question before our League, we will forget one of the main lessons taught us by events in Europe, especially in Germany; namely, that the prerequisite for uniting the non-proletarian strata in support of the working class is to achieve the unity of the proletarian masses first of all. As there is as yet no single political party whch unites the broad masses of workers, the key to achieve the unity among the working class youth is first of all in the economic organizations of their class—the trade unions.

Thus, in the broadest movement ever participated in by our League we run smack up against the main weakness of the Y.C.L., its weakness in basic industry, its weakness in the leadership of economic struggles. And through this movement we only come once more to the realization that without solving this basic weakness we can make no permanent improvement in our work. The weakness of our League in trade union work can be seen not only in the small role played by our League in the large strikes that took place since our convention, but also in the work for the local congresses and in preparation for the Washington Conference. Very few trade unions were drawn into the youth congress movement. Even in Detroit where the Central Trades and Labor Council endorsed the Congress, the necessary follow-up steps were not taken to get the locals of the various unions to affiliate to the Youth Congress.

To achieve class unity on the economic field today means that we must center all of our work within the unions of the A. F. of L. Already the majority of the Red unions have merged with the A. F. of L. unions in their particular industries. The Red unions which still exist are working in the direction of unification within the shortest possible time. The question of improving our work inside the A. F. of L. is connected not only with the American Youth Congress movement,, but with our preparation for the gigantic strike struggles which are on the order of the day in the basic industries, especially in steel, auto, mining and textile. The spring

center will control what every district is doing in the camps, as we must state quite openly to the Plenum that our League to date has not seriously undertaken the work in the camps and that this situation cannot and will not be tolerated any longer.

Importance of Our Work in Mass Youth Organizations

The second aspect of the problem of achieving working class leadership over this broad united front movement, is that of work in the present mass organizations of American youth. We know that the young workers are not to be found as yet in the majority in strictly class organizations. The trade unions, unemployed, and cultural workers' organizations as yet include only a small percentage of the organized young workers. The vast majority of American young workers and youth generally are organized, but in organizations directly or indirectly controlled or influenced by the ruling class. These organizations are the Y's, Settlement and Community Houses, Church Organizations, Amateur Athletic Union, etc. It is precisely in these organizations where we must work to win the youth for a working class program and leadership—not only the young workers, but also the farming and student youth.

Work in these organizations today is a life and death question which will greatly determine the outcome of the whole youth congress movement. Many of our comrades in the last months have learned to speak in terms of hundreds of thousands of youth involved in the youth congress movement. But let us not fool ourselves. Certainly the movement is broad, but these hundreds of thousands of youth do not as yet know about the congress program and are not actively mobilized to fight for same.

Experience has also taught us that the leaders of these organizations are not going to draw their memberships into such active participation. And further, if pressure is put on them to withdraw from the movement, many of them may even do so. The guarantee that these wide masses will remain in the united front and actively struggle for its program, depends upon our work in the local branches of these organizations, how we bring the program of the youth congress to these members and draw them into struggle for the realization of same.

How prepared are we for this task? In Michigan the Youth Congress represents 300,000 organized youth. In this district our whole Y.C.L. has but 19 members in the mass organizations influenced by the ruling class. Can this small handful of comrades succeed in mobilizing these masses for the Youth Congress program despite the position of the leaders of these organizations?

The situation in Detroit is more glaring because of the broad character of the Youth Congress, but it is essentially the same in all the districts. This makes necessary a drastic radical reorganization of the forces of our League. Every Y.C.Ler must be active in a mass organization, and I speak not of our sympathetic organizations but of the *real* mass organizations of American youth. The slogan put forth at our convention of 20% of Y.C.L. members in mass organizations must be rejected as incorrect. Our slogan and immediate aim must be: Every Y.C.Ler active in a mass organization.

This slogan demands boldness and decisiveness on our part. In the next few weeks we must go over our League section by section, and unit by unit, sending our members into the most important youth organizations. Here too we must not alone send individual comrades into mass organizations, but whole street units. The creation of units in these mass organizations is far more important for us than street units. For it is in these organizations where we come in contact with large masses of youth. The unit in the mass organization is only second in importance to the shop unit, and hundreds of our present street units must be transformed into units in these most important organizations.

While in most districts the major problem is to send the bulk of our members into these organizations of the youth, in some places the problem is to reorganize the work of our present League so as to give leadership to our comrades already in these organizations. For example, in the South we have more than 300 members who are also members of church youth organizations—especially the Baptist Young Peoples Union. In this district (Alabama) the problem confronting the leadership is to completely

change the organization structure of the League. Where possible we should build shop units and everywhere else units in the church youth organizations. Why? Because in the South, especially for the Negro youth, the church is the center of all cultural and social activity. It is here that we must work. By building our units in the church organizations we can also improve our work under the illegal conditions, as it will be easier to work in the church organizations. In Alabama there are certain places in which we can in a short while take over the church organizations of youth, under our leadership, and these can become legal covers for our work in the South.

However, our League in the North is not like that in the South. In most districts the problem of work in the mass organizations will be more difficult. We will have to teach many of our comrades how to work in these organizations. There is a big difference between work in the street and work in a mass organization. On the street, comrades put up a soap-box and speak to the workers. Those who are interested listen. Others who are not, go away. Sometimes our comrades get away with making general rah-rah speeches. But in the mass organizations rah-rah speeches will not go. Our comrades will have to learn how to speak simply and to the point. They will have to learn how to answer the arguments of skilled, trained leaders, many of whom have had years and years of experience in mis-educating youth.

We have already seen sectarian tendencies to solve this problem by creating inside these organizations narrow discussion groups or clubs of sympathizers. Among these our comrades feel at home and at the same time ease their conscience in the belief that this constitutes work in these organizations. We must fight against the creation of these narrow groups. Our comrades must attend the lectures and activities of the whole organization. They must be where the majority of youth are and not isolated from them. We have an advantage today that we did not have at the time of our Convention. Our comrades can enter any settlement house or "Y" and speak to the youth on the basis of the program of the American Youth Congress. Around this broad program our comrades can educate the youth, set up committees for the Youth Congress and draw the most advanced youth into the Y.C.L.

Our work in these Settlement Houses, "Y's" and Church organizations must result in rapid recruitment for the Y.C.L. This is of great importance not alone because we must numerically strengthen our League, but because experience shows that the comrades we now send into these organizations will, in most cases, not become the recognized leaders of these youth for some time to come—and some of them not at all. These comrades we send in can immediately make friends, can develop influence, can recruit, but to become the leaders of these youth we need something more.

In New York, for example, most of the youth who are today active in Settlement Houses have been active in these for many years. They entered when they were children and graduated from one group to another, and in the course of years became known to thousands of children and youth. We cannot expect that a comrade we send in to a House for the first time should immediately become known to all youth and accepted by them as a leader. That is why by recruiting from the youth in these Houses we will get for our League a new type of Y.C.Ler—one who is known in his organization, who grew up with it and is accepted as one of the fellows. It is from these new recruits that our leadership for these organizations will come. This does not mean that our comrades who go into these organizations should enter with an exaggerated idea of their difficulties. Experience has already proven how easily our comrades can recruit and build the League if they work correctly. Just a few examples: In the Bronx House in New York we had two or three comrades. In a few weeks of work they discovered some five youth in the House who formerly had been members of the Young Pioneers. These are now in the Y.C.L. In th Y.M.H.A. we had four comrades. These set themselves up as a committee to form a unit. In three weeks a unit was established with twelve members. In a "Y" in Philadelphia, in a period of three weeks two or three comrades also multiplied themselves into a unit of ten. These examples must be duplicated in hundreds of mass organizations.

> *"Victory never comes by itself—it has to be dragged by the hand. Good resolutions and declarations in favor of the general line of the Party are only a beginning, they merely express the desire to win, but it is not victory. After the correct line has been given, after the correct solution of the problem has been found, success depends on the manner in which the work is organized, on the organization of the struggle for the application of the line of the Party, on the proper selection of workers, on supervising the fulfillment of the decisions of the leading organs."*
>
> — STALIN.

PA

The NEW SOUTH

A JOURNAL OF PROGRESSIVE OPINION

OCTOBER, 1938

What Happened in Georgia

EDITORIAL

The Report on the South

By PAUL CROUCH

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EDITORIAL

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Southern Conference For Human Welfare

"THE NATIONAL Emergency Council's report on social and economical ills of the South must be followed by effective action to remedy those ills. The Southern people are determined to take that action."

It was Mrs. Louise O. Charlton, U. S. Commissioner at Birmingham and member of the Alabama Democratic Executive Committee, speaking the night of September 6th at the organization meeting of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, held in the Tutwiler Hotel, Birmingham.

The meeting, attended by representatives from each of the 13 states covered in the NEC report, unanimously elected Mrs. Charlton general chairman for the conference, which is being hailed as "the South's answer to the NEC report."

The Southern Conference, which will be held November 20-23 in Birmingham, will attract hundreds of the South's most progressive leaders—educators, ministers, labor leaders, industrialists, editors, congressmen, s ators and others. Discussions will include those on health, education, suffrage, constitutional rights, prison reform, labor relations, farm tenancy, race relations and child labor.

"Panel discussion of these problems will be held," Mrs. Charlton said, "and the findings of the committees referred to the general sessions for action. It is definitely hoped that from these recommendations and suggested remedies a strong South-wide sentiment for immediate action will be born. The committee planning the conference believes that it is, of course, vitally important to determine the better courses to follow in remedying our ills, but realizes the equal importance of having these determinations translated into action."

It was revealed at the session September 6th that the conference has clear-cut plans for its continuous existence over a period of years as a progressive force for human betterment in the South. This was shown in announcement by Miss Mollie Dowd, Birmingham, national board member of the Women's Trade Union League, that the conference is setting up a South-wide Committee to make an annual award of a Thomas Jefferson medal to the Southern statesman judged most outstanding in work for human welfare and justice as embodied in the tenets of Thomas Jefferson. Rockwell Kent, famous American artist, she said, has consented to design the medal as his contribution to the movement.

Three vice-chairmen elected for the conference were William Mitch, district president of the United Mine Workers of America; Sam Roper, president, Alabama Federation of Labor, and the Rev. Clyde Helms, Columbia, S. C. Dr. H. C. Nixon, New Orleans, was chosen field chairman; Miss Mollie Dowd, secretary, and Mrs. Virginia Henry Mayfield, treasurer.

Committee chairmen named were Tarleton Collier, Atlanta newspaper columnist, publicity; and Mrs. Willie Hughes Tarpley, Birmingham, vice-chairman; Postmaster W. Cooper Green, finance, and James K. Feibelman, New Orleans, vice-chairman; Dr. W. T. Couch, director of the University of North Carolina Press, program, and Miss Josephine Wilkins, president of the Georgia League of Women Voters, vice-chairman; Congressman Luther Patrick, sponsorship and participation, and Brooks Hays, Arkansas National Democratic Committeeman, vice-chairman.

Sponsors listed to date include Virginius Dabney, editor, The Richmond Times-Dispatch; Dr. William E. Dodd, Sr., former U. S. ambassador to Germany, Round Hill, Va.; Dr. Edwin A. Elliott, NLRB regional director, Fort Worth, Tex.; Dr. Frank Graham, president of the University of North Carolina; Dr. Harmon Caldwell, president of the University of Georgia; Dr. C. Vann Woodward, Florida author and educator; the Rev. Charles Hamilton, Aberdeen, Miss.; George Fort Milton, publisher of The Chattanooga News; Clarence Poe, editor, The Progressive Farmer, Raleigh, N. C.; Mark Ethridge, The Louisville Courier-Journal; Donald Comer, Birmingham industrialist; H. L. Mitchell, secretary, Southern Tenant Farmers' Union, Memphis, Tenn., and a host of other distinguished Southern progressives.

The Southern Conference for Human Welfare has established permanent offices at Room 212, Tutwiler Hotel. Inquiries of all kinds are invited from those interested in the aims of the conference.

October, 1938 *THE NEW SOUTH

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The Southern Conference for Human Welfare

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"I understand this conference has not turned to the past to lament events beyond recall; that you have examined the facts of the present; that you look into the future. Those who accept the dynamic philosophy of Jefferson as sound must believe such deliberations and actions will not be in vain. Such free and open conferences should promote the welfare of the South and of the nation".

—Justice Hugo L. Black in an address to the Southern Conference for Human Welfare.

THE SOUTH recently demonstrated its own ability to meet and work out practical solutions for what President Roosevelt has called the "Nation's No. 1 Economic Problem". More than twelve hundred Southerners from every state below the Mason and Dixon Line met at Birmingham, Ala., in the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. They represented every walk of life and all sections of the population. Outstanding business executives and trade union leaders, Catholic, Protestant and Jewish clergymen, professors and students, WPA workers. Federal and state government officials, members of Congress and state legislators, editors, and sharecroppers, all with one aim in view, met in various panels and in the general sessions of the conference. This gathering, which united the entire South as never before in its history, frankly faced realities which for decades have fettered Southern progress.

This conference was the South's answer to the National Emergency Council's report. The report had presented the problems facing the South. The solution for these problems was the objective which brought the most representative Southern citizens to Birmingham for three days of discussion and deliberation. It is hardly surprising that the South and the nation have yet to grasp the full extent of the achievements made at Birmingham. Only historians of the distant future will be able to measure the influence this conference will have in coming years.

Letter from President Roosevelt to the Southern Conference for Human Welfare

"The long struggle by liberal leaders of the South for human welfare in your region has been implemented on an unprecedented scale these past five and one-half years by Federal help. Yet we have recognized publicly this year that what has been done is only a beginning, and that the South's unbalance is a major concern, not merely of the South, but of the whole nation.

"It is heartening, therefore, to see the strength of Southern social leadership mustered to face these human problems, not locally or individually, but in a united front from Fort Raleigh to the Alamo.

"You know from years of trying, the difficulties of your task. I believe you will find it impossible in many instances to separate human from economic problems. But if you steer a true course, and keep everlastingly at it, the South will long be thankful for this day.

(Signed) "FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT"

Recommendations made by the Southern Conference for Human Welfare covered such fields as education, housing and slum clearance, freight differentials, credits to small business, farm tenancy, labor relations, crime prevention and prison reform, youth, race relations, constitutional rights and suffrage.

Proposals adopted by the conference included:

The Harrison—Thomas—Fletcher bill providing Federal aid for education. Under the provisions of this bill Federal aid would be given to the states, especially those with insufficient revenue to provide adequate school facilities.

Abolition of freight differentials.

Expansion of the Farm Security Administration.

Increased appropriations for the U. S. Housing Administration.

Expansion of the Bankhead-Jones Farm Tenancy act to provide government insured loans for farm ownership.

Abolition of sectional differentials in industrial wages and pay on WPA.

Pay for Negro teachers equal to that of white teachers.

Federal and state legislation for abolition of the poll tax "and other restrictions on the free and universal exercise of the franchise by all American citizens".

Lower interest rates, both for industrial and farm credit. (Endorsement of the Pepper bill).

Endorsement of an anti-lynching bill.

A national health program, including campaigns for the eradication of syphilis, tuberculosis, malaria, pellagra and occupational diseases. Federal grants to strengthen city, county and state public health departments as well as Federal aid to extend hospital and free clinic facilities.

Continuation and extension of the National Youth Administration.

No one in the conference expected the adoption of this program to complete the tasks facing the South-

(over)

ern people. Only active support of millions of Southerners can break through the resistance and hostility of selfish interests and remnants of feudalism which seek to block every move in the direction of progress and human welfare. Active campaigns must be carried on in every Southern state before the recommendations of the conference materialize in the concrete form of Federal and state legislation. As progress is made new problems will be faced which must be solved in that spirit of calm determination which characterized the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. Therefore, the conference correctly decided to set up a permanent organization and to hold annual conferences similar to the one in Birmingham.

Officers of the permanent organization include Hon. Louise O. Charlton, Honorary Chairman; Dr. Frank Graham, President of the University of North Carolina, Chairman; Miss Mollie Dowd, of the Alabama Dept. of Labor, Secretary; Prof. H. C. Nixon, author and educator, Executive Secretary; and Clark Foreman, of Atlanta, Treasurer. Fifteen vice-chairmen were elected, also a Southern Council of over 100 members.

Objectives of the permanent organization are:

1. Promote the general welfare.

2. Improve the economic, social and cultural standards of the Southern people.

3. Advance Southern functional growth in accordance with safeguarding American institutions and ideals.

4. Initiate and support progressive legislation in Congress and the states in harmony with the principles and program of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare.

5. Continue and expand activities started at the Southern Conference for Human Welfare.

6. Secure the cooperation and cooperate in the activities of other organizations now existing in the Southern states.

* * * * *

Among the outstanding speakers who addressed the conference were Mrs. Roosevelt, Aubrey Williams, NYA Director, and Justice Hugo L. Black of the United States Supreme Court. The conference was opened with an address by Dr. Frank Graham, President of the University of North Carolina.

Birmingham's city auditorium was filled to capacity and thousands were turned away when Mrs. Roosevelt spoke at the conference. She placed special emphasis on the importance of education.

The concluding session of the conference was devoted to the presentation of the Thomas Jefferson medal to the South's famous statesman and jurist, Justice Hugo L. Black, and to his address. In clear and forceful language Justice Black quoted Jefferson at length and applied his principles to the problems facing the South and the nation today. Seldom if ever has a member of the United States Supreme Court spoken in such plain language on broad social and economic questions. The historic address by Justice Black brought to a close the first Southern Conference for Human Welfare.

* * * * *

The Southern Conference for Human Welfare had its origin at a meeting in Birmingham September 6th of representatives from seven Southern states. In addition to those who attended that meeting prominent individuals in other Southern states joined in the movement for the conference, and as sponsors signed the formal call. The list of sponsors included outstanding Southerners in business, labor, education, health, and other fields.

Business interests were represented at the conference by such executives as Prentiss M. Terry of the Southern States Industrial Council, and Donald Comer, Birmingham textile mill owner. All sections of the labor movement was represented, with representatives including William Mitch, District President of the United Mine Workers, Stanton E. Smith, vice president of the American Federation of Teachers (AF of L), and many others, including workers from the mills, mines and factories. Many of the South's most distinguished newspaper men, including Barry Bingham, Louisville publisher, Tarleton Collier of Atlanta, and John Temple Graves II contributed to the work of the conference. Among clergymen who attended were Rev. Clyde Helms, Rev. Andrew Smith, Rev. Fred E. Maxey and Rabbi Myron Silverman. Youth delegates included representatives from many Southern universities, YMCA and YWCA, etc. Miss Helen Fuller of the U. S. Dept. of Justice (a native of Ala.) presided over the Youth panel. Carl Thompson, assistant NYA director of North Carolina, and many youth delegates from NYA projects took an active part in the conference. Among distinguished educators one could at random mention such individuals as Dr. A. H. Collins, state supt. of schools of Alabama, Dr. Ralph Wanger of Emory University, Dr. Ralph Boothby of New Orleans who headed the panel on education, Dr. Arthur F. Raper of Atlanta, W. T. Couch of the Univ. of N. C. Press, Dr. Chas. S. Johnson of Fiske, Dr. Frank Graham, president of the University of North Carolina, E. C. Peters, president of Paine College, Augusta, Dr. Wm. Hepburn of the Univ. of Ala., Dr. J. R. Morton, coordinator of adult education of Miss., Dr. James J. Morrison, of Tulane, Dr. Charles W. Pipkin of La. State University, Prof. Nick Comfort, dean of the School of Religion at the University of Oklahoma, C. M. Ewing, also of the University of Oklahoma, and Dr. Wm. C. Lehman, of Tulane.

Francis P. Miller, member of the legislature of Virginia, Brooks Hays, Arkansas member of the Democratic National Committee, and Senator Claude Pepper of Florida were among the fifteen vice chairmen elected.

This was a conference of Southerners, who cherish the traditions of the South and who wish to make the South a better place in which to live. Those participating in this conference are proud of the South, its culture, resources and tremendous opportunities. They were not afraid to admit the poverty and the many problems facing the Southern people today. It was because of their love for the South and the country of which it is a part that they so earnestly set about the task of solving these problems. They have charted the road to progress. The Southern Conference for Human Welfare was not the end but the beginning of a road to a better, happier, more prosperous South—a NEW SOUTH.

#679A —PAUL CROUCH

(over)

For Scripps-Howard Newspapers Only G 7/21/50

By Roger Stuart
Scripps-Howard Staff Writer

WILBERFORCE, Ohio, July 21--A general Presidential pardon for the 11 convicted Communist Party leaders was urged here by the Methodist Federation for Social Action, although their appeals have not yet been ruled on by the lowest Federal appellate court.

The Federation's annual conference here, it was learned at the same time, had been given documented evidence of the extensive Communist affiliations of its executive secretary, the Rev. Jack R. McMichael.

Prepared by 21 members, it showed he has supported at least 10 groups termed Communist and subversive by the Attorney General.

The move for his ouster failed, nevertheless, when only two of the 21 signers showed up. At the concluding session, Bishop Francis J. McConnell, the Federation's re-elected president, praised Mr. McMichael who thereafter was given a rising vote of thanks.

(Roger Stuart Cont.) G Page 2

A proposal was introduced to change the name of the Federation, an unofficial but influential adjunct of the Methodist Church. That was in response to demands from official church bodies that the word "Methodist" be eliminated.

To "eliminate confusion," the executive committee suggested a new name--Methodists Federated for Social Action. The conference voted down the proposal, but agreed to submit it to the Federation's 5000 members by mail.

The conference called for the defeat of the Mundt-Nixon Communist-control bill. It also asked Presidential amnesty for what it referred to as "political prisoners." In addition to conscientious objectors, these included such Communist groups as the Holllywood Ten, the executive committee of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee and the director of the American-Soviet Friendship Council.

Condemnation of Russian propaganda, which "pictures America as a warmongering nation, and itself as the chief exponent of peace," was approved at the final session. The Federation said:

"We believe this campaign of half-truths and lies can be dispelled by the forthright offer of universal disarmament through the UN according to the terms of the Tydings resolution."

During consideration of this report, the fewer than 100 delegates present debated briefly a suggestion that a stand be taken on American intervention against Red aggression in Korea.

This was voted down, however, after Rev. McMichael argued that "the matter is too complicated and the time too short for us to work out a resolution which would be satisfactory for everybody."

Earlier, Rev. McMichael had sharply criticized U. S. policy in the Far East. The future of Korea, he declared, should be determined "peacefully, if possible, by the Koreans themselves." He neglected to explain how this might be accomplished.

In a statement widely circulated within the Federation, the 21 members, most of them clergymen, said "a careful investigation has shown that Jack McMichael has supported or signed statements of many groups with a pro-Communist bias. He has supported plain united fronts with Communists or pro-Communists." His removal was asked "for a more effective" federation.

The conference re-elected three Methodist bishops as vice-presidents: Bishop James C. Baker, Los Angeles; Bishop Donald H. Tippett, San Francisco; and Bishop Lewis O. Hartman, Boston. Six additional bishops were elected to the Federation's top committees.

Since the Scripps-Howard Newspapers reported the Communist bias of its 1947 conference in Kansas City, the Federation has been under fire within the Methodist Church itself.

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For Scripps-Howard Newspapers Only L 7/20/50

By Roger Stuart
Scripps-Howard Staff Writer

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WILBERFORCE, Ohio, July 20--The Communist issue broke wide open here at the opening of the annual national conference of the Methodist Federation for Social Action, unofficial but influential adjunct of the Methodist church.

The issue arose over an attempt to remove the Federation's executive secretary, Jack R. McMichael, for his continued "support of many groups with a pro-Communist bias."

The move was started when a group of Federation members throughout the country, mostly Methodist clergymen and editors, circularized its executive committee, setting forth Mr. McMichael's record.

It was overwhelmingly defeated at a closed session by a vote of 58-to-2.

After the vote of confidence, Mr. McMichael told a public session that he could not approve America's current Far Eastern policy.

A second speaker, Dr. Lucius Porter of Milwaukee, Wis., declared that "every Christian should support" the Chinese Communist Government, which he insisted on calling "the People's Government."

The Federation has been a storm center within the Methodist Church since the Scripps-Howard Newspapers, in a series of articles by Staff Writer Frederick Woltman, reported its 1947 conference in Kansas City.

According to the articles, the prestige of the Methodist Church was used at the conference to furnish a national sounding board for Communists and fellow travelers to expound the Communist line.

Speakers then strongly attacked America's foreign policies, aimed at stemming Communist aggression, and glowingly defended Russia's.

Although the Federation represented a very small minority of the nation's 11 million Methodists, the articles pointed out that the Federation was the only articulate social action body in the church and spoke in the name of 17 Methodist bishops.

Since then, the Federation was hotly debated at the church's top-ruling quadrennial conference in Boston but the issue never was permitted to reach the floor. Church congregations on a wide scale have been passing resolutions demanding that the word "Methodist" be dropped by the Federation.

Listed as a participant at the conference here is Bishop James E. Baker, president of the Methodist Council of Bishops.

The drive to oust Mr. McMichael was spearheaded by John Mecartney, Garrett Biblical Institute student, and Professor Hiel D. Bollinger, secretary of the Methodist Student Movement. Mr. Mecartney said today he would continue the campaign.

In criticizing our Far Eastern policy, Mr. McMichael said: "I believe the decision as to the future of Korea should not be made by Russia, China, or the U. S. and its Allies but peacefully, if possible, by the Koreans themselves."

Though many countries have recognized the "new" Chinese Government, he said, "our country still believes in the myth that the clique in Formosa represents the people of China."

The 100 members present cheered Dr. Porter's criticism of America's Far Eastern policy which was coupled with his outspoken approval of the government headed by Communist Mao Tse-tung.

Dr. Porter called the Red regime "a responsible government determined to help the people" and added:

"I decline to use the word Communist in reference to the present Chinese Government. It does not represent Kremlinism or Stalinism. It is a Marxian movement based on Chinese conditions and Chinese culture."

Dr. Porter, who until last year was a professor at Yengching University in China, told the Federation that Mao heads the government, not because he was chosen by Communist leaders, "but because he won the support of the Chinese masses..."

Another speaker is the Rev. John B. Thompson, Dean of the University of Chicago Chapel. During the Hitler-Stalin neutrality pact in World War II, Dean Thompson was president of the American Peace Mobilization, set up by the Communist Party to sabotage President Roosevelt's defense program.

over

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THE CINCINNATI ENQUIRER

Tuesday, April 22, 1952

Communist Party Digs Deep Underground Against U. S. Unity's Roots, Hoover Warns

J. Edgar Hoover warns in the following special article that American Communists are burrowing farther and farther underground and working harder than ever, from hidden positions, to destroy the United States. He pinpoints the dangers, explains what the Reds are doing and calls upon all Americans to be vigilantly on their guard against "the insidious . . . Communist game" to wreck U. S. democracy.

BY J. EDGAR HOOVER
(Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation)

WASHINGTON, April 21 (INS) —The Communist party is endeavoring, in every possible way, to infiltrate non-Communist groups.

Civic clubs, churches, labor unions, schools and similar patriotic American groups—these organizations are today the targets of an insidious campaign to increase Communist strength.

The pressure is tremendous. The Communists are determined to advance their cause by cunning, stealth and downright dishonesty.

These tactics depict, most vividly, the current status of the Communist party, USA.

The party is dropping deeper and deeper underground.

More and more of its operations are being carried on in clandestine channels—the training of leaders execution of policy, holding of meetings.

Membership cards no longer are issued, records have been destroyed, open meetings virtually disbanded.

The party virtually is submerged—only here and there elements protrude above ground.

The rising wrath of the American people, expressed throughout the nation, has caused the party to seek underground shelter. The prosecution of its leaders, investigation of congressional committees, tireless spotlight of the press, radio and television—all these factors have caused the Communists to reverse their tactics.

They know the true feelings of this nation—but they will not give up. Indeed not. They are insidious workers. They have retreated to the catacombs of stealth to devise a new plan of battle.

"Let's infiltrate non-Communist groups. Let them do our work." This is the Communist strategy today.

They want you, the loyal citizen of the nation, to promote their unholy cause.

Sounds fantastic doesn't it? But it's true. That is what they are doing today.

Communists are trying to join legitimate organizations—a women's community club, a youth organization, a parents' study group. They are working hard, taking an active interest. Why? To gain control of the organization? No.

The Communists are few in number, probably one, two or even three. They desire, rather, to influence policy: Perhaps elect a "favorable" candidate, determine a policy decision, postpone action on an anti-Communist proposal. In this way, by being "inside" a legitimate organization, they are misguiding many unsuspecting loyal citizens into support of policies fostered by the Communists.

Take, for example, the issue of "peace." This topic occupies an important role today in Communist strategy. They proclaim their support for "peace," urging that "peace petitions" be signed.

But the Communist "peace" is a phony peace. They utilize this word to mean a peace in which world Communism reigns supreme, a peace in which democracy submits to the overlordship of the Russian dictator.

They would have America disarm, render herself powerless. Then the "Communist peace-lover" would devour this nation!

Many thousands of signatures have been obtained on these phony peace petitions—including the signatures, unfortunately, of many loyal Americans. These individuals have been misled by the Communists—Communists often operating within legitimate organizations. Americans must beware of this evil device for the tactic of infiltration pays off highly to the Communists.

Communist membership is declining. Not that fewer Communists are in operation. Indeed not. They simply, for security reasons, are not enrolling. They still are here—as dangerous as ever before. Theirstrength lies not in numbers, but in cunning and fanaticism. They have a hard core of disciplined membership—with this nucleus they are enticing non-Communists to support their endeavors.

Be alert! Don't play the Communist game. Make them show their own colors! We Americans can defeat this challenge!

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One Price of Freedom is Vigilance!

METHODIST FEDERATION for SOCIAL ACTION
An unofficial membership organization founded in 1907

Gresham, Oregon
R.3, B. 1033

August 31, 1953

Dear Federation Member:

Something of the full story of Jack McMichael's historic session before the Un-American Activities Committee will soon be out and you will know more of its epic proportions. You will thank God again, and yet again for such men as the Federation has helped produce - McConnell, Ward, Worley, McMichael and scores of others.

The present attempt to crush out the life of the Federation by the attack on two of its great leaders is but another step in the plans of those who would crush out Christianity itself, and Democracy, too.

From this new attack the Federation has already gained added significance and importance. Almost fifty years of patient, persistent, and loving attempt to preach the Gospel of Jesus has brought our Federation new responsibilities and new leadership. WE MUST NOT FAIL!

It is yours to confirm the leaders of the Federation for the present year, leaders carefully selected and voted upon at the annual membership meeting last June. It is for you to tell these leaders of your whole-hearted support, spiritual, moral, and financial, which you will bring to this age old fight against entrenched wrong. Send in your ballot as quickly as possible - not later than the 20th of this month.

Send along with it your pledge for financial support for this year.

Consider these propostions prayerfully and earnestly -

Will you be one of four hundred members to say -

☐ 1. I will pledge $1 per week or $50 for the year ending 5-31-54

☐ 2. I will secure gifts and pledges from friends, members of my church, lodge, trade union, or other group to equal $50. This will include -exclude-(which?) my own gift or pledge.

☐ 3. I cannot give $50 but I will secure or give _____ for the fiscal year ending May 31, 1954. (amount)

Give or secure as much of the above as soon as you can. BUT - BY THE GRACE AND POWER OF GOD GRANTED UNTO YOU TO DO THE THING THAT NEEDS TO BE DONE - WONT YOU MAKE ONE OF THE ABOVE PLEDGES - NOW!

WE MUST GO FORWARD!

WE CAN GO FARTHER WITH YOUR HELP!

Yours in the Master's name.

Cordially,
Mark A. Chamberlin
Mark A. Chamberlin,
Promotional and membership sec'y.

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some momentary advantage in dealing with Satan, might look at the record and take caution. No good has ever come out of Hell.

The madness of the past fortnight has been another Communist triumph. It has given this hell-brood another advantage in our country. They are skillful in their lies, and our people seem to be so easily taken in. Everybody enters this row to get his name in the newspapers. Even Tito had a comment on it. I wonder why. I wonder why.

Who wants us to lose this battle against Communism?

The Communists have long attacked the integrity of the FBI. They hate the FBI. Senator Fulbright is not a Communist, but suddenly he gives comfort to the Communists by attacking the FBI, without providing proof of anything.

Sanity dictates that a halt be called to all this personal quarreling, and that this nation return to its normal business. Nobody gains from all this shouting and cursing—no one, that is, but the Kremlin. The David Schine argument is sheer nonsense. He has had no special privileges. Rather, he has become a pawn in a fight among politicians. The real culprits are the Communists, not those who fight them.

Thank you. This is George Sokolsky. Good night.

(Continued from page one)

instructed to join a church, and then organize themselves into a cell within the church,' Johnson said. "I was among those who helped to carry out this plan of action in Buffalo, New York. In personal knowledge and experiences, I have seen the Communists infiltrate the churches in their effort to destroy them from within, through the strategy of the Trojan horse."

Freedom Club Program

MRS. GERALDINE FITCH
comes to Los Angeles with the story of
"FORMOSA BEACHHEAD"

TUESDAY — APRIL 20 — 7:15 P.M.
Dinner at 6:30 — $1.10

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FREEDOM CLUB BULLETIN

FIRST CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH
535 South Hoover Street
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DR. JAMES W. FIFIELD, JR., Minister

1954

Vol. IV, No. 29 April 15,

BY RICHARD G. FECHNER
Freedom Club Director

A Cincinnati Churchman charged last week [illegible] are "from 800 to 900 members of the [illegible] full-fledged Communists in the United States" [illegible] called upon the American clergy "to [illegible] duty long past overdue and put its own house in order." M. G. Lowman, Executive Secretary of the [illegible] Riders, Inc., a group of Methodist laymen seeking to expose Communist influence in that church, [illegible] the Freedom Club of the First Congregational [illegible]

"It's time to quit the monkey business of not looking through the pink mist around church and educational circles to where the communists are working," Lowman said. He charged that Communists have infiltrated the American clergy by specific design and that "the comparatively small number concerned should be ousted." He declared that the exposure of 800 to 900 Reds in the American clergy should be no more of a discredit to the "several hundred thousand loyal American clergymen than was the overt act of Judas in the betrayal of Jesus a discredit to the 11 other disciples."

Lowman listed Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam, Dr. Harold F. Ward, Rev. Jack R. McMichael and others as "American protestant clergymen who are principle causes of our trouble in American churches." Of Oxnam, Lowman said: "I am not of the opinion that he is a pro-communist nor that he has ever been a Communist, but I charge him with having done more to aid Communism than Earl Browder or than any other six communists."

To prove his claims of communist infiltration into American church life, Lowman dramatically called from the audience a former top Communist, who had flown from New York City for the occasion. He is Manning Johnson, presently a consultant in the Immigration and Naturalization Service, who first served the Communist conspiracy as a member of the American Negro Labor Congress. He has held positions of authority at the section, district, state and national levels in the Communist machine.

"In order to subvert the church, party members [illegible]

(Continued on last page)

"Where the spirit of the Lord is, there is [illegible]
—II Corinthians [illegible]

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

TIME TO PAUSE

(The following is a transcript of the great Sokolsky radio broadcast of March 14, delivered on the ABC Network. Thousands of requests have been received for copies of the program — here it is.)

BY GEORGE SOKOLSKY

The Caracas Conference, at which America won a victory, is unnoted. The tax bill is forgotten in the shuffle. What is happening in China? What is happening in Indo-China? In Turkey? In Greece? All we hear is: Liar! Blackmail! Deceit! Falsehood!

Big headlines over nothing fill the newspapers. Radio commentators fill the air with vigorous, almost sweaty, reading of the exciting items about Joe McCarthy, Roy Cohn, Secretary Stevens, John Adams. David Schine is called out of line to a press conference as though he were a movie star, rather than a soldier undergoing basic training.

The Fifth Amendment Communist dentist, Major Peress, must be having a wonderful laugh. He has split the Republican Party right down the middle; he has started a clamor and a yakity-yak all over the country which prevents the Congress from doing its proper work; he has taken the mind and thought of our people off the recession and danger of depression, and got every household arguing as to who is telling the truth—McCarthy, Cohn, Stevens or Adams. And how important is it all?

I have read, as you have, the releases of both sides. I know there was horse-trading between the McCarthy Committee and the Department of the Army. Why this Major Peress case should be so important to the Army, I do not know. After all, Secretary Stevens is a fine, upright American of breeding and education. And McCarthy is sincere in his fight on those whom Vice-President Nixon has called rats.

Why should this case of an open Communist who was a dentist in the Army be so important? Why should it get all parties into such a jam, and disturb the entire nation?

We must take it that Peress is not the real issue, that, without knowing it, McCarthy has somehow hit a raw nerve somewhere, and that pressures have been brought upon Stevens either to soften him by holding out considerations for the hostage, David Schine, or by smearing Roy Cohn, who is a brilliant investigator and lawyer, so that McCarthy's committee will lose his services and be slowed up.

Actually, the Fort Monmouth investigation WAS slowed up by yanking David Schine into the Army, thus neutralizing his investigation of this area of infiltration. Schine had done the [illegible] work on this and could [illegible] his [illegible] before [illegible]

I should like to review what happens to men who fight Communists:

Martin Dies took a moribund committee of Congress and made it an active investigation committee -- the House Committee on Un-American Activities. He was hounded until he actually gave up public life. He is now back in Congress.

Robert Stripling was the chief investigator for the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Though suitable officer material, he was inducted into the Army and kept there as a "yardbird" picking up cigarette butts and doing similar work. No advantage was taken of his special abilities.

J. Parnell Thomas, another chairman of this committee, was indicted and sent to jail on an issue which, if investigated, would have been found not to be unusual in Congress. His career was wrecked.

Dr. J. B. Matthews, the most effective battler against Communism in the United States, was knocked down over an article which he wrote for a monthly magazine, "The American Mercury," prior to his joining the McCarthy Committee. He has never been given an opportunity to defend himself.

David Schine, investigator for the McCarthy Committee, graduate of Harvard, president of a large hotel company, brilliant investigator, was grabbed suddenly, put into the Army, made an object of ridicule and notoriety, with perhaps HIS career ruined.

Now they are after **Roy Cohn,** one of the best investigators in the country. As assistant United States attorney in New York, he worked on most of the big cases which sent Communists to prison, including the Rosenberg case. His record of achievement is astonishing for one only 27 years of age. So, they are now trying to destroy him.

When **Senator McCarran** was investigating Communists, an effort was made to smash HIS reputation; but that strong personality somehow managed to survive.

Attorney General Herbert Brownell, devoted to anti-Communism, entered the lists and was silenced. **Scott McLeod** was cleansing the State Department of Communists, but has been divested of control over personnel, which is the heart of the job.

I could go on and on, listing men who have been destroyed because they dared to serve their country against a competent, unscrupulous, all-pervading enemy.

I should like to ask this question: Do you believe the Communists could be so powerful if they were **not protected by a force inside our government, that has been inside our government through three administrations—the Roosevelt, Truman and Eisenhower administrations?**

Look at what is happening to Senator McCarthy.

He is trying to discover who it is in our government that possesses so much power to protect the Communists. Little by little, he gathers a fact here and there. It is slow, unpleasant, even unpalatable work. He is abused to his face by Fifth Amendment Communists. If he answers back in kind, he is accused of being unfair. If an insulting, shrieking Communist exasperates him — as they exasperated Judge Harold Medina or Judge Irving Kaufman — and he loses his temper, he is accused of kicking witnesses in the shins. Pressure is brought on his colleagues to quarrel with him as to methods; but nothing said about the methods of the Communists.

Maybe in the end Joe McCarthy will be silenced, as Martin Dies was silenced, as the great educator, William A. Wirt, was silenced, humiliated and driven to his death by the Communists and their allies.

This is a time for us to pause. The state of the world, the perils to our country, our own lives are at stake. The men involved in the present fracas are unimportant. Most of them will sooner or later disappear from our memories. But the struggle between Marxism and the Judaic-Christian civilization will continue—must continue—if we are not to be conquered by default. This is the issue, not whether McCarthy or Stevens is right, or even whether the Republican Party or the Democratic Party is in office. I suppose most of us prefer the sensational to the fundamental. It makes life so much easier.

Yet that is how we lose sight of the main target. And that is what the Communists want us to do. They want us to forget about them, to quarrel among ourselves, to hate each other, to bargain and trick and horse-trade over careers until the country is in a turmoil. It is under such circumstances that they have always triumphed.

Country after country has fallen to the Communists without a shot being fired. And it is always that they create so much confusion that one does not know what to think. Thus men concentrate on the wrong issues; they fight over nothing; society becomes disordered; the will to resist is weakened. Then the beasts come in and take over.

Always they find, weak, spineless men who witlessly become their pawns. While such men in Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Germany, and even France and Italy have their day of glory with their names and faces in the newspapers, when the Communist triumph is complete, they step on their faces and obliterate their image. Some of our public officials who think there is

A F F I D A V I T

STATE OF OHIO)
) ss.
HAMILTON COUNTY)

Before me, the undersigned authority, this day personally appeared MARTHA N. EDMISTON and JOHN J. EDMISTON, to me well known and known to be the subscribers hereto, and being by me first duly sworn, deposed and said that they are residents of Wayne Township, Warren County, Ohio and they further deposed and said as follows:

That during the years 1940 and 1941 they were members of the Communist Party of the U. S. A., having joined this conspiracy while working as undercover operatives for the Federal Bureau of Investigation. That they also were members of several Communist "transmission line" or "front" organizations, such as the Workers Alliance of America, the Emergency Peace Mobilization, the American Peace Mobilization, the YANCS (The Yanks Are Not Coming), the North Side Peace League, the Linden Peace League, the South Side Peace League (the latter three being local front groups in Columbus, Ohio) and from time to time served as delegates and observers from these groups to meetings of the Ohio Youth Congress, the Southern Ohio Youth Conference and the American Youth Congress, at the direction of Communist Party officials as a part of their regular Communist Party assignments.

That they first met the Reverend Jack R. McMichael in Columbus, Ohio at a meeting of the Ohio Youth Congress in the Southern Hotel. To the best of their recollection this meeting was held in May or June of 1940. (The date of this meeting can be established by reference to a report of it prepared by the deponents, now in the possession of the FBI). At the time, the

deponents were members of the Franklin County (Ohio) Chapter of the Workers Alliance of America, an organization which was then under the complete domination of the Communist Party. At the Workers Alliance meeting just prior to the opening of the Ohio Youth Congress, the Workers Alliance selected delegates to the Congress. These included the deponent, Martha Edmiston, Lula Mae Leigh and others whose names the deponents do not recollect at this time.

To the best of these deponents' recollection, the sessions of the Congress occupied two or three days and some 200 delegates and American Youth Congress officials were present. The deponents personally knew a number of the delegates from Columbus organizations, such as the Workers Alliance, the American Student Union, the Young Communist League and union groups. These delegates included the following Communist Party Members: Jack Perloff, Ruth Williams Perloff, Lula Mae Leigh, Irwin Barkan, Virginia Dillon, Betty Erhart, Esther Rodgers, Donald Rodgers, Robert Evans, Regina Rosen, Manny Rosen, LeVerne Slagle, Bernard Rucker, Lillian Rothenburg, Herbert Seins, John Davis, Beatrice Dunn Davis and Nelrene Grattan. These people included several officers of the Franklin County Section of the Communist Party. Nelrene Grattan was treasurer; Perloff was Organizer for the Young Communist League; Ruth Perloff was a member of the Party's County Committee as was Bernard Rucker. Also visiting several sessions of the Congress, but not known to us to be delegates were E. S. Grattan, Communist Party Secretary, and Joseph Socoloff, Communist Party Organizer in Franklin County.

That the Workers Alliance delegates to the Congress received their instructions from Jack Perloff, YCL Organizer, and Joseph Socoloff, Communist Party Organizer. All advance literature on the Ohio Youth Congress was dis-

tributed from the Franklin County Headquarters of the Communist Party at Sixth Avenue and Summit Streets, Columbus.

The principal speakers and prime movers at the Ohio Youth Congress were the three top-ranking officers of the American Youth Congress: the Reverend Jack R. McMichael, AYC Chairman; Joseph Cadden, and Robert (Bobbie) Thompson, AYC Secretary. All spoke and outlined the purposes and program of the Congress. These purposes were incorporated in resolutions at the final session of the Congress.

That in substance these resolutions set forth:

1) The Ohio Youth Congress and the AYC was against any American intervention in World War II.

2) Against any assistance to the Allies, either in shipments of munitions or supplies, or any convoys to protect them.

3) Against conscription and military training.

4) That the OYC and AYC would support the YANCS organization which recently had been formed at the direction of the Communist Party by one of Harry Bridges' Communist controlled unions on the West Coast.

5) Would join in forming organizations which would send delegates to a proposed Emergency Peace Mobilization meeting to be held in Chicago in the late summer.

The deponents noted that the various pieces of "peace literature" which were passed out at the sessions of the OYC had been received and were distributed from the local Communist Party Headquarters. The resolutions noted above were mimeographed at the completion of the Congress on the local Communist Party's mimeograph, loaned for the occasion by E. S. Grattan, Communist Secretary.

During a recess in one of the evening sessions an event occured which the deponents found rather odd and amusing. The deponents, Martha Edmiston and John Edmiston were standing on the mezzanine floor of the hotel with E. S. Grattan, Communist Party Secretary; Jack Perloff, YCL organizer, and Joseph Scoloff, Communist Party Organizer. This group was joined by the Reverend Jack McMichael and Robert Thompson. (This is the same Robert Thompson who later became general secretary of the Communist Party of New York; who was convicted in the New York Federal Court of teaching the overthrow of the American Government by force and violence, and who now is at large, having jumped bail following his conviction.) Thompson and the Reverend Jack McMichael launched into a discussion of alleged attempts by "FBI agents" to infiltrate the American Youth Congress. This led to further remarks by the two AYC officials on how to spot "an FBI agent" in Communist Party meetings. The deponents found this both educational and entertaining.

The deponents' next meeting with the Reverend Jack McMichael was at the Emergency Peace Mobilization in Chicago, August 31, 1940. The deponents, who covered this meeting for the FBI were able to report that this convention was entirely Communist-hatched and Communist dominated. It was at this 3-day meeting that the Communist Party sought to pull all of its various front organizations and captive unions into a national convention to form yet another huge subversive organization. During the previous months the deponents had been able to trace the course of the Emergency Peace Mobilization from the formation of apparently unrelated and spontaneous "peace leagues" into a national network of "peace" organizations carefully nurtured, guided and completely dominated by the Communist Party.

Held in the Chicago Stadium, the Emergency Peace Mobilization was atten-

ded by more than 23 thousand delegates.

The Reverend Jack McMichael was one of the principal speakers at the Emergency Peace Mobilization. He spoke at the "Anti-Conscription Rally" held in the Stadium on the first day of the meeting at 8 p. m. Dr. John B. Thompson was general chairman of the "Rally."

On the final day of the Emergency Peace Mobilization, the new organization, The American Peace Mobilization, was founded. At that time the Reverend Jack McMichael was named vice chairman of the new organization. The objects of this organization are well known: in short, they were to keep America from rendering any assistance to the Allies, from taking defense measures, and to impose every kind of opposition to the building up of America's Armed Services. This organization long has been on the Attorney General's list of subversive organizations.

The deponents further depose and say that the Communist Party instantly abandoned its "peace" activities when Germany invaded Russia on June 22, 1941. Until that very day the American Peace Mobilization was the Communist Party's principal front organization for weakening America's military defense. Shortly after that date the American Peace Mobilization had a change of name to the "American People's Movement" and the group now called for all-out aid to Soviet Russia and the Allies, urged American intervention in the war and the setting up of a "second front."

On July 4, 1941, the deponent Martha Edmiston attended a national conference of the American Youth Congress in Town Hall, Philadelphia, at which time the Communist Party officially announced the change in the "party line" to the American Youth Congress.

Once again, the Reverend Jack McMichael took a leading role in the con-

ference. He was at that time the chairman of the American Youth Congress and vice chairman of the Emergency Peace Mobilization. At that meeting, attended by some fifteen hundred delegates of the youth organization and allied Communist front groups, the Communists abruptly dropped all "peace slogans" and began talking about "Youth For Victory."

The deponent Martha Edmiston sat with the Reverend Jack McMichael on a panel devoted to aid to China, at which time Mr. McMichael discussed conditions in China under Japanese occupation and the urgency of need for American aid.

The deponent attended this meeting as a delegate of the Workers Alliance of America, Hamilton County Chapter (Cincinnati). Her appointment as a delegate and her instructions were given by Marjorie Dowers, open Communist and member of the Hamilton County (Ohio) Communist Party's Executive Committee, and Jeanne Moore, Secretary of the Hamilton County Young Communist League. All delegates from the Cincinnati area attending this convention were members of the Communist Party. All persons to whom the deponent was introduced in Philadelphia were introduced as Communist Party members.

There was some friction at the meeting. The Communists had to force their "party line" change down the throats of a small minority of delegates who were Socialists, but in general the conference went smoothly and the American Youth Congress made its about-turn, meekly accepting the new Communist Party line as its program, as it had accepted the "peace slogan" in the past.

And the deponent further notes that this was the first of any of the meetings of the American Youth Congress or any of its affiliated organizations at which she heard the Star Spangled Banner sung.

In December, 1941 both deponents were expelled from the Communist Party as "proven FBI spies." They testified to some of the facts contained above at a hearing before the U. S. House of Representatives Committee on Un-American Activities on July 13 - 14, 1950.

On or about July 18, 1950 the deponents again met the Reverend Jack McMichael. He was at the time the Executive Secretary of the Methodist Federation for Social Action. The occasion of meeting him was the Conference of the Federation held at Wilberforce University. Mr. McMichael was one of the principal speakers at the meeting. Also speaking with him was Dr. John B. Thompson who had spoken with Mr. McMichael at the Emergency Peace Mobilization ten years before.

At the Wilberforce meeting Mr. McMichael voiced what then was the accepted Communist Party line. He blamed America for "aggression" in Korea and saw the United Nations as an "invader." Absolving Soviet Russia of blame, he and other speakers at the meeting advocated the immediate withdrawal of United Nations troops from Korea. He also advocated the recognition of Red China's "democratic government of the people of China" by the United Nations. He spoke against conscription and defense re-armament.

At this meeting, attended by relatively few delegates, there appeared a report prepared by several members of the MFSA urging the ousting of Mr. McMichael as Executive Secretary for his "known activities" in Communist front organizations. This report, containing more than 20 pages, listed 48 Communist Party front organizations in which, the report charges, Mr. McMichael had been active since the beginning of 1948.

The deponents learned that this report, however, failed to create any wide distrust in Mr. McMichael on the part of the great majority of the dele-

gates. On the contrary, they gave him a vote of confidence, voting to retain his services by an overwhelming majority.

Unfortunately, the deponents had no opportunity to talk with the Reverend Jack McMichael at this meeting. When the deponent John Edmiston caught Mr. McMichael's eye, Mr. McMichael hurriedly left the room and the deponents were unable to interview him.

WITNESS the signatures of the deponents this 31st day of January, 1953:

Martha N. Edmiston

John J. Edmiston

Sworn to and subscribed before me, a Notary Public in and for said County and State, on the above date in the City of Cincinnati, Ohio.

Mary C. Young

MARY C. YOUNG
Notary Public, Hamilton County, Ohio
My Commission Expires June 12, 1953

THE CINCINNATI ENQUIRER

Tuesday, May 18, 1954

Walter WINCHELL

"Sorry, I Can't Recall"

EM DOODLED at the That well known nt, Has not been A new disguise ise: "Sorry Madline the ee

under investigation by the Justice Dept. Perjury indictment will be sought . . . A highly respected lady (who long graced the Red-Fronts) is another facing a perjury rap . . . A clergyman (last initial "M"), who has denied being a party member many times, will be confronted by 3 witnesses who will testify he once was a very high Communist official.

sen, 1619 B'way. The "Please Say Yes Or It' bye." The verse of w cally) laments: " you to kill me h A simple one is all I d Holm h hand r

???

THE LAKEPORT PRESS AND RECORD,

JUNE 23, 1954

Kelseyville Church Gets New Pastor

The Rev. Charles A. Silberstein, Methodist pastor at Elverta, Calif. for the past year, will be the new minister of the Kelseyville Methodist Church, replacing the Rev. Harvey Bane.

The Rev. Bane is the only Lake County Methodist minister to be transferred to another pastorate at last week's meeting of the Methodist Church's California-Nevada Conference at Stockton.

Other ministers who will retain their charges in the county are: Rev David Miller, Clearlake Oaks, Rev. James E. Huntley, Clearlake Highlands and Lower Lake, Rev Willard E. Banghart, Lakeport, and Rev. Jack R. McMichael, Upper Lake.

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TESTIMONY OF BISHOP G. BROMLEY OXNAM

BEFORE THE

COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

JULY 21, 1953

Bishop OXNAM. Thank you, sir.

Mr Chairman, since this has been read, may I say that I did everything that I could to get Mr. McMichael out of the organization. Certain information reached me to this effect. I talked to Mr. McMichael. He said that it was absolutely false and wanted the source of the information. I was unable to give him that source because it was confidential. We had——

Mr. VELDE. Bishop, may I interrupt? Why did you attempt to get him out of the organization?

Bishop OXNAM. Because frankly I believed that Jack McMichael was so tied up with the Communist group that whether or not he were a Communist, I couldn't prove whether he was a member of the Communist Party or not, but I was sure that that organization ought not to be under that leadership any more, and I did everything I could. Others talked to Mr. McMichael. He denied this completely. Now, that raises quite an issue, sir.

Mr. WALTER. Will you yield at that point?

Bishop OXNAM. Yes.

Mr. WALTER. What caused you to reach the conclusion that McMichael was a Communist?

Bishop OXNAM. Sir, I hope you will not press that question. I will be glad to state it to this committee if I could meet it in executive session. The source of that information was strictly confidential, and I think I would be betraying a trust if I said it in public. I would be glad to convey it to the chairman of this committee. I am not hedging here at all, but I think I have an obligation because the source was of such a nature—I think the chairman would be the first to recognize this. I will not refer to the source other than that.

Mr. WALTER. You couldn't make it much plainer.

Mr. VELDE. I don't think the witness should be required to answer except in executive session. We appreciate that.

Bishop OXNAM. I will be very happy, sir, to give you the source of that.

Mr. SCHERER. Bishop, at the time you got this information that Reverend McMichael was a member of the Communist Party, you reported it to the FBI, did you?

Bishop OXNAM. It was not necessary to report it there. Don't misunderstand me, sir. I am trying to keep a confidence here which I will be glad——

Mr. WALTER. You have said it very well, I assure you.

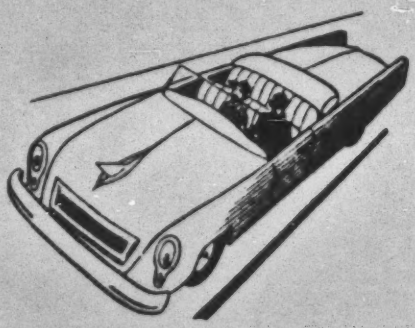
BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Reuther's

★ REVOLUTION ★

By J. B. Matthews

GAW IS A foredoomed economic illusion, certain to be dispelled sooner or later, so far as the wage earners of the UAW are concerned. In the meantime, however, the Guaranteed Annual Wage is a pleasing and profitable political reality for Walter Reuther, the president of the United Automobile Workers, CIO.



Any general wage increase throughout industry which is not based upon increased productivity is an economic mirage which lures the thirsting wage earner into the desert of inflation. GAW is just one more of the economic fallacies of socialism, the brunt of which must be borne by the poor socialist stiffs while the rewards of the fallacy accrue to their bosses, the socialist politicians.

All his adult life, Walter Reuther has been planning revolution. Only the forms and labels of his revolutionary plans have changed from time to time. First, last, and always he has been a left-wing politician.

Despite the efforts of his press agents — both the paid and the volunteer — the Reuther record of commitment to revolution is in the books where all who wish may read.

The New York *Times* has said, believe it or not, that Walter Reuther possesses a combination of "the most engaging qualities of Albert Einstein and Van Johnson."

The *Saturday Evening Post* has likened this Einstein-Johnsonesque fellow to "an undissipated Prince of Wales."

On December 16, 1949, one thousand self-styled liberals gathered in the Astor Hotel in New York to watch Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt pre-

From The American Mercury, September, 1955

sent Walter Reuther with a silver plaque and to listen to laudatory outbursts from Herbert Lehman, Maurice Tobin, Chester Bowles and others. Bowles averred that Walter Reuther is the sort of fellow who has "spearheaded the development of the American dream." Reuther himself announced to his assembled claque that the choice is not "between Wall Street and the Kremlin, Joe Stalin or Standard Oil, totalitarian communism or laissez-faire capitalism." What Reuther really meant was that *he* is the choice.

Harvard's Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., who brain-trusts the ADA (Americans for Democratic Action), is one of those who overflow with admiration of Walter Reuther. In his book, *The Vital Center*, Schlesinger writes: "Walter Reuther, the extraordinarily able and intelligent leader of the United Auto Workers, may well become in another decade the most powerful man in American politics." Which obviously means President of the United States!

The central fact about Walter Reuther's career is, of course, that he was the rabble-rousing, driving force of the sit-down strikes of 1936–1937. Those sit-down strikes were the largest single insurrectionary defiance of law and order in the history of the United States, excepting only the Civil War.

First Phase: Early Socialist Training

Walter Philip Reuther was born in Wheeling, West Virginia, September 1, 1907, the son of Valentine Reuther.

Walter's grandfather, Jacob Reuther, was well known as a socialist, a militant pacifist, and a labor agitator. Jacob gave his sons a thorough indoctrination in socialism.

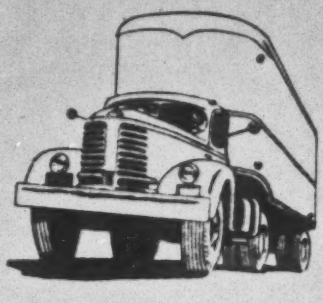
As a young man, Valentine Reuther moved to Wheeling where he became a steel worker, and then a teamster for a Wheeling brewery. Throughout Walter's childhood and youth, socialism was a lively topic of discussion in the Reuther home.

Walter quit high school in 1924 at the age of 16, and went to work for the Wheeling Steel Corporation as an apprentice tool and die maker, and at once plunged into unionism. In 1927, he was fired, and set out for Detroit to seek a job in the automotive industry. Walter's first job in Detroit was at the Briggs body plant. In a few weeks, he switched to Ford.

Walter had night work at Ford's, and so he took up his high school studies once more. In 1929, he entered the College of the City of Detroit (later renamed Wayne University).

In 1930, his brothers, Victor and Roy, went to Detroit and enrolled at Wayne University. All three became known as campus agitators. Continuing what was by then a Reuther tradition, the brothers harangued the Wayne students on socialism. In 1932, Walter brought a chapter of the League for Industrial Democracy to the Wayne campus.

When an effort was made to establish an ROTC on the Wayne campus, Walter and his brothers put their radical agitation into high gear. A Wayne professor who joined them was suspended from the faculty and was brought up on charges before the Detroit Board of Education. The Reuthers promptly organized a demonstration in behalf of the suspended faculty member. Their campaign was successful. The Wayne University authorities dropped the plan for an ROTC.



Second Phase:
Reuther Goes to Russia

A few weeks after the 1932 election, Walter and Victor decided to abandon the formal education of Wayne University in favor of a less academic preparation for their messianic careers — namely, experience in the workers' paradise of the Soviet Union.

For years, Walter and Victor have tried to distort the facts of their travel to and stay within the Soviet Union. In this effort, they have had the assistance of a wide variety of writers. They have tried to make it appear that Walter and Victor simply went on a general world tour, covering more than a score of countries without any special interest in any one of them. A press biographical service simply says that Walter "embarked on a world bicycle tour of Europe with his brother Victor, working in factories and studying union movements along the way." The Reuthers' trip abroad lasted from February, 1933, to October, 1935, or at least 32 months. Most of the period was spent in the Soviet Union, but there isn't a hint of that fact in the press biography.

Despite the wholesale distortions and false impressions, the fact is that the Reuther brothers embarked on an enthusiastic pilgrimage to the Soviet Union. That was their goal when they boarded ship in New York Harbor, in February, 1933. That was the goal they had achieved when they walked down the gangplank in San Francisco, in October, 1935.

By the beginning of 1934, Walter and Victor were in the Soviet Union at work in the large automobile plant at Gorky. They were writing letters to their friends in the United States, giving vent to unqualified enthusiasm over what they had found in the Soviet Union.

One letter to Melvin and Gladys Bishop has been widely quoted.

The Reuthers do not deny that they wrote a letter to the Bishops on or about January 21, 1934. Walter claims, however, that the printed

letter has been distorted. Both he and Victor decline to specify exactly where the distortions have been made. Walter's alibi is that the letter they wrote the Bishops was "a burst of adolescent enthusiasm," which amounts essentially to an admission of the letter's authenticity.

The letter reads, in part, as follows:

> Dear Mel and Glad:
>
> . . . the daily inspiration that is ours as we work side by side with our Russian comrades in our factory, the thought that we are actually helping to build a society that will forever end the exploitation of man by man, the thought that what we are building will be for the benefit and enjoyment of the working class, not only of Russia but the entire world, is the compensation we receive for our temporary absence from the struggle in the United States.
>
> Mel, you know Wal and I were always strong for the Soviet Union. You know we were always ready to defend it against the lies of reactionaries. . . . Here are no bosses to drive fear into the workers.
>
> . . . In all my life, Mel, I have never seen anything so inspiring. Mel, once a fellow has seen what is possible where workers gain power, he no longer fights just for an ideal, he fights for something which is real, something tangible.
>
> Carry on the fight for a Soviet America.
>
> VIC. and WAL.

There is no doubt about the authenticity of the "Vic and Wal" letter, despite the squirming of the Reuther brothers over its circulation.

The record leaves no doubt that the Reuther brothers went to Russia as Marxists and came away even more so. The pretense that they went and "found out the ugly truth" for themselves is an afterthought dictated by their interests as political adventurers.

Third Phase:
Collaboration with Communists

Walter and Victor came back to Detroit from the Soviet Union in the fall of 1935, having spent at least 18 months in the Communist Utopia.

Shortly after Reuther's return from the Soviet Union, he addressed a meeting of the Young People's Socialist League. After lauding the Soviet Union with enthusiasm, he declared pompously: "We do not believe in God."

In the early days of the organizing of the automobile industry, the Communists set up what they called "the unity caucus." Sworn testimony before the Dies Committee incorporated the following memorandum:

> There were present at this caucus Wyndham Mortimer, Ed Hall, Walter Reuther, and about 90 delegates to the convention who were actually Communist Party members. Also present were William Weinstone, Michigan secretary of the Communist Party; Jack Stachel, of New York, a member of the central com-

mittee of the Communist Party; Morris Childs, of Chicago, secretary of the Communist Party . . . Jack Johnstone, of Chicago, a member of the central committee . . . and Louis Budenz . . . a member of the staff of the *Daily Worker*.

Fourth Phase: Sit-down Strike Leader

Whatever happens to the Reuther ambitions along the way, he deserves a place in American history as the generalissimo of the sit-down strikes. His present position rests entirely upon those acts of violence in which he collaborated to the fullest with the Communist Party of the United States.

Shortly after his return from the Soviet Union, he joined the insignificant little union in the automotive industry. In practically no time, he had achieved the presidency of the West Side local of the auto union.

With a mere seventy-eight members in his local, half of whom were employed in the Kelsey-Hayes wheel plant, Reuther established his reputation for a fantastic boldness by introducing the sit-down strike to Detroit. This unlawful seizure of property was an importation from France where the Communists of that country had shown how it could be used for "collective bludgeoning" wherever government was palsied in the face of Communist violence.

Reuther called a meeting of fifteen reliable UAW goons who were employed at the Kelsey-Hayes plant. With a callousness toward moral considerations, this man who has received wide acclaim in religious circles recalls unblushingly how the plot was hatched at this meeting in his home. He says: "We needed something dramatic. We had a big Polish gal at the meeting who had fainted on the assembly line once before. We assigned her to faint again, and showed her how to do it. That was to be the signal. When she fainted, someone else was to shut down the assembly line. We trained a couple of men in pulling the right switches."

Everything went according to schedule. The Polish gal fainted; the switches were pulled. Kelsey-Hayes employees who had attended the plotting session at Reuther's home began to yell, "Strike! Strike!"

To make a long story short, Walter Reuther and his brother, Victor, engineered a ten-day sit-down seizure of the Kelsey-Hayes plant, and their union membership grew from seventy-eight to thirty thousand.

Fifth Phase: UAW Presidency

Walter Reuther became president of the UAW in March, 1946. The achievement of this milestone in the Reuther career was most significant.

Walter's victory over R. J. Thomas was tenuous, indeed. The vote was 4,444 for Reuther and 4,320 for Thomas. This smallest of majorities catapulted Walter toward his ultimate goal.

During the debate which preceded the balloting at the 1946

UAW convention, Reuther revealed something of the measure of his demagoguery. It should be remembered that Reuther's long and costly 1945-1946 strike against General Motors came to an end the week before the UAW convention. In the course of that strike, Reuther in true demagogic fashion harangued the American public with the contention that General Motors' "ability to pay" was a fundamental issue in his demand for a thirty percent wage increase. In connection with this alleged issue, Reuther introduced the novel labor union demand that he be allowed to "look at the company's books." Attacking Reuther's conduct of the GM strike, R. J. Thomas chided him about his "ability to pay" formula and his "look at the company's books" demand. Walter Reuther's amazing retort which did much to plumb the depths of his hypocrisy was that Thomas knew that his demand to see GM's books was "just a maneuver" calculated to "get the company over a barrel."

Even more significant in its revelation of Reuther's hypocrisy was his statement to the UAW convention immediately after his elevation to the union's presidency. Thousands of UAW members and many more thousands of the American public had been led by Reuther to believe that the major issue in his election contest with R. J. Thomas was Communism. Reuther had ranted up and down the ranks of the UAW with patriotic-sounding attacks upon the Communists in the union. The acknowledged leader of the so-called Communist faction in the UAW was George Addes, the union's secretary-treasurer. It was assumed on all sides that Reuther would, in the event of his election, proceed at once to the business of ousting Addes from his strategic position in the union. How else could the Communists be purged from the UAW? Addes was the symbol of Communist domination.

Imagine the shock, therefore, when Walter Reuther stood up and faced the convention, immediately after the voting, and said: "I want now to extend my hand to George Addes . . . and tell him that together we can unite this organization." Addes and his Communists refused Reuther's "extended hand."

Immediately after his election to the UAW presidency in 1946, the New York *Herald Tribune* editorially described Walter Reuther as a "dangerous and disingenuous opportunist" and a "reckless politician" and commented upon his "aggressive demagoguery." The aptness of these phrases cannot be questioned.

Sixth Phase:
Building Political Fences

Rightly, we should speak of Walter Philip Reuther, LL.D. He is, in fact, a Doctor of Laws. This degree was conferred on Reuther, May 30, 1948, by (Catholic) St. Mary's College, Moraga, California.

The Catholic weekly, *Commonweal*, has joined the parade of Reuther adulators. A lengthy article in that paper was subtitled "a man you can bet on."

Commonweal also falls for the Reuther propagandistic line about that stay of Walter and Victor in the Soviet Union. The paper says: "Then came the year in Russia, during which he [Walter] and Victor taught tool-making to Russian workers, studied the Soviet System from the inside and decided they didn't want that kind of socialism."

Lest anyone draw the rash conclusion that certain Catholics have been singled out for attack because of their moral astigmatism in the matter of Walter Reuther, let it be noted with emphasis that the standing of this socialist labor politician is equally high in Protestant officialdom. In the *National Council Outlook*, official organ of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. (October, 1954, page 21), Walter Reuther is pictured in the pose of handing a check for $200,000 to Methodist Bishop William C. Martin, then president of the National Council of Churches, "to help finance the Council's educational program in the area of the church and economic life."

This was not bad publicity for one aspiring to the Presidency of the United States. If Adlai Stevenson [illegible] in the same magazine in the [illegible] handing a check for $200,000 to the highest official in American Protestantism, the odor would be distinct in the most unsensitive nostrils.

Walter Reuther addressed the third annual convention of the United World Federalists in Cleveland in October, 1949.

World Government News, monthly magazine of the UWF, featured Reuther's appearance at this convention of crackpots, quoting an excerpt from his speech and publishing his picture. Said Reuther to the World Federalists: "I do believe that the work you people have been doing is the beginning of something that has tremendous importance in the world." On May 22, 1955 Walter Reuther was elected vice-president of United World Federalists.

Reuther has seized every opportunity to keep his name before the public. In season and out of season, he comes up with a "Reuther Plan." All of these "Reuther Plans" have one thing in common: they call for greater and greater government control over all the aspects of our economic life. He is by all odds the country's foremost national socialist. He has demonstrated that he is not in the slightest averse to the use of illegal and violent methods to achieve his ends. He has never repudiated the violence and terror of his sit-down strikes. Lacking such repudiation, his current disavowal of Communist sympathies is not worth the breath required to announce it.

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HEARINGS

before the

COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

1955

Testimony of
Anzelm A. Czarnowski
Chicago, Illinois
(who was in the Communist
Party for the F.B.I.)
before
The Committee on Un-American
Activities, U.S. House of Repre-
sentatives
August 1955
and
Mrs. Josephine Granat, Chicago Ill.
Compare the Fifth Amendment
procedure testimony with the
cooperative testimony of
Mr. Czarnowski.

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Chairman WALTER. The committee will come to order.

Call your next witness.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Czarnowski.

Chairman WALTER. Do you swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. CZARNOWSKI. I do.

TESTIMONY OF ANZELM A. CZARNOWSKI

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your full name?

Mr. CZARNOWSKI. Anzelm A. Czarnowski.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Czarnowski, I interrupted your testimony in executive session this afternoon to ask you about an entirely different matter than that about which you have been testifying today. For purpose of the record I want to ask a few questions about your background.

When and where were you born?

Mr. CZARNOWSKI. I was born in Poland, August 12, 1896.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did you come to this country?

Mr. CZARNOWSKI. In 1913.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you a naturalized American citizen?

Mr. CZARNOWSKI. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. When and where were you naturalized?

Mr. CZARNOWSKI. I was naturalized by act of Congress while I was in the Army, in Waco, Tex.

Mr. WILLIS. What Army?

Mr. CZARNOWSKI. In the the United States Army.

Mr. WILLIS. When?

Mr. CZARNOWSKI. In 1917.

Mr. WILLIS. The First World War?

Mr. CZARNOWSKI. The First World War, yes. I served 2 years in the United States Army.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Czarnowski, where do you now reside?

Mr. CZARNOWSKI. I reside at 7513 West 63d Street, Argo, Ill.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is that a suburb of Chicago?

Mr. CZARNOWSKI. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you lived in the vicinity of Chicago?

Mr. CZARNOWSKI. About 30 years.

Mr. TAVENNER. During that period of time did you have occasion to become a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. CZARNOWSKI. Yes, sir; during the war——

Mr. TAVENNER. Which war?

Mr. CZARNOWSKI. The Second World War; I had a boy in the service. The same business that I was in the First World War, and I got a job in a defense plant in La Grange, Ill., at the Electric Motors Corp. I was employed at the Electric Motors plant.

I had reported some Nazi activities or anti-American activities such as preventing of purchase of bonds and other Nazi activities for the FBI. They asked me whether I wanted to help them in combating communism and I agreed to that, provided I see my priest. So when that was done I joined to help them out.

Mr. TAVENNER. You wanted an explanation made to your priest as to the reason why you were entering the Communist Party?

Mr. CZARNOWSKI. Yes, sir. You see, my church, if I would be a member of the Communist Party, I would be subject to excommunication.

Mr. WILLIS. What church?

Mr. CZARNOWSKI. The Roman Catholic Church.

Mr. TAVENNER. After conference with your priest, you agreed to help the United States Government by working for the Federal Bureau of Investigation?

Mr. CZARNOWSKI. I didn't have a conference with the priest. I asked them to do it.

Mr. WILLIS. When was that?

Mr. CZARNOWSKI. That was about October 1943.

Mr. TAVENNER. For how long a period of time did you work for the United States Government in that capacity?

Mr. CZARNOWSKI. Up to January 20, 1955, when I became a star witness in the Lightfoot case.

Mr. TAVENNER. You were a witness for the Government in the Smith Act case against Lightfoot?

Mr. CZARNOWSKI. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Of course, that exposed your identity.

Mr. CZARNOWSKI. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. I understand you are giving the committee in executive testimony the benefit of your knowledge and experience during that period of time from 1943 until 1955.

Mr. CZARNOWSKI. Yes, sir.

Mr. WILLIS. What was that question again?

Mr. TAVENNER. I say I understand that he is now giving to the committee in executive session the benefit of his experience and knowledge within the Communist Party from 1943 until 1955. I do not want to duplicate effort by going into the general experience in the Communist Party and general knowledge at this time. What I do want to ask you is this. What position did you attain in the Communist Party, between 1952 and 1955?

Mr. CZARNOWSKI. I was a literature director for the Argo Branch and for the Electromotive Branch. They used to call that the Auto No. 1 Branch.

Mr. TAVENNER. Of the Communist Party?

Mr. CZARNOWSKI. Yes, that is an industrial branch.

Chairman WALTER. What union was that?

Mr. CZARNOWSKI. That was United Automobile Workers of America, CIO.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did your work in the Communist Party bring you in touch with the Communist Party section organization?

Mr. CZARNOWSKI. Yes, sir, I attended some of the section conventions and several section meetings.

Mr. TAVENNER. We are inquiring here at this open hearing about Communist Party activities in the propaganda work relating to the Rosenberg case. I want to confine my questions to that subject. While you were working as literature director, did the Communist Party take any action or engage in any activity in connection with the Rosenberg case?

Mr. CZARNOWSKI. There was some literature that was promoted by the section to be distributed to the cells, and they in turn distributed it to the public.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you required to participate in any way in that matter?

Mr. CZARNOWSKI. Yes, sir. The way we worked it is some of the literature, I am thinking of general literature, how they work it, which were 5 or 3 cents apiece, it is up to me to buy several of them and if I can collect my 3 or 5 cents, it is O. K., but if not, it is more important to have the person I contact read than to collect the 3 cents, even though it is out of my pocket. But the main thing was to distribute the literature. In our club each member had to take at least 5, some of them took 10, 25, 50.

Mr. TAVENNER. What particular literature are you talking about?

Mr. CZARNOWSKI. I am talking about all kinds of Communist literature. For instance, about the A-bomb, the Rosenberg case, the propaganda that is going on now to free Sobell, and many other such things. The Five-Power Conference, Peace Conference in Stockholm, and other such literature.

One interesting one was William Patterson's booklet, We Charge Genocide.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where did you obtain these documents?

Mr. CZARNOWSKI. I always got them from the Modern Bookstore, which is a Communist-controlled bookstore.

Mr. TAVENNER. In the city of Chicago?

Mr. CZARNOWSKI. Yes, 64 West Randolph Street in Chicago.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee just how you managed to get the material, what was the plan for getting the material from that bookshop?

Mr. CZARNOWSKI. Well, it all depends on the section or the branch. Now, in the section that I belonged to, I always had a certain amount of PA's which is Political Affairs. Then some Masses and Masses and Main Stream, and the Bucharest Peace is a paper from Bucharest, and then when I got to the bookstore and they had something real important they told me, "Now, here is a leaflet that should be used at the educational and for distribution." Some of that was one of the—if I see it—Rosenberg booklet, with the pictures of the Rosenbergs in it. It was gotten from the bookstore, distributed to branches, and the branches distributed it to the public.

Mr. TAVENNER. You have examined a number of pieces of Rosenberg literature presented to you by the staff and identified them as documents which you obtained from this Communist Party bookstore, have you not?

Mr. CZARNOWSKI. Yes, sir. I want to mention, too, that since a lot of people—you know, the American people despise the Communist, there is no question about it, but to have them read it, they go in a place and lose a leaflet, you know what I mean. I want to have it distributed here among people, I just drop one here and let it go. Then somebody else picks it up and reads it. Some people will get interested and read it. That is one way of distribution.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you identified certain of those articles of literature which you obtained?

Mr. CZARNOWSKI. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Those particular ones which you identified were published by the National Committee To Secure Justice for the Rosenbergs?

Mr. CZARNOWSKI. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was material also published by the Communist Party?

Mr. CZARNOWSKI. There was some literature it published.

Mr. TAVENNER. What were you told to do with this material which you got from the Communist Party bookstore dealing with the Rosenberg matter?

Mr. CZARNOWSKI. We were supposed to distribute that to the public. Each member of the Communist Party was responsible to purchase many copies and then distribute them to the public.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was that done in Chicago?

Mr. CZARNOWSKI. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you advised in any Communist Party meeting whether or not there was an organization that had been set up outside of the Communist Party to do the same thing?

Mr. CZARNOWSKI. No, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. You yourself don't know of any separate organization doing that same thing with regard to the Rosenberg documents in Chicago?

Mr. CZARNOWSKI. No, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. You are just telling us what was done by the Communist Party in regard to it?

Mr. CZARNOWSKI. Yes, sir, because I purchased some of this literature, whether I needed it or not.

Mr. TAVENNER. How was that Communist Party literature paid for, or was it paid for? I am speaking now of the Rosenberg material.

Mr. CZARNOWSKI. By the individual members of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you have to pay the bookstore for it, or did the bookstore make some arrangements about payment for it?

Mr. CZARNOWSKI. Well, I was told that I should lay out money for the section and they would pay me back, but they had a credit account, the southwest section of the Communinst Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Had a credit account at the bookstore?

Mr. CZARNOWSKI. Yes, at the bookstore, and at times when I didn't have any money, with me, they just put it on the books.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether the bookstore was actually paid or not by the Communist Party at a later date?

Mr. CZARNOWSKI. Yes, I know, because at one time they owed around $8 and they told me to tell the section.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was that work going on right up until the time that you stopped your work in the Communist Party to become a witness in the Lightfoot case?

Mr. CZARNOSKI. Yes, sir. I don't know just how close to it.

Mr. TAVENNER. I think that is all I want to ask him.

Chairman WALTER. Any questions?

Mr. WILLIS. Where were you born?

Mr. CZARNOWSKI. In Poland.

Mr. WILLIS. When did you enter the country?

Mr. CZARNOWSKI. In 1913.

Mr. WILLIS. And you are an American citizen?

Mr. CZARNOWSKI. Yes, sir.

Mr. WILLIS. We have had a lot of witnesses appear before us, Mr. Czarnowski, and while you were testifying I noticed some snickering going on in the room.

During these hearings there have been present Congressman Doyle from California, the Far West; Mr. Scherer from Ohio, somewhere in the midpart of the United States; Mr. Moulder from Missouri, which would be somewhere in the Midwest; Mr. Walter, our chairman, from the East; I am from the South, from Louisiana.

Now, let me tell you something. This Congress is composed of 435 Representatives of the people on the House side, and 96 on the Senate side. We disagree on many things—South, West, East, North. But there is one thing we don't disagree on, and that is our feeling toward people like you, born abroad, coming over here, dedicated to documents such as the Constitution of the United States, the Sermon on the Mount; you have come here without a lawyer, without a thick book before you to tempt us to question you about the book, opened your soul and told us exactly how you feel about these things.

May I say further: Don't give up. I think we know what we are talking about. I think that the representatives of the people here reflect by and large how we the people of America feel about this thing. We wouldn't be here very long unless we reflected that feeling. There may be some defections here and there, and now and then one who might go wrong, but by and large this Congress knows how the people feel.

Now, my dear friend, don't you give up what you are doing. You keep it up, and never mind the snickering from the back row. I compliment you, sir.

Mr. CZARNOWSKI. Thank you Mr. Congressman. I have one thing to say. This snickering is an old thing with me because I was helping the snickering, too, when I was a member of the Communist Party. That is one good way of finding Communists. I sure thank you very much.

Chairman WALTER. I think in that connection you might be interested in knowing that when the appropriation bill for the work of this committee came up in the House of Representatives there wasn't one single vote cast against it. When you consider that there are a great many very liberal Members in the House of Representatives, I think it bears out the truth of Mr. Willis' observation. Thank you very much, Mr. Czarnowski.

(Whereupon the witness was excused.)

Do you have another witness, Mr. Tavenner?

Mr. TAVENNER. Josephine Granat, will you come forward, please.

Chairman WALTER. Will you stand and raise your right hand. Do you swear the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mrs. GRANAT. I do.

Chairman WALTER. What was your reply?

Mrs. GRANAT. I said "I do."

TESTIMONY OF MRS. JOSEPHINE GRANAT, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, JOSEPH FORER

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you state your name, please.

Mrs. GRANAT. Mrs. Josephine Granat. G-r-a-n-a-t.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will counsel please identify himself for the record.

Mr. FORER. Joseph Forer, 711 14th Street NW., Washington, D. C.

Mrs. GRANAT. I would like to say that I also have a statement to make to the committee. I noticed the other witness did.

Chairman WALTER. If you just answer the questions asked by Mr. Tavenner, we will get along nicely.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where do you reside?

Mrs. GRANAT. 1163 East 54th Street, Chicago, Ill.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you lived in Chicago?

Mrs. GRANAT. Since the early forties.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, where you were born.

Mrs. GRANAT. Griffin, Ga.

Mr, TAVENNER. What has been your formal educational training?

Mrs. GRANAT. I am a graduate of the Illinois Institute of Technology, Chicago, Ill., 1948, department of political science. I studied at Chicago Teachers College, Chicago, Ill., during the summer of 1948, I believe, to get educational courses. Inasmuch as there is a tremendous amount of discrimination in employment, I could not find a job in my profession. I had to enter a business college. I entered a business school in 1949, Cortez-Peters Business College.

Chairman WALTER. Where is this discrimination?

Mrs. GRANAT. Chicago. I couldn't find a job.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your profession?

Mrs. GRANAT. Teaching.

Mr. TAVENNER. What has been your employment since 1949?

Mrs. GRANAT. Presently I am working for the Christian Advocate.

Mr. TAVENNER. What has been your employment from 1949 on?

Mrs. GRANAT. I will say regarding my employment, in 1949 I worked for the Chicago Tenants and Consumer Council.

Mr. TAVENNER. For how long a period?

Mrs. GRANAT. It was a period of a little more than a year, I don't remember exactly when; some time in 1950, in latter 1950 or 1951, I believe. The organization, after the rent-control act went out, after rent control expired, went out of existence.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was that a Federal employment job?

Mrs. GRANAT. No, it was not.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the nature of your position?

Mrs. GRANAT. I was secretary.

Mr. TAVENNER. Secretary of what?

Mrs. GRANAT. Of the Tenants Council.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was your next employment?

Mrs. GRANAT. Regarding any other questions along this line, I will tell you now I will refuse to answer on the basis of my privilege under the fifth amendment not to be a witness against myself.

Mr. WILLIS. In other words, you refuse to answer before you are questioned?

Mrs. GRANAT. He asked me.

Mr. WILLIS. Did he?

Mr. TAVENNER. I asked what her employment was after 1951.

Mr. WILLIS. I am sorry. I didn't realize it.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee whether or not Mr. Nelson Algren was at any time chairman of the Chicago Committee To Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case?

Mrs. GRANAT. It is a matter of public record, I am pretty certain, who the officers were of any committee that was established in Chicago.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you answer the question, please?

Mrs. GRANAT. I will refuse to answer for the same reason I have given before.

Mr. TAVENNER. May I ask a direction of the witness to answer.

Chairman WALTER. I direct you to answer the question.

Mrs. GRANAT. I will abide by my refusal.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, Nelson Algren, if you recall, was subpenaed as a witness before the committee, but you postponed his appearance for some special reason that he took up with you.

Chairman WALTER. I believe he was ill.

Mr. TAVENNER. I am not sure that was it, but he was finally reached in Montana and you continued his appearance.

I hand you a photostatic copy of any authorized signature for the Chicago Committee To Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case which was procured by subpena duces tecum by the committee, and I will ask you to examine it, please, and state whether or not the name Jo Granat appears as secretary of the organization in August 1952 (handing document to witness).

Mrs. GRANAT. It says Jo Granat.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you the secretary as indicated on the authorized signature card?

Mrs. GRANAT. I feel very strongly about the Rosenberg case.

Chairman WALTER. Never mind that. We don't care how you feel about the Rosenberg case.

Mrs. GRANAT. I want to answer in my own way, if you don't mind.

Chairman WALTER. You are not going to make a speech. Answer the question.

Mrs. GRANAT. I am sorry, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman WALTER. You are not going to make a speech. You understand that?

Mrs. GRANAT. Mr. Chairman, if I am going to answer questions, I will answer it in my own way.

Chairman WALTER. We have our own feeling about the Rosenberg case. What was the question?

Mr. TAVENNER. Whether or not she was executive secretary in August 1952 of the Chicago Committee To Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case.

Mrs. GRANAT. Do you want my answer to that question?

Chairman WALTER. That is a simple question.

Mrs. GRANAT. I will answer it in my way. No one will tell me how to answer a question.

Chairman WALTER. Yes or no, or the fifth amendment, but I don't want to hear your views.

Mrs. GRANAT. I don't want you to put words in my mouth.

Chairman WALTER. Answer the question.

Mrs. GRANAT. I will answer it in my way, if this committee wants to hear my answer.

Chairman WALTER. You are not going to make a speech.

Mrs. GRANAT. I have no desire to make a speech, and I will answer the question.

Chairman WALTER. No, you are not going to read whatever this drivel is, this Commie stuff that we have heard so much.

Mrs. GRANAT. Inasmuch as you have made up your own mind about this committee, I don't know why you are wasting the taxpayers' money with these hearings.

Chairman WALTER. Will you answer the question, please.

Mrs. GRANAT. I will answer the question this way.

Chairman WALTER. No, you are not going to read that paper.

Mrs. GRANAT. I will answer the question, I will refuse to answer the question based on my basis of the fifth amendment, which is my privilege not to testify against myself.

Mr. TAVENNER. Attached to the photostatic copy of the authorized signature card is a certificate of authority for organization which closes with this language:

> In witness whereof, I have subscribed my name as executive secretary and have caused the seal of said organization to be hereunto affixed. Jo Granat, Secretary.

Is that your signature (handing document to witness)?

Mrs. GRANAT. I will refuse to answer for the same reason I have given before.

Mr. TAVENNER. I desire to offer the document in evidence and ask it be marked as "Granat Exhibit No. 1," for identification purposes only and made a part of the committee files.

Chairman WALTER. Mark it and let it be received.

Mr. TAVENNER. The committee's investigation, Mrs. Granat, shows or indicates that you were a member of the policy committee of a con-

vention held in the city of Chicago in 1953, and on that committee were Herman Tamsky and Dr. Leonard Tushnet of New Jersey.

Did you serve on such a committee with Dr. Tushnet of New Jersey and Herman Tamsky of Massachusetts?

Mrs. GRANAT. I will refuse to answer for the same reason that I have given before.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was Dr. Tushnet known to you to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. GRANAT. I will refuse to answer for the same reason I have given before.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was Herman Tamsky known to you to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. GRANAT. I think you know the purpose; this has nothing to do with what your stated purpose of this investigation was.

Chairman WALTER. We are the best judges of that. Proceed.

Mrs. GRANAT. I resent this line of questioning. I think that it is a real abridgment of the first amendment of our Constitution, which guarantees the right of free speech, the right of freedom of association. For that reason I will refuse to answer and also I will refuse to answer on the same basis that I have stated before.

Mr. WILLIS. Why don't you stand only on the first amendment?

Mrs. GRANAT. You will not tell me how to answer these questions.

Chairman WALTER. Proceed, Mr. Tavenner.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did Donald Rothenberg from Ohio and Reid Robinson from California serve on an organizational committee at that convention in Chicago in 1953?

Mrs. GRANAT. I refuse to answer for the same reason.

Mr. TAVENNER. The committee in the course of its investigation has learned that you remitted certain sums collected in the city of Chicago to the national organization of the Committee To Secure Justice in the Rosenbergs Case. It was indicated that only half the sum collected was remitted. Will you tell the committee whether or not it was the practice to reserve for local purposes one-half of such funds collected?

Mrs. GRANAT. Your question is a very vague one. I have no idea what you are talking about, and I would refuse to answer it anyway on the basis of the——

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you make remittances to the national organization of funds collected?

Mrs. GRANAT. I will refuse to answer on the same basis I have stated before.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you make remittances on the basis of 50 percent of what was collected?

Mrs. GRANAT. I will refuse to answer that on the same basis I have stated before.

Mr. TAVENNER. The committee's investigation further discloses that a Civil Rights Congress and Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade rally—that is, a rally sponsored by those organizations—was held on March 4, 1953, in honor of Steve Nelson at the People's Auditorium in Chicago. Did you participate in it?

Mrs. GRANAT. I refuse to answer on the same basis that I have stated before.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you shortly after March 4, 1953, resign as executive secretary of the Chicago Committee To Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case?

Mrs. GRANAT. That is a loaded question and you know it. I wi refuse to answer on the same basis I have stated before.

Mr. TAVENNER. It is not a loaded question. I want to know wheth or not you withdrew from that organization in order to select anothe position. I don't care how the question is put. You can put the question yourself and answer it.

Mrs. GRANAT. I will refuse to answer on the same basis I have stated before.

Mr. TAVENNER. Didn't you a few months after March 4, 1953, b come the executive secretary of the Civil Rights Congress?

Mrs. GRANAT. I will refuse to answer that on the same basis.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you secretary of the Lightfoot Defense Co mittee?

Mrs. GRANAT. I will refuse to answer that question on the same ba

(The witness consulted with her counsel.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you at any time a member of the Internati Workers Order?

Mrs. GRANAT. I will refuse to answer on the basis that I have st before.

(The witness consulted with her counsel.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Wasn't your appointment or selection as exec secretary of the Civil Rights Congress announced publicly on M 1954, by John T. Bernard, former member of Congress, acting as ch man of the Civil Rights Congress?

Mrs. GRANAT. Mr. Tavenner, I have never been selected, appoint or any of these things that you are trying to infer. Whatever I h ever done I have done on the basis of my own, the dictates of my conscience, whatever I have said I have said, whatever I felt ever actions I have taken, nobody tells me what to do, just as not going to tell me here today how to answer anything, because n body does.

Chairman WALTER. Answer the question, please.

Mrs. GRANAT. I will refuse to answer on the basis of my priv lege under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. You said you were not elected or appointed. Were you in any manner acting as executive secretary of the Civil Rights Congress?

Mrs. GRANAT. I refuse to answer on the same basis.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you now a member of the Communist Part ?

Mrs. GRANAT. I refuse to answer on the same basis as I have st ted before. You know if you were really interested in doing somet about the injustices or what you consider un-American activitie seems to me you ought to participate or join in the request for an vestigation of the Rosenberg-Sobell trial. In that way the fact of the case will be revealed.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you connected in any way with an organiza- tion or committee for justice or for clemency for Morton Sobell?

Mrs. GRANAT. I will refuse to answer that on the same basis.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have no further questions.

Chairman WALTER. The witness is excused. Call your nex ness, Mr. Tavenner.

(Whereupon the witness was excused.)

LAYMEN AND CLERGY AT ODDS ON ROLE OF CHURCH IN POLITICS

A five-year controversy in the Protestant church is disclosed now for the first time.

The issue: Should the clergy take sides in political, social, economic questions?

A committee of prominent laymen, says the chairman, believes the church is getting too deeply into political action.

Protestant clergy, the lay group believes, ought to hold more closely to religious matters, stop issuing controversial statements in other fields. But the clergy, with the upper hand, now have permitted the 190-person committee to be dissolved.

The final outcome: Still uncertain.

A conflict has been boiling up within the Protestant church over the question of whether the clergy should take sides in political controversies.

This dispute, going on beneath the surface for five years, has come out into the open now with the final report of a laymen's committee of the National Council of Churches of Christ, central organization of Protestant denominations.

The lay group, composed of 190 persons, was dissolved last year after a protracted argument with the clerical heads of the National Council.

Members of the lay group represented many fields—20 in education, 15 in banking, 29 in manufacturing, 14 in labor-union executive positions, 15 in law, 10 in medicine, 8 in agriculture. They also included editors, publishers, State and federal officials, judges, scientists, people in various other fields.

Dangers pointed out. J. Howard Pew, chairman of the lay committee and former president of the Sun Oil Company, summed up the disagreement in a letter accompanying his final report to members of the committee:

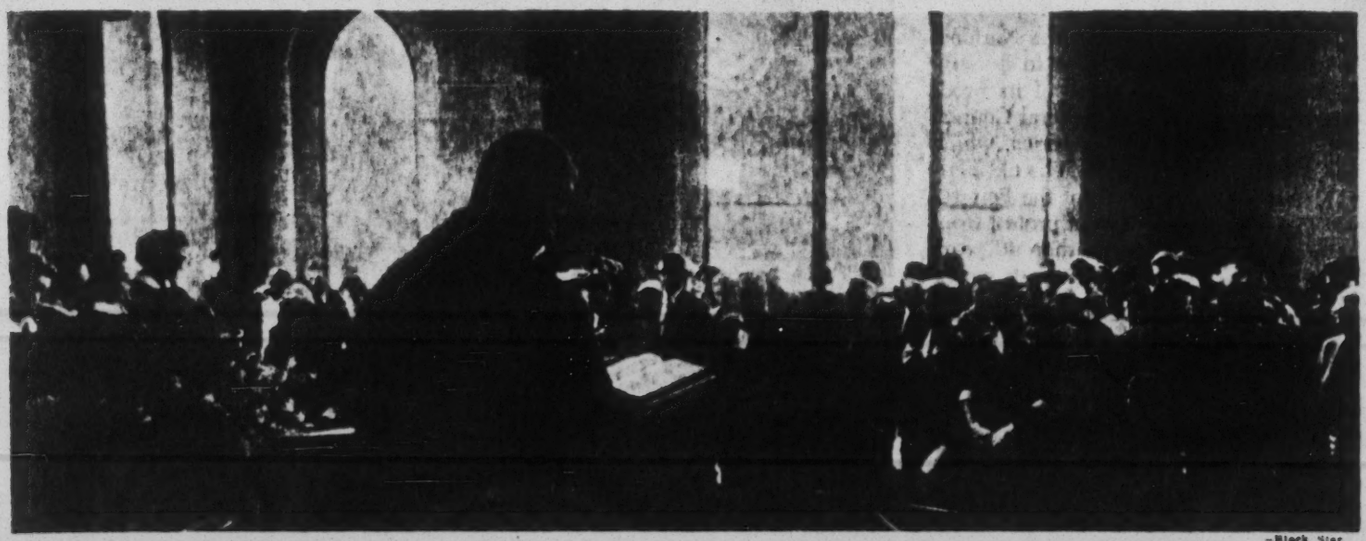
"Throughout our Committee's term of life, it repeatedly brought to the Council's attention the seriousness of the problems involved in its issuance of controversial statements and studies in the fields of sociology, economics and politics; and the danger inherent in speaking to official Washington and the United Nations General Assembly in behalf of Protestantism on matters outside their field and for which they possessed no mandate."

In pressing these views on the Council's General Board, Mr. Pew eports the lay group found itself "not only deeply in the minority but often poles apart from the clergy who invariably outvoted us 10 to 1."

The lay report contends that the clergy's view, while predominant in the Council, would not necessarily prevail if put to the test in congregations of the member churches.

"It was at a General Board meeting in Chicago, May 18-19, 1953," the lay chairman reported, "that we realized the extent and character of the philosophy held currently by most of the ordained executives and officers directing the work of the several denominational headquarters staffs, and therefore of the National Council.

"Their philosophy, it seemed to the lay committee, looked to an ever-expand-



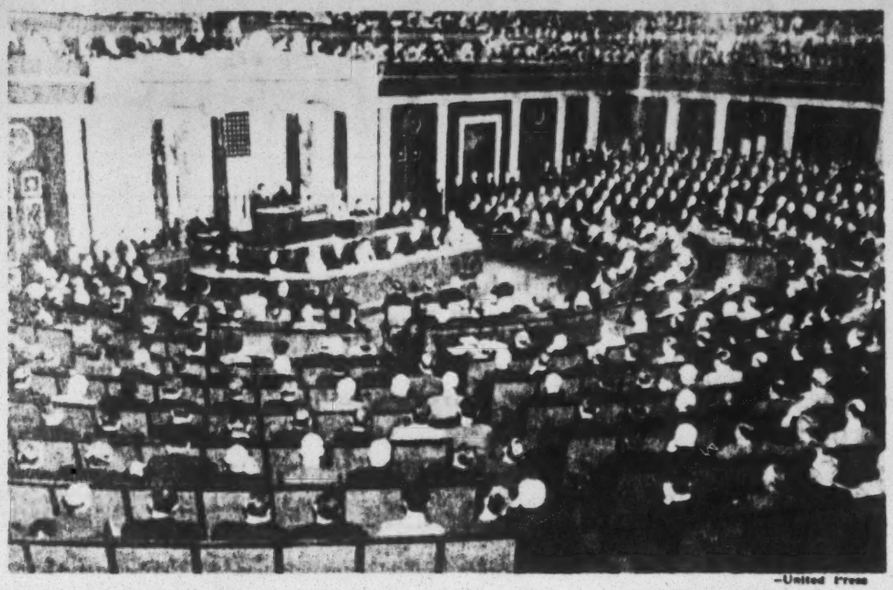
—Black Star

A CHURCH SERVICE

Are local pastors "closer to lay people" than national officers?

[continued]

CHURCH GROUPS AT ODDS OVER POLITICS



—United Press

WHEN CONGRESS CONSIDERS NATIONAL ISSUES . . .
. . . some clergymen take a stand on them

ing government. Clergy and laity active in organized Protestantism seemed to have lost the capacity to understand each other.

"We, as lay people, were alarmed and unhappy as the National Council assumed the right to speak increasingly on subjects in which it was difficult to see ethical or spiritual content for that inarticulate and voiceless body called '34 million Protestants.'"

Long-standing protest. By and large, Mr. Pew said, members of his committee agreed to serve in the first place only because they were assured that the National Council would avoid "political involvements and controversies."

Yet, says the Pew report, the National Council's policies turned out to be substantially the same as those of its predecessor organization, the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, which was in existence until 1950. The old Federal Council, in the words of the Pew report, "had been the object of protest from many lay sources for more than 40 years for its issuance of pronouncements which elevated the state to a position where it would increasingly control the production and the lives of its citizens."

A number of specific issues—political, social and economic—became involved in the controversy between the Pew committee and the various agencies of the National Council.

In 1953, for example, a study conference in Cleveland, convened under authority of the Council's General Board, adopted a resolution opposing the Bricker Amendment, then under consideration in Congress. This proposed Amendment to the Constitution, if it had been adopted, would have restricted the President's authority to make treaties.

Mr. Pew and others protested against any Council action on this subject, asserting the issue was not "ethical or religious," Bishop William C. Martin, then president of the Council, pointed out that the resolution was passed only by a study conference, not by the General Board. However, the Pew report argues, a widespread impression was created that the Protestant church had taken an official position.

Red investigations an issue. On another occasion, the National Council urged Congress to put an end to "procedural abuses" on the part of investigating committees. The Council protested, among other things, "the forcing of citizens, under pretext of investigation of subversive activities, to testify concerning their personal economic and political beliefs."

On that stand of the Council, again, the Pew report says the announcement was given to the press "as reflecting the views of over 34 million church members assumed to be represented by the National Council." The report adds: "Certain members of the Lay Committee have indicated their belief that such statements from the National Council might influence the American people to believe that Communism is nothing more than a personal economic or political belief and that it is a gross invasion of personal privacy for a congressional witness to be questioned as to whether he is or ever has been a member of the Communist Party."

The Pew report criticizes the National Council for expressing views on "controversial" issues involving the United Nations. In September, 1954, the Council authorized officers to write the U. S. delegation to the U. N. General Assembly on issues such as strengthening the U. N., unification and rehabilitation of Korea, collective security, reduction of arma-

(Continued on page 46)

—United Nations

WHEN U. N. DEBATES ARE CONTROVERSIAL . . .
. . . should the churches keep out of it?

[continued]

CHURCH GROUPS AT ODDS OVER POLITICS

ments, technical assistance to underdeveloped countries, refugees.

In April, 1953, members of the lay committee spoke out sharply against a statement of economic principles drafted by the Council's Department of the Church and Economic Life. After a meeting at which the lay group voted unanimously to recommend against approval of the statement by the General Board, Mr. Pew wrote as follows to members of the committee who had not been present:

"Almost every member of the Committee spoke against this statement. It was frequently labeled a 'socialistic statement' and almost as frequently 'communistic.' Mr. John T. Jones, of the United Mine Workers of America, said that he would never have joined our Committee had he known that such a statement would be considered by the National Council."

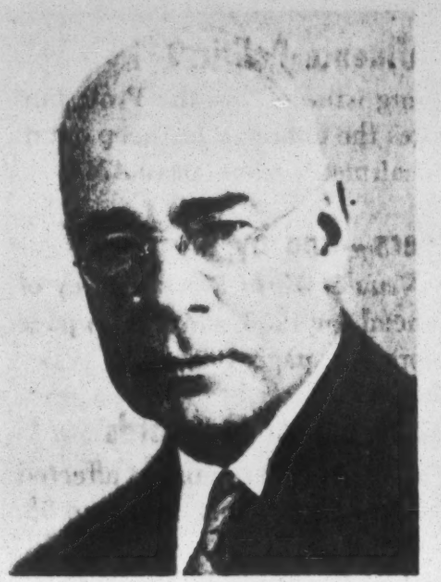
In the end, the General Board voted to send the statement back to the Department of the Church and Economic Life for revision.

Criticism of Board. In his report, Mr. Pew says the following are "typical" of the comments he received from committee members in the late months of 1954:

"Greater concentration and attention than ever is being given economic and political questions; I thought that this was a religious organization."

"The majority of the General Board decisions are made without proper consideration and far too little research."

"Questions that Congress must take months to decide are disposed of in the General Board inside a half hour."



J. HOWARD PEW
. . . would avoid "political involvements"

In another effort to persuade the National Council to avoid taking sides on public issues, the Pew committee adopted a "lay affirmation" in September, 1954, by a vote of 115 to 15. The key paragraph read:

"Our Committee believes that the National Council of the Churches impairs its ability to meet its prime responsibility when, sitting in judgment on current secular affairs, it becomes involved in economic or political controversy having no moral or ethical content, promoting division where unity of purpose should obtain, nor do we believe that the National Council has a mandate to engage in such activities."

Laymen see chasm in thinking. As for what happened, Mr. Pew now writes:

"When the General Board took no action on this 'Lay Affirmation' beyond voting to receive the document with gratitude, most of the members of the Lay Committee came finally to the realization that a wide chasm existed between the thinking of the laity and the clergy and the executives of the denominational bodies which comprise the National Council."

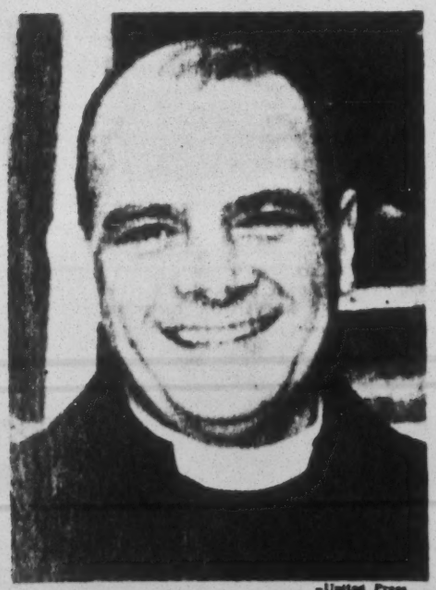
After this setback, B. E. Hutchinson, member of the lay committee and a retired executive of Chrysler Corporation, stepped in to seek a meeting of minds with top officers of the National Council. Mr. Hutchinson was chairman of a subcommittee appointed for that purpose.

At stake was not only the National Council's policy, but also the existence of the lay committee itself. Unless continued by the Council, the committee was to go out of existence in mid-1955. In a lengthy session with the Council officers on Oct. 29, 1954, Mr. Hutchinson proposed that the committee be continued, but with more autonomy than it had enjoyed in the past.

Committee's role ended. Three months later, on Jan. 26, 1955, the Rev. Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, who had succeeded Bishop Martin as president of the National Council, notified Mr. Hutchinson that the lay committee would not be continued. Dr. Blake invited committee members to take part in other activities of the Council. This, he said, was based on a decision of the Council's policy and strategy committee.

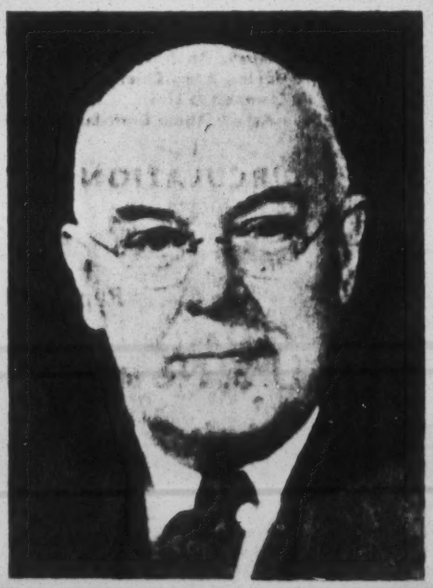
In reply, Mr. Hutchinson said, among other things: "The action of the committee on policy and strategy you report tends to confirm the attitude of official intransigency on the part of the National Council leadership to which such widespread exception is taken by so many good people, both ministerial and lay, and is so at variance with my own personal experience of Christian fellowship with some of the Council leaders individually as to leave me more than a little bewildered and confused."

That is the story, as related by Mr. Pew's report and accompanying documents. Mr. Pew, looking back over his committee's work, speaks of it as "the failure of this most important effort to bring about an enduring partnership between the clergy and laity."



—United Press

THE REV. DR. EUGENE C. BLAKE
. . . spoke for the National Council



B. E. HUTCHINSON
. . . spoke for the laymen

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★ Forecast for '56 by Builders—and by Ike

You get the results of a *U.S. News & World Report* survey of what the nation's builders see ahead for 1956, starting on page 24. The President's economic forecast, page 102.

★ Integration: What It Does to School Standards

For a study of how two years of mixed classrooms has affected educational levels in Washington, D.C., schools, see page 38.

★ Cover Articles: Ease Up or Tighten Credit? Page 21. Now —the Atomic Army, interview with General Taylor, page 64.

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VOL. NO. V, NO. 11 June 1, 1956

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN PART II

The subject of pro-communist activity at the University of Wisconsin was discussed at the recent meeting of the National Americanism Commission. As a direct result of this deliberation a resolution was approved by the National Executive Committee of The American legion which reads as follows:

WHEREAS, The University of Wisconsin, a land grant college, maintains a policy of officially recognizing the Labor Youth League, an organization declared to be a Communist front organization by the House Committee on Un-American Activities and further declared to be subversive by the Attorney General of the United States and the Subversive Activities Control Board and;

WHEREAS, the University of Wisconsin, a land grant college, has followed a policy of allowing definitely pro-communist speakers to regularily appear before the Student Body, allowing them use of tax supported facilities to spread their vicious propaganda, and;

WHEREAS, Attempts by The American Legion, Dept. of Wisconsin for the past 3 years to effect a change in such policy of the University has not produced any change in such policy or indications that any changes are contemplated, and;

WHEREAS, An investigation of the University by the House Un-American Activities Committee would provide an impartial review of the seriousness of the situation in respect to Communist infiltration of said University.

NOW THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, By the National Executive Committee of The American Legion that the National Commander or his designated representative is hereby mandated to call upon the House Committee on Un-American Activities to conduct such an investigation as expeditiously as possible.

INVESTIGATION NEEDED

An investigation by the House Committee on Un-American Activities Committee seems to be very much in order. There are a number of witnesses who might be able to enlighten us about past and present subversive activity on the campus.

BARBARA ANN DARLING who attended the University in 1946 appeared before the HUAC on June 17, 1953 and refused to answer questions relative to membership in the Communist Party. (See HUAC, Investigation of Commu-

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VOL. NO. V, NO. 22 November 1, 1956

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION, PART II

Resolution No. 446 of the recent National Convention of The American Legion charges that the ACLU continues to defend both individuals and organizations whose aims and purposes are inimical to the best interest of the United States. The Legion position is substantiated by the public record of the ACLU.

RECENT ACTIVITIES

October 1, 1956

The American Civil Liberties Union is providing counsel for Paul Wellman, Communist convicted under Smith Act, in proceedings to have his VA pension restored. Its prime concern is "equal treatment under the law."

It has also undertaken a suit to test constitutionality of the Illinois state election code. It contends that refusing to put Howard Mayhew, Socialist Workers' Party candidate for Congress on the ballot, on the grounds that his party is "subversive," constitutes violation of 1st and 14th Amendments as well as of free speech provisions of Illinois constitution. (See "Industrial Worker", October 1, 1956, page 4).

September 26, 1956

The American Civil Liberties Union filed an Amicus Curiae Brief with the United States Supreme Court defending the right of an individual to write, publish and disseminate obscene or indecent literature.

"The statute at bar proscribes obscene literature by punishing those who write, publish and disseminate it. There are approximately forty-six other states, and numerous local committees, with similar legislation. These statutes, however, appear to be bottomed on the notion that sex discussion is somehow unfit to assume its preferred position in our constitutional system. It is the belief of petitioner that this view is inconsistent with the principle that freedom of expression is indivisible; and that the statute at bar is, on its face, and as construed and applied, unconstitutional as a prior restraint on speech, and as unwarranted state action in the absence of an immediate and serious casual relation between the objectionable passages of a book, and the reader's overt response thereto." (See Motion For Leave To File Brief Amicus Curiae and Brief, In The Supreme Court of the United States, October Term, 1956, David S. Alberts vs. State of California, page 2).

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September 8, 1956

"The American Civil Liberties Union filed an Amicus Curiae Brief with the United States Supreme Court to void the Smith Act and set aside the conviction of members of the Communist Party under that Act." (See Brief For American Civil Liberties Union, Amicus Curiae In The Supreme Court of the United States, October Term, 1956; Oleta O'Connor Yates, Henry Steinberg, Loretta Starvus Stack, Frank Efroim Spector, Albert Jason Lima, Carl Rude Lambert, Rose Chernin Kusnitz, Ernest Otto Fox, Ben Dobbs, Dorothy Healey Connelly, and Frank Carlson vs. United States of America; Stephen Mesarosh, also known as Steve Nelson, Benjamin L. Careathers, Irving Weissman, James H Dolsen, and William Albertson, vs. United States of America.)

August 14, 1956

Patrick Murphy Malin, Executive Director, American Civil Liberties Union, attacked the House Committee on Un-American Activities stating:

"You will not be astonished to learn that the American Civil Liberties Union still believes that the letter and spirit of the First Amendment make the mandate of the House Committee on Un-American Activities unconstitutional or unwise, or both. That has been the Union's belief ever since the committee was established in the late 1930's. . .

"Inside or outside its mandate, the committee has heretofore usually limited its investigation of opinion and association to that which it has held to be related to illegal action. But large parts of the questioning in the recent hearings on two activities of The Fund For The Republic--the John Cogley report on blacklisting and the Plymouth Friends Meeting library award--have overstepped even the committee's own established boundaries. So this is the time to urge that no committee with such a mandate should be appointed when the new Congress convenes next January. (There are other committees on internal security with much better mandates.)..." (See "The Washington Post", August 14, 1956, page 22).

June 4, 1956

The opposition of American Civil Liberties Union to state Sedition Laws was reported as follows:

"A bill to restore the validity of state anti-sedition laws was opposed by the American Civil Liberties Union in a statement issued yesterday. The bill, it was declared, would lead to "substantial infringements on the rights of free speech, association and due process. . .

"The ACLU argued in its memorandum that local enforcement efforts have resulted in violations of free speech and due process. 'The most glaring example of this abuse,' it said, 'is the California Un-American Activities Committee, when it was headed by State Senator Jack B. Tenney. The reports of this Committee are jammed with the names of persons and organizations who have no sympathy for Communism but who nonetheless are labeled as supporters of Communist-front organizations and charged with Communist sympathy. No opportunity was given to reply to these charges.'

"The ACLU memo stressed that retaining anti-sedition efforts in the hands of the Federal government would 'minimize the possibility of

multiple harassment through repetitive prosecutions.' It cited the case of Communist leader Steve Nelson, who is facing federal prosecution for violation of the Smith Act's prohibition against advocating violent overthrow of the government. At the same time, the state of Pennsylvania pressed a sedition prosecution based on the same prohibitions as in the Smith Act, and the U. S. Supreme Court ruled the Pennsylvania law unconstitutional." (See "Daily Worker", June 4, 1956, page 3).

May 28, 1956

The American Civil Liberties Union was reported to have given support to a convicted Communist as follows:

"The American Civil Liberties Union urged the United States Supreme Court yesterday to reverse a decision of the California Supreme Court.

"The decision upheld the dismissal of a laboratory employe who had been a member of the Communist Party, the union said. An arbitration board ruled that Cutter Laboratories of Berkeley had dismissed Miss Doris Walker for trade union work. It ordered her reinstatement.

"The California Supreme Court refused to accept the award. The court declared that reinstatement would be against public policy because it would be assumed that as a Communist she was dedicated to the practice of sabotage. The court referred to Cutter's manufacture of antibiotics and medical supplies for civilian and military use.

"In a friend-of-the-court brief the Civil Liberties Union said the state court ruling had violated the due process and equal protection clauses of the Fourteenth Amendment of the Constitution." (See "New York Times," May 28, 1956).

April 25, 1956

Support of defiance of a congressional committee was reported as follows:

". . .A subpenaed Los Angeles Philharmonic violinist hurled a direct First Amendment challenge at the Committee's very existence. Violinist George Kast, with the full backing of the American Civil Liberties Union of Southern California, refused to answer the committee's questions on grounds they violated the First Amendment and other portions of the Bill of Rights by 'invading my personal opinions and associations about which I may speak or remain silent as I choose.' Kast was recently banned from the Philharmonic's current goodwill tour of Asia by the State Dept. The ACLU told the press it is prepared to back his challenge all the way to the Supreme Court." (See "Daily Worker", April 25, 1956, page 7).

April 24, 1956

The Philadelphia chapter of the ACLU was reported to have urged repeal of the Smith Act as follows:

"Repeal of the Smith Act has been urged by the American Civil Liberties Union. In a letter to Senator Thomas C. Hennings (D-Mo.), chairman of the Senate's Committee on Constitutional Rights, the civil liberties group charged that the Smith Act 'opens the door to prosecution of people for their political beliefs and activities.'

"The letter was signed by Alexander H. Frey, president of the local ACLU branch and professor of law at the University of Pennsylvania. (See "Daily Worker", April 24, 1956, page 3).

February 21, 1956

The American Civil Liberties Union was reported to have directly assisted the communist cause as follows:

"The American Civil Liberties Union has called upon the U. S. government to reverse a ruling removing social security benefits from employes of the Communist Party.

"Patrick M. Malin, executive director of the ACLU, in a letter to U. S. Welfare Secretary Marion B. Folsom, argued for reversal on the grounds that the Department of Health, Education and Welfare had confused foreign governments with foreign agents.

"According to Malin, the government is operating on the theory that the social security laws bars payments to persons in the employ of a foreign government and equates Communist Party employment with that of employment by a foreign government." (See "Daily Worker", February 21, 1956, page 3).

January 11, 1956

The American Civil Liberties Union was reported to have gone to the aid of a convicted World War II deserter from the United States Army as follows:

"The American Civil Liberties Union has filed a complaint in the Federal District Court here challenging a section of the 1940 Nationality Act which requires loss of citizenship by native-born Americans convicted by court martial for desertion from the Armed Forces in time of war.

"Patrick Murphy Malin, ACLU executive director, said yesterday that Osmond K. Fraenkel, ACLU counsel, filed the complaint in behalf of Albert L. Trop of Long Beach, N. Y.

"When Trop applied in 1952 for a passport, he was informed by the State Department that he had lost his citizenship as a result of his World War II conviction as a deserter." (See "Daily Worker", January 11, 1956, page 8).

IMPORTANT NOTICE

A cumulative index for all individuals named in The Firing Line and in the special reports of the Counter-Subversive Section from January 1954 through April 1956 has been prepared by Miss Betty Campbell and Miss Joy Johnson of St. Paul, Minnesota. Those who work in the Counter-Subversive Activities program of The American Legion will appreciate the tremendous value of such an index. To these ladies go our heartfelt thanks and appreciation for their efforts.

Copies of the index may be obtained at a cost of $1.00 each by writing to the Firing Line, P. O. Box 1055, Indianapolis, Indiana.

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VOL. NO. V, NO. 21 October 15, 1956

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION

The American Legion has asked the House Un-American Activities Committee to investigate the American Civil Liberties Union. National Commander W. C. "Dan" Daniel has telegraphed Rep. Francis E. Walter, of Pennsylvania, Committee Chairman, urging such an investigation in keeping with a resolution passed by the Legion's recent National Convention in Los Angeles.

At the same time, Commander Daniel called on the American Civil Liberties Union to prove that "the Communist Party in the United States does not constitute a danger, as it contended in a recent brief which it filed before the Supreme Court."

"The Brief", he explained, "urges the Supreme Court to reverse the conviction of 16 communists under the Smith Act."

Commander Daniel challenged the American Civil Liberties Union suggestion that "the strength of the communist party has been so slight since 1950 that it could not be supposed that any attempt to overthrow the government by force would be feasible in the foreseeable future."

Asserting that The American Legion disagrees strongly with such an assumption, Commander Daniel said:

"The validity and constitutionality of the Smith Act are not dependent upon the relative strength of the Communist Party in the United States. Those who suggest otherwise might just as well contend that a murderer of only a few persons should be released because he didn't kill hundreds or thousands of people."

Commander Daniel called on the American Civil Liberties Union "to reconcile its position with finding of FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover that there are at least ten fellow travelers and sympathizers in this country for each of the more than 21,000 card carrying members of the communist party in the United States".

He also called on that organization "to justify its brief in the face of evidence from Congressional Committees that the Communist Party in this country is 'a Russian-inspired, Moscow dominated, anti-American, quasi-military conspiracy against our government, our ideals, and our freedoms.'"

If the American Civil Liberties Union has evidence to refute the findings of the FBI and Congressional Committees concerning the danger of the Communist conspiracy in this country, it owes it to the American people to make known such evidence", Commander Daniel said.

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Acknowledging that his challenge places The American Legion in open opposition to the American Civil Liberties Union, Commander Daniel declared "we welcome this challenge. The American Legion stands ready to battle that organization or any other group we believe is not serving the best interest of our country. If need be, we stand ready to educate the American Civil Liberties Union in the fundamental facts of life concerning the true nature and danger of the communist conspiracy".

"It is tragic that any Americans could be so ignorant of or indifferent to these facts. They need not be because a realistic and objective review of the past will reveal that the communist conspiracy does pose a present and dangerous threat to the safety and security of the United States, the position of the American Civil Liberties Union to the contrary notwithstanding".

WHERE DOES THE ACLU STAND IN REGARD TO THE COMMUNIST PARTY?

The American Civil Liberties Union on September 8, 1956 filed an Amicus Curiae Brief on behalf of two groups of convicted Communists. The first group constisted of:

Oleta O'Connor Yates, Henry Steinberg, Loretta Starvus Stack, Frank Efriom Spector, Albert Jason Lima, Carl Rude Lambert, Rose Chernin Kusnitz, Ernest Otto Fox, Ben Dobbs, Dorothy Healey Connelly, and Frank Carlson.

The second group consisted of: Stephen Mesarosh, also known as Steve Nelson, Benjamin L. Careathers, Irving Weissman, James H. Dolsen, and William Albertson.

To recount the activities engaged in by these individuals to destroy our country would take volumes. Each of them has been found guilty of violation of federal statutes in a United States Federal Court. Both of these cases are now up for review by the United States Supreme Court. IN ITS BRIEF THE AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION ASKS THE SUPREME COURT TO REVERSE THE CONVICTION OF THESE COMMUNIST LEADERS.

By its Brief the ACLU endeavors to show that the Communist Party does not constitute a menace to the United States.

"Affirmatively, the evidence would tend to support the opinion that the strength of the Communist Party has been so slight since 1950 that it could not be supposed that an attempt to overthrow the government of the United States by force and violence would be feasible in the foreseeable future, or that the Party could recruit any sizeable number of its sympathizers to aid it in the commission of illegal acts outside the framework of our existing democratic institutions." (See Brief For American Civil Liberties Union, Amicus Curiae In The Supreme Court of The United States, October Term, 1956, cases No. 6 - No. 20; page 21).

This contention by the ACLU was disproved recently by J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, when he stated:

"These are the things I think of when people ask me, 'Can the danger be great when the membership of the Communist Party, USA is consistently falling? Is there an existing danger if Party membership numbers only about 20,000 persons'"

"To that I can only say that numbers mean nothing and that those nations which have attempted to assess the threat of communism on the basis of numerical strength alone are eating the bitter bread of slavery for their shortsightedness."

"The Communist Party in the United States presently numbers an estimated 20,000: however, this group is a fanatical, dedicated body of individuals operating under the strict discipline which the Communist Party imposes. The investigations we have conducted indicate beyond doubt that the Communist Party, USA, wears a foreign label which can be interpreted to mean: 'Property of the U.S.S.R. -- subject to orders from Moscow. . .'"

"The Communist Party, USA, is not 'just another political party' as its adherents and apologists would have you believe. It is a fifth column which no American who values his freedom can afford to ignore. Its most menacing quality is its ability to pursue inflexible objectives--fixed, unvarying goals--by means of flexible tactics. Falsehood, trickery, and cold-blooded deception are part and parcel of the communist plan of action." (See "The Elks Magazine", August 1956).

In summation the ACLU Brief contended that:

"On the basis of our examination of the strength and influence of the Communist Party in the United States, as compared to the strength of this nation's political institutions and the healthiness of its economy, we believe it clear that whatever the danger from the Communist Party may be, it comes not from petitioners' participation in a conspiracy to teach and advocate, but from 'enforced silence.'" (See Brief For American Civil Liberties Union, Amicus Curiae In The Supreme Court of the United States, October Term, 1956, cases No. 6 - No. 20; page 27).

This position taken by the ACLU was likewise discredited by Mr. Hoover when he stated:

"The fact that some Communist Party leaders have been convicted in American courts of conspiring to advocate the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force and violence has not deterred the Party. It is readying itself for an intense new effort in a new disguise. Behind the exploitation of the coexistence theme are underlying sinister objectives: chiefly, the relaxing of America's security measures. The specific goal is to obtain a repeal or nullification of the Smith Act of 1940, the Internal Security Act of 1950, and other anti-communist legislation in order that the Communist Party can expand its operation without further fear of prosecution." (See "The Elks Magazine", August 1956).

OTHER ACTIVITY BY THE ACLU

INTERNAL SECURITY ACT OF 1950. The ACLU in its own report states: "Title I of this Act establishes the Subversive Activities Control Board and late last year the Communist Party of the United States challenged the Board's order that the Party must register as a Communist action organization. The United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia handed down a decision on December 23 confirming the Board's order. In a 2-1 decision, the court ruled that the Communist Party, as proved by government witnesses and documentary evidence, had, as one of its goals the overthrow of the government of the United States, and since, 'The right of free expression ceases where it leads to harm to the government' the Board had the right to demand registration as a means of national protection.

The case will go to the U. S. Supreme Court on appeal. The Board has later ruled that the Labor Youth League and the Jefferson School are Communist-front organizations. The ACLU has intervened on the issue of the party's being required to register, on the ground that some of the party's activities are legitimate and may not be circumscribed." (See 35th Annual Report of the American Civil Liberties Union, July 1,1954 to June 30, 1955, pages 27 and 28).

COMMUNIST CONTROL ACT OF 1954. The ACLU in its own report states: "Testing of the constitutionality of this law has hardly begun. Bert Salwen, Communist candidate for county freeholder in Trenton, N.J., was removed from the ballot under this law; an intervening brief was filed by the ACLU; the decision went against Salwen who will apparently not appeal. Another 1954 law, requiring registration of communist printing presses will be vigorously opposed by the ACLU if enforcement is attempted." (See 35th Annual Report of the American Civil Liberties Union, July 1, 1954 to June 30, 1955, page 28).

The ACLU further states that: "Philadelphia ACLU has continued its fight in the past year against the state's Pechan Act which required signing of a loyalty oath or other basis for loyalty certification of all employees of the state or of state-aided institutions. The Act has been misused in action against teachers and others whose continued employment in no way contravenes the provision of the Act. According to ACLU's Philadelphia branch, 'To date, so far as we know, the loyalty oath provision of the Act has resulted only in the dismissal of eight state employees with conscientious scruples against taking the oath and against whom not the slightest suspicion has been breathed. Other provisions of the Act seem to have been equally ineffective.'" (See 35th Annual Report of the American Civil Liberties Union, July 1,1954 to June 30, 1955, page 33).

VICTORY IN WISCONSIN

"The (Madison, Wisc.) Capitol Times" of October 2 reported that the Labor Youth League had ceased to exist at the University of Wisconsin when it failed to register. Matthew Chapperon, the former chairman of the group was quoted as saying that the local chapter was "completely and permanently dissolved."

The Department of Wisconsin had protested vigorously against the fact that the Labor Youth League, an organization which had been officially cited as subversive by the U. S. Attorney General, had been permitted to operate openly on the campus of the University of Wisconsin.

The effects of this victory of The American Legion will be felt by left-wing groups on whatever college campus they may be active. In closing down the Labor Youth League at Wisconsin the Communist Party lost the respectability and standing which the LYL achieved by its open activity in the campus of a great University. To the Communist Party any loss of such prestige is a defeat. Renewed communist activity at other key universities and colleges may well be expected.

To those Legionnaires led by immediate Past Department Commander Emory Sipple who weathered the verbal abuse of the left-wing and psuedo - liberal groups from all parts of the country we offer our sincere praise and commendation.

THE AMERICAN LEGION

FIRING LINE

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AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION, PART III

Readers will recall that the October 15th and November 1st issues of The Firing Line were devoted to reports relative to recent activities of the American Civil Liberties Union, Inc. (ACLU). With national offices located at 170 Fifth Avenue, New York City, this 36 year old organization, together with 19 state affiliates, claims a total membership of about 35,000. Continuing The American Legion's investigation of the ACLU, this issue of The Firing Line studies another phase of its background and current activities. (See ACLU "Civil Liberties", February 1956, page 3 and ACLU 35th Annual Report: "Clearing The Main Channels", 1955, pages 132-134).

DIRECTORS OF ACLU - NATIONAL LEADERSHIP

Based upon a September 1956 letterhead, the following 24 individuals are listed as members of the Board of Directors or National Committee of the American Civil Liberties Union:

BISHOP JAMES C. BAKER, ACLU National Committee member was a 1947 Vice President of the Methodist Federation For Social Action. According to a recent report of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, the Methodist Federation For Social Action was formed by the Communist Party as a religious front organization. In 1948, BAKER sponsored the Committee of One Thousand, a "Communist created and controlled front organization"; and was listed as a 1951 initiator and sponsor of the National Committee To Repeal the McCarran Act, another Communist front. (See HUAC, Review of the Methodist Federation For Social Action, 1952, page 82; Committee of One Thousand letterhead, 1948; "Daily Worker", 3-23-51, page 2; Internal Security Subcommittee, "A Handbook For Americans", 1956, page 91 and HUAC, Guide To Subversive Organizations and Publications In The United States, 1951, page 38).

ROGER N. BALDWIN, ACLU National Committee member and Advisor, International Work, has been affiliated with over 15 organizations which have been cited as subversive and Communist according to a report in the February 1, 1955 issue of The Firing Line, page 14. A World War I draft evader, BALDWIN testified before the Special Committee To Investigate Communist Propaganda in the United States in 1930 "which was to the effect that the American Civil Liberties Union upholds the right of aliens or nationals to advocate murder, assassination, and the overthrow of our Government by force and violence." BALDWIN wrote in the Harvard University Year Book of 1935 that he was for "socialism, disarmament and ultimately for abolishing the State itself as an instrument of violence and compulsion. Communism is the goal." (See Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Investigation of Un-American Propaganda Activities In The United States, Volume I, 1938, pages 161, 462 and 533).

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VAN WYCK BROOKS is another ACLU National Committee member. The Firing Line of August 1, 1955 reported that BROOKS had been affiliated with 28 subversive organizations. He has supported the American Committee For Democracy and Intellectual Freedom; League of American Writers; Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade and was listed as a Contributing Editor to the Communist periodical New Masses. BROOKS was listed as a Vice Chairman of the Progressive Citizens of America and Director of the Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions. (See HUAC, Appendix IX, 1944, pages 331, 976 and 1648; "Congressional Record", 10-20-42; and HUAC, Testimony of Walter S. Steele Regarding Communist Activities In The United States, 1947, pages 147 and 148).

STUART CHASE, ACLU National Committee member has been affiliated with the following subversive organizations: American Committee To Save Refugees; Russian Reconstruction Farms, Inc.; Public Use of Arts Committee; Consumers National Federation; Descendants of the American Revolution and Friends of the Soviet Union. In 1948, CHASE signed a letter denouncing the Thomas Committee (House Committee On Un-American Activities) on behalf of the National Institute of Arts and Letters, a "Communist front for writers, artists and musicians." (See HUAC, Appendix IX, 1944, pages 362,472, 584, 659, 689 and 759; California Legislature, Fourth Report of the Senate Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities, 1948, page 330; and HUAC, Guide To Subversive Organizations and Publications In The United States, 1951, page 84).

RUFUS E. CLEMENT, ACLU National Committee member and an incorporator of the Southern Regional Council, has been affiliated with the following subversive organizations: American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom, American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born and the American Council on Soviet Relations. He was an Executive Board member of the Southern Conference For Human Welfare, sponsored the Scientific and Cultural Conference for World Peace in 1949 and was affiliated with the Progressive Citizens of America. (See "The New York Times", 10-17-55; HUAC, Appendix IX, 1944, pages 331, 349, 369 and 1585; and HUAC, Review of the Scientific and Cultural Conference For World Peace, 1949, pages 33 and 58).

GEORGE S. COUNTS, another ACLU National Committee member was reported to have been affiliated with 13 subversive organizations according to the February 1, 1955 issue of The Firing Line, page 15. According to page 9 of the subversive American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born's 1953 pamphlet entitled The Walter-McCarran Law, COUNTS was named as having made the following statement before the President's Commission on Immigration and Naturalization in October 1952: "Under a fresh and wholesome approach to immigration, permanent-resident aliens and naturalized citizens - except for cases of fraud or illegal entry - would no longer be subjected to the archaic and anachronistic penalty of deportation which also should be eradicated from our immigration laws."

J. FRANK DOBIE, ACLU National Committee member was mentioned as having cooperated with the Civil Rights Congress campaign "directly aimed against the Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities and in opposition to all legislative efforts to destroy Communist forces in the United States." The Civil Rights Congress is now a defunct subversive organization. In 1950, DOBIE sponsored the National Conference to Defend the Bill of Rights which was held under the auspices of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born and was also affiliated with the Committee of One Thousand in 1948. DOBIE also sponsored the subversive Mid-Century

Conference For Peace. (See HUAC, Testimony of Walter S. Steele Regarding Communist Activities In The United States, 1947, page 143; "Daily Worker," 9-22-50, page 5; "New Republic," 9-27-48; and HUAC, Report on the Communist Peace Offensive, 1951, page 147).

REV. FREDERICK MAY ELIOT, another member of the ACLU National Committee, signed an open letter to the President on behalf of the now defunct subversive American Council on Soviet Relations. In 1943, ELIOT signed a statement on behalf of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship and was listed as a sponsor of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee the same year. He also sponsored the Congress of American Soviet Friendship, signed a message on behalf of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties and was an Editorial Advisor of the now defunct Protestant magazine. According to a 1948 letterhead, ELIOT was listed as a sponsor of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, "one of the oldest auxiliaries of the Communist Party in the United States." (See HUAC, Appendix IX, 1944, pages 369, 487, 941, 1248 and 1455; American Committee For Protection of Foreign Born letterhead, 1948; and HUAC, Guide To Subversive Organizations and Publications in the United States, 1951, page 13).

OSMOND K. FRAENKEL, ACLU General Counsel and member of the Board of Directors has been affiliated with the following subversive organizations: American Student Union; Citizens Committee to Free Earl Browder, Film Audiences for Democracy, International Juridical Association; and the National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners. Currently, FRAENKEL is Executive Vice-President of the National Lawyers Guild, a "Communist front which is the foremost legal bulwark of the Communist Party, its front organizations and controlled unions." (See HUAC, Appendix IX, 1944, pages 519, 619, 730, 795 and 1176; National Lawyers Guild letterhead, 1956; and HUAC, Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications in the United States, 1951, page 85).

WALTER F. GELLHORN is a member of the ACLU Board of Directors. According to the testimony of LOUIS F. BUDENZ before the Select Committee to Investigate Tax-Exempt Foundations on December 23, 1952, GELLHORN was identified as a member of the Communist Party. On page 52 of the May 31, 1956 Three-Year Report of The Fund for the Republic, Inc., GELLHORN was listed as having received a "Grant-aid" for "research costs incurred in preparing the 1956 EDWARD DOUGLASS WHITE lectures at Louisiana State University on Administrative restraints on freedom of expression." He was also a former member of the subversive National Lawyers Guild and the National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights. (See Hearings, Tax-Exempt Foundations, 1952, page 725; and HUAC, Appendix IX, 1944, pages 1210 and 1277).

FRANK P. GRAHAM, Vice Chairman of the ACLU National Committee and Chairman of the National Sharecroppers Fund, Inc., has been affiliated with 16 subversive organizations according to the March 8, 1955 issue of The Firing Line, page 30. He was a 1947-1948 Honorary Chairman of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, a now defunct Communist front which served "the Soviet Union and its subservient Communist Party in the United States." GRAHAM has also supported the American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom; American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born; International Labor Defense; National Council of American-Soviet Friendship; and the American League for Peace and Democracy. (See HUAC, Report on Southern Conference for

Human Welfare, 1947, pages 1 and 14; National Sharecroppers Fund Letterhead, 1956; and HUAC, Guide To Subversive Organizations and Publications in the United States, 1951, page 104).

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES, Honorary Chairman of the ACLU Board of Directors has been affiliated with the following subversive organizations: Medical Bureau, American Friends of Spanish Democracy; Russian Reconstruction Farms, Inc.; Citizens Committee to Free Earl Browder; Friends of the Soviet Union and the League of American Writers. In 1950 he sponsored the Mid-Century Conference For Peace and in 1953 signed a letter to the President asking amnesty for eleven Communist Party leaders convicted under the Smith Act. (See HUAC, Appendix IX, 1944, pages 380, 472, 619, 758 and 977; HUAC Report on the Communist Peace Offensive, 1951, page 149; and "Daily Worker," 1-15-53, page 8).

B. W. HUEBSCH is the ACLU Treasurer and a member of the Board of Directors. He was listed on page 7 of The American Legion's Report On UNESCO of April 1956, as a former member of the United States National Commission for UNESCO who had been affiliated with "nine organizations cited as subversive by the United States Attorney General or the House Committee on Un-American Activities." According to page 36 of the Report on UNESCO, HUEBSCH has supported the American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom; American League for Peace and Democracy; Book Union, Inc.; Citizens Committee to Free Earl Browder; Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee and the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade. In 1950, HUEBSCH sponsored the China Welfare Appeal, Inc., another subversive organization. (See HUAC, Appendix IX, 1944, pages 334, 390, 589, 619, 941 and 1648; and China Welfare Appeal letterhead, 1950).

ROBERT M. HUTCHINS, member of the ACLU National Committee and President of The Fund for the Republic, Inc., needs no introduction to readers of The Firing Line and The American Legion Magazine. In May, 1956, the National Executive Committee of The American Legion in approving Resolution No. 559 (Maryland), stated that "we strongly urge the House Committee on Un-American Activities of the United States Congress to initiate its announced intention of further investigation and hearings on The Fund for the Republic and its activities."

On November 17, 1955, the National Commander of The American Legion stated that "on the basis of our evaluation of the record, the principal direction (of The Fund for the Republic) emanated from DR. ROBERT MAYNARD HUTCHINS, the President of the Fund...DR. HUTCHINS' record (See The Firing Line, 9-15-55, pages 91 and 92) shows a wilful refusal to consider Communism as anything more than a political ideology...the record of DR. HUTCHINS, and the record of The Fund for the Republic under his direction, is replete with evidence that he does not believe Communism is a clear and present danger in this country and that he is more interested in opposing Communism's enemies than in opposing Communism." (See "The Firing Line", 11-15-55, page 123).

JOHN PAUL JONES is a member of the ACLU Board of Directors. JONES has been affiliated with the following organizations which are cited as subversive and Communist by the United States Attorney General or the House Committee on Un-American Activities: Consumers National Federation; International Labor Defense; League for Mutual Aid; National Federation for Constitutional Liberties; People's Institute of Applied Religion; Mid-Century

Conference for Peace; Methodist Federation For Social Action and the Committee of One Thousand. (See HUAC, Appendix IX, 1944, pages 659, 843, 984, 1247 and 1464; HUAC, Report on the Communist Peace Offensive, 1951, page 149; HUAC, Review of the Methodist Federation For Social Action, 1952, page 81; and "New Republic," 9-27-48).

DOROTHY KENYON is a Vice Chairman of the ACLU Board of Directors. In 1950, MISS KENYON appeared before a subcommittee of the Senate Committee On Foreign Relations and admitted under oath that she had sponsored the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, Inc. in 1948, and was affiliated with the Conference on Pan-American Democracy; League of Women Shoppers; American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom; Lawyer's Committee on American Relations with Spain and was a member of the Advisory Committee of Descendants of the American Revolution. (See Report, State Department Employee Loyalty Investigation, 1950, page 44).

MAX LERNER, another ACLU National Committee member has a record of affiliations with subversive organizations according to the 1954 Report of Tax-Exempt Foundations, pages 325-328. "On June 2, 1949, the Daily Worker, page 2, reported that LERNER, identified as columnist for the New York Post had asserted that the trial against the leaders of the Communist Party 'has no business being in court. I don't see how anyone with a rudimentary knowledge of the history of Communist movements can doubt the basic rightness of William Z. Foster's plea, in his long manifesto, that under American conditions the attempt to use it would be fantastic.'" LERNER has been affiliated with the following subversive organizations: American Student Union; American Congress for Peace and Democracy; Frontier Films and American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom. He has been listed as a signer of the Golden Book of American Friendship with the Soviet Union, a cited "Communist enterprise signed by hundreds of well-known Communists and fellow travelers." (See HUAC, Guide To Subversive Organizations and Publications in the United States, 1951, page 55).

ROBERT S. LYND is a member of the ACLU National Committee. According to a congressional report, LYND has been affiliated with the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born; League of American Writers and the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship. In 1940 he signed a statement defending the Communist Party and was a member of the Board of Directors of the subversive American Russian Institute. In 1949 LYND sponsored the Scientific and Cultural Conference for World Peace and was listed on a 1956 letterhead as an Initiator of the National Committee to Repeal the McCarran Act. This latter organization was cited as a Communist front by the Internal Security Subcommittee this year as one that defends "the cases of Communist lawbreakers." (See HUAC, Appendix IX, 1944, pages 354, 980, 1096, 1125 and 1200; HUAC, Review of the Scientific and Cultural Conference for World Peace, 1949, page 59; Internal Security Subcommittee, "A Handbook for Americans," 1956, page 91; and National Committee to Repeal the McCarran Act letterhead, 1956).

J. ROBERT OPPENHEIMER, member of the ACLU National Committee has been mentioned many times in past by The Firing Line. In June 1954, OPPENHEIMER was denied security clearance and access to classified government information by the United States Atomic Energy Commission. This Commission found that OPPENHEIMER'S "continuing conduct and associations have reflected a serious disregard for the requirements of the security system...(and) have found a susceptibility to influence which could have serious implications for the security interests of the country." In 1943, OPPENHEIMER stated that "he was not a Communist, but had probably belonged to every Communist-front association on the West Coast and signed many petitions in which Communists

Communists were interested." He has made "periodic contributions through Communist Party functionaries to the Communist Party in San Francisco Area in amounts aggregating not less than $500 nor more than $1000 a year during a period approximately four years ending in April 1942." (See United States Atomic Energy Commission, "In The Matter of J. Robert Oppenheimer," May 27, 1954, through June 29, 1954, pages 4, 7 and 21).

BISHOP G. BROMLEY OXNAM, ACLU National Committee member, appeared before the House Committee on Un-American Activities on July 21, 1953 and admitted affiliation with the following subversive organizations and publications: National Council of American-Soviet Friendship; Protestant Digest; Soviet Russia Today; American Committee for Spanish Freedom; Medical Bureau and North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy; and the Methodist Federation for Social Service. OXNAM stated before the Committee that the ACLU renders "very valuable service in maintenance of the civil liberties of this country." (See HUAC, Testimony of Bishop G. Bromely Oxnam, 1953, pages 3599, 3629, 3645, 3653, 3656, 3724 and 3734).

BISHOP EDWARD L. PARSONS, Vice Chairman of the ACLU National Committee signed an Amicus Curiae Brief in September 1955 to the Supreme Court of the United States asking that the Court "void" the Internal Security Act of 1950. According to the California Committee on Un-American Activities, PARSONS has contributed to the Communist Daily Worker, sponsored the subversive California Labor School, American Committee for Yugoslav Relief, American Youth For Democracy and the San Francisco Branch of the American Friends of the Chinese People. (See "The Firing Line", 10-1-55, page 100; California Legislature, Report of Joint Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities, 1947, page 79; and California Legislature, Fourth Report of the Senate Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities, 1948, pages 132, 144 and 185).

JAMES G. PATTON, ACLU National Committee member is also President of the Farmer's Educational and Cooperative Union of America, commonly known as the National Farmers' Union. PATTON has been affiliated with the National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax and was listed as an initiator of the National Congress on Civil Rights held in Detroit, Michigan in 1946, out of which emerged the subversive Civil Rights Congress. He sponsored a testimonial dinner which was held under the auspices of the American Slav Congress and submitted a statement to the House Committee on Un-American Activities in 1950 in opposition to proposed anti-Communist legislation. (See HUAC, Appendix IX, 1944, page 1167; HUAC, Report on the American Slav Congress, 1949, page 106; California Legislature, Fourth Report of the Senate Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities, 1948, page 201; and HUAC, Hearings on Legislation to Outlaw Certain Un-American and Subversive Activities, 1950, page 2353).

ELMER RICE, member of the ACLU Board of Directors was reported to have been affiliated with 17 subversive organizations and publications according to "The Firing Line" of February 1, 1955, page 16.

AUBREY WILLIAMS, editor of The Southern Farm & Home and contributing editor to The New Southerner, is a member of the National Committee of the ACLU. According to a report of the Internal Security Subcommittee, "AUBREY W. WILLIAMS was identified as President of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc., who had been a member of the Board of the Southern Conference For Human Welfare...MR. WILLIAMS was identified by a witness as one who had been a member of the Communist Party. He was also identified by another witness as one who accepted the discipline of the Communist Party. "The Firing Line" was instrumental in exposing WILLIAMS in its July 1, 1955 issue. (See Internal Security Subcommittee, Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc., 1954, pages VI and VII; and "The New Southerner," April 1956.)

CINCINNATI TIMES-STAR, THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 26, 1953

Scherer Rebukes Critic Of Anti-Red Committee

By SAM WILSON
(TIMES-STAR Bureau)

WASHINGTON, Feb. 26—Representative Gordon H. Scherer today defended the House Un-American Activities Committee of which he is a member.

Persons who "smear" groups such as the committee "have ignored the criminal and attacked the policeman," Scherer said.

"UNFORTUNATELY, some reputable citizens and organizations have unwittingly joined in this smear," he asserted.

The First District congressman's remarks came in a letter to Erwin D. Canham, editor of the Christian Science Monitor, which recently editorially criticized the comimttee chairman, Representative Velde (R., Ill.).

It is a "known fact," wrote Scherer, that Communist activity in the U. S. has extended into Government, education and religion.

"THOSE FINE and splendid citizens in our educational and religious institutions who are now following the Communist line of criticizing the Un-American Activities Committee and similar movements, should be down on their knees thanking God for such agencies, since it is the Universities and churches which will suffer most should the Communist conspiracy prevail," he said.

Scherer described Velde and the comimttee members as "fine, competent American citizens who have been delegated by their fellow members of Congress to do an unpleasant job vital to the security of the nation."

CINCINNATI TIMES-STAR, TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 24, 1953

Bishop Oxnam Blasts Methods Of Probers

WASHINGTON, Feb 24—(AP)—Methodist Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam struck out today against methods he said are being used by congressional committees searching for Communism in education.

Oxnam said they are a threat not only to the freedom of educational institutions, but to the freedom of churches as well.

He said eduactors are disturbed because they feel they are "about to be subpected to serious attacks by men who have sought political advantages in an hour of hysteria 'by capitalizing upon fear and, in the name of Americanism, by attacking our institutions, discrediting our leaders, and dividing our people."

Oxnam said he had no sympathy for the Communists.

"Wherever there is a conspirator who would overthrow this Government, let him be found, and, in the American way, punish him," he said.

"Red" Dean Routed

LONDON, Ont., Feb 24—(AP)—and

RESOLUTION

Adopted in Chicago, February, 1952, by

THE AMERICAN BAR ASSOCIATION

HOUSE OF DELEGATES

RESOLVED THAT THE AMERICAN BAR ASSOCIATION EXPRESS ITS APPROVAL OF THE MANNER IN WHICH THE INVESTIGATION AND HEARINGS OF THE PRESENT COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES AND THE SUB-COMMITTEE OF THE SENATE JUDICIARY COMMITTEE ON THE SECURITY ACT ARE NOW BEING CONDUCTED AND WE COMMEND SAID COMMITTEES FOR THEIR CONTINUING INQUIRY INTO THE ACTIVITIES OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY, ITS MEMBERS AND FOLLOWERS, IN ORDER TO ESTABLISH A BASIS FOR APPROPRIATE LEGISLATION.

THE CINCINNATI ENQUIRER

Wednesday, February 11, 1953

In another sectional meeting Dr. Walter G. Muelder, dean of the Boston University Divinity School, warned against government investigation of American universities as dangerous to intellectual freedom.

"Freedom is at the heart of a valid education process," he said. "Christian education has a stake in conserving this principle in every church and in every church-related institution. It has a stake in the conservation of freedom in all other American educational institutions.

"Religious educators must give Americans an understanding of the religious basis of civil liberties and civil rights," Dr. Muelder declared. "The moral foundations of our political structures are being undermined by processes which upset the balance of power between the judiciary and the legislative branches of government and make people afraid to speak their minds either in constructive proposals or negative criticism of government," the Boston dean stated.

NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE

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Colorado Conference
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Hartford, Connecticut
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Michigan Conference
Thompson, Rev. Joseph W.
Missouri Conference
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California-Nevada Conference
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The Methodist Federation for Social Action

An un-official fellowship founded in 1907

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April 12,1957

Dear Federation Member and
Subscriber to the Social Questions Bulletin:

'Member that little letter from us'uns 'bout two weeks ago?

Good replies have come from many, over 100, BUT! If MFSA is to really GROW .....we need to hear from EACH OF YOU!

Let me "refresh" from that letter of last month.
We need -

1. Your renewal, if not already made in the last 12 months.
2. Five new memberships or subs to SQB from each of you.
3. All who can to hold one or more house parties for MFSA.
4. 100 members to pledge $60. extra to employ a field sec'y.

Dr. Harry Ward in his excellent column in SQB, in each of last two issues, emphasizes anew the great importance and need for discussion groups. Tie this in with your house party. Center it around SQB - nothing better. Every issue has been chock-full of valuable info. Send to Gresham for 10 to 100 copies of any recent issue, free.

Here's an additional aid enclosed, Weekly National Guardian, a "must" for those who want the real news. No better way to invest $3.

Everyone wants PEACE. Let your House Party WORK for PEACE. Provide writing materials for all who will to write to

THE HON.HAROLD E.STASSEN
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once % U.S.EMBASSY,LONDON,ENGLAND urging agreement at/without condition to stop nuclear bomb tests by every nation.

Get YOUTH interested in PEACE FELLOWSHIPS every year. See Attitude Research Laboratory, enclosed; also "Table of Contents" of the book "Towards a Science of Peace". Said Julian Huxley of this book, "to all who are profoundly perturbed by threat of suicidal war, I commend Professor Lentz's book."

This and much more are life and death matters for our religious Faith, our Country and our World. This is why MFSA must GROW -"to promote social action in the spirit of Jesus".

TAKE AN OFFERING AT THAT HOUSE PARTY. GET MEMBERSHIPS FOR MFSA, SUBS FOR SQB. NOW IS THE TIME OF SALVATION!

LET US HEAR FROM YOU - FROM YOU! DEO GRATIAS!

Your Membership secretary.

Plan Now to Attend the Fiftieth Anniversary in Washington, D. C., July 17 - 19, 1957

THE ENQUIRER

Thursday, June 27, 1957

EDITORIALS:

Why Not Outlaw The Reds?

The Supreme Court, having, with preoccupied diligence, opened the cell doors to Communists and generously thrown the protection of the jurisprudence all Communists are vowed to destroy about them, a good many thoughtful Americans are wondering what shield is left standing against Red infiltration and subversion.

It has not escaped public notice that, as Rep. Howard Smith (D., Va.) observed, in all recent cases dealing with the Soviet conspiracy and conspirators, the Court has leaned over backward to decide in favor of the Communists, acknowledged or legitimately suspected.

The Court, arrogating to itself powers over the executive arm, the Congress and the States never before claimed for it, seems to have put insuperable barriers in the path of agencies seeking to discover and detect the operations of the many-headed conspiracy directed from Moscow.

We have thought for some time that the Smith Act formula, which seeks to punish Communist leaders on the ground that they are seeking to overthrow our government by force, is a half measure. The real objective of Moscow and its agents, dupes and sympathizers in this country is not revolution in its accepted pattern. What they intend, and this goes for the guilty, leftist intelligentsia at work in our universities, journalism, entertainment industries and the pulpit, is so to soften and bewilder the mind of America that it loses its capacity to judge of good or evil and hence becomes ripe for conquest from within.

A Communist, or Communoid, professor is unlikely to exhort his classes to take to the barricades. What he does is to spread a haze of relativity and historical inevitability before his students. One politico-economic system is as good as another, he puts it, moreover, historically systems succeed each other and the day of the organic, "capitalistic" West is over.

The crypto-Communist cannot now, it seems, be unmasked because the Court holds that what he says is merely a matter of opinion instead of the rigid doctrine of a foreign conspiracy. The open Communist can no longer be convicted unless he can be shown to have incited persons to physical acts.

There remains a remedy against the public figures in the Moscow conspiracy; a remedy invoked by the Philippine republic. President Carlos P. Garcia has just signed an act outlawing the Communist Party. His reasoning as he signed the act is relevant to the situation into which the Supreme Court has placed us.

* * *

THE COMMUNISTS, said President Garcia, make no secret of their objective, which is the "destruction of our social, political and economic system." But the Philippines finds itself handicapped in resisting the conspiracy because the Communists now "expediently (seek) the protection of the very laws of the land which they seek to destroy."

Those laws, modeled on our own, were designed to foster the expression of opinions, unpopular as well as popular, by citizens. They were not intended to provide a cover for a worldwide conspiratorial apparatus.

By outlawing that conspiracy we may be able to recover methods of defense against it denied us by the Supreme Court.

DAILY THOUGHT:

To be capable of steady friendship and lasting love are the two greatest proofs, not only of goodness of heart but of strength of mind.

—William Hazlett

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Article Section Printed in Two Sections

THE TRUTH ABOUT REUTHER

Sir Galahad's Common Cause with the Reds

By J. B. MATTHEWS

WALTER PHILIP REUTHER, Doctor of Laws (Wayne University), Doctor of Laws (St. Mary's College), Doctor of Laws (Boston College), Doctor of Humanities (West Virginia University), Doctor of Humanities (Wilberforce University), and Gaston Lecturer (Georgetown University), would appear to be a renowned scholar whose eminence in some undesignated branch of learning had merited extraordinary academic recognition.

Of course, if one knows anything about American colleges and universities, he will pass over Walter Reuther's impressive array of doctorates with a big horse laugh. Financial tycoons and political buffoons, as well as scholars, are the recipients of academic honors.

Actually, Walter Reuther never finished college. He chose instead to complete his education by a long sojourn in the Soviet Union.

Judged by the code of puritanical morals, Walter Reuther is a Sir Galahad among labor bosses. According to intimate associates, he does not dip snuff, imbibe intoxicating beverages, wager on the horses, shoot craps, commit petty larceny with union funds, or use obscene language.

Murray Kempton, a journalist who serves on the side as a public relations propagandist for the Reuther brothers, says that all over America there are people to whom Walter Reuther has appeared "like some Archangel Michael."

Stepping down to a lower level of sublimity, *The New York Times* declares that Walter Reuther possesses "the most engaging qualities of Albert Einstein and Van Johnson."

The *Saturday Evening Post* has likened Walter Reuther to "an undissipated Prince of Wales."

Around the banquet tables at the Astor Hotel in New York a few years ago, one thousand self-styled liberals listened to testimonial outbursts during which Chester Bowles, then Governor of Connecticut, pictured Walter Reuther as the man who has "spearheaded the development of the American dream."

Walter Reuther has always had the capacity (and in recent years the organization) to get himself in the news in a big way.

In addition to the large volume of day-to-day news about him, there is a rapidly growing Reutheriana in current books. In his newest book just off the press (*America's Next Twenty Years*), Peter Drucker illustrates his point that American politics have undergone a revolutionary change during the past sixty years by a transition "from Mark Hanna to Walter Reuther."

Drucker's observation tells in a compact phrase what could be expanded into a thick volume.

In the ten years of his presidency of the United Automobile Workers, Walter Reuther has supervised the spending of more than two hundred million dollars ($200,000,000) of union funds, much of which has been spent in the pursuit of political and ideological objectives.

There's more than one way to misuse union funds. Dave Beck's way is to appropriate union funds for his personal business interests. Reuther's way is to appropriate union funds for his personal ideological interests. Beck's misappropriations have apparently run into thousands of dollars; Reuther's have run into the millions.

Reuther's UAW balance sheet for the year ending December 31, 1956, shows total "fund" disbursements of $28,521,425. Of this grand total, $17,253,969 came from the "general fund"; $9,312,097 from the "international strike fund"; $918,543 from the "citizenship fund"; $181,032 from the "fair practices and anti-discrimination fund"; $575,595 from the "education fund"; and $280,186 from the "recreation fund."

How much of Reuther's vast treasury has been paid out to politicians or for political purposes, only a voucher by voucher accounting would reveal. One thing is fairly certain: no committee of the United States Senate is going to conduct such a probe.

Reuther has criticized Dave Beck sharply for invoking the Fifth Amendment in response to questions about his raids upon the Teamsters'

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Union treasury. His indignation toward Beck in this matter is not matched by any corresponding moral fervor on the subject of invoking the Fifth Amendment in response to questions about Communist Party membership. In February, 1952, the two top officers of the Distributive, Processing and Office Workers of America (both of them having records of Communist affiliations extending over a period of many years) appeared as witnesses before the Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security and invoked the Fifth Amendment when questioned about Communist party membership. Fifteen months later, Walter Reuther personally welcomed them and their union into the CIO. Two months *after* Reuther had extended this personal welcome, vice-president of the DPO (William Michelson) invoked the Fifth Amendment in response to questioning about Communist Party membership by the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Reuther's wrath was not in evidence.

Much of the current Reutheriana is a falsification of history. In his recent book entitled *The Practice of Unionism*, Jack Barbash writes: "Walter Reuther has always been a Communist bête noire." This is a glaring distortion of well-known history.

Walter Reuther was not a Communist bugbear when he and his brother Victor spent some 18 months in the Soviet Union. He was certainly not a Communist bugbear when they wrote their famous letter to the Melvin Bishops, ending with the exhortation, "Carry on the fight for a Soviet America." (The text of the letter follows this article.) He was not a Communist bugbear when he collaborated to the fullest with the Communist party leaders in the force and violence of the sit-down strikes, and in the founding of the UAW.

PUTTING ASIDE the ancient history of Walter Reuther's pro-Communist writing and collaboration, anyone who has been reading the Communist press during the past year knows that Reuther is not a Communist bête noire at the present time.

The most important resolution adopted at the recent convention of the Communist Party was not the one which dealt with "independence." Of far greater significance was the resolution entitled "Social Democracy and the Communists." Disdaining to conceal their aims, as Marx and Engels put it in the *Communist Manifesto* more than a hundred years ago, this resolution named names, making it crystal clear that Dave Dubinsky, Walter Reuther, A. Philip Randolph and the Americans for Democratic Action are the special objects of the Communists' present-day affections. "We strive for their cooperation, not liquidation," is the closing sentence of the resolution.

The key sentence of the resolution adopted by the Communist Party convention, cumbersome though it is with its long parentheses, must be understood as the revelation of the Communist party's major strategy in the immediate future. It reads as follows:

> **"To a degree the cooperation of labor reformists (trade union leaders who stand for capitalism and with no socialist background or traditions), social reformists (those labor leaders like Dubinsky, Reuther, Randolph, etc., who have a socialist background), and bourgeois reformists (liberal wing of the Democratic Party) in such organizations as Americans for Democratic Action is, in the absence of a mass Social Democratic Party in the U.S., and under the conditions prevailing in our country, performing the function of Social Democracy."**

During the past year, *Political Affairs*, the most authoritative medium through which the Communist party line of the moment is expounded, has the highest praise for Walter Reuther's program. In the June, 1956, issue, in an article signed by Erik Bert, we read: "Despite all obstacles, however, since the Reuther proposals are intended to meet the issues of peace, prosperity, and progress, they will undoubtedly tend to gather support in labor's ranks and thus influence the course of development in Congress."

What is Reuther's program, according to the writer in *Political Affairs?* Erik Bert's answer: "Reuther's two major points, taken together, provide for participation by the United States and the Soviet Union in a common effort to bring to the poverty-ridden peoples of the world the wherewithal for upgrading of their economies."

And how would Reuther attain this goal? The answer: "The United States should contribute two percent of its gross product each year (about $8 billion this year) for the next 25 years into a World Fund to provide economic and technical aid to less developed countries, whether aligned with the U.S. or not. The program would be administered through the United Nations and multilateral agencies. U.S. aid would be made available at once through existing multilateral agencies, pending UN action on the creation of the World Fund."

On the heels of this unilateral action in donating $200 billion to a nonexistent fund of the UN,

what then? Answer, according to Walter Reuther: "The U.S. would request that the Soviet Union make a similar commitment of two per cent of its gross national product for the same purpose."

This hearty concurrence of the Communist party's *Political Affairs* in the program of Walter Reuther is an obvious bid for a new understanding between the Communists and the large following of the automobile workers' boss in the ranks of the Democratic party.

If anything more were needed, it is supplied by an article in *Political Affairs* entitled "The '56 Elections," by Albert E. Blumberg, national legislative representative of the Communist party who was recently convicted under the provisions of the Smith Act.

In Blumberg's article it was made clear that the present Communist objective is a political coalition which specifically includes the Communist Party, the New York *Post*, Americans for Democratic Action, and Walter Reuther's UAW.

AT THE TIME that his brothers, Walter and Victor, were writing revolutionary sentiments from the Soviet Union, Roy Reuther (who is also a big shot in the UAW) was expressing his Communist beliefs in the following language:

> The aim of socialism is to establish a Workers' Republic. In the achievement of this aim it is necessary to acquire possession of the state power so as to transform capitalist society into socialist society by means of the dictatorship of the proletariat. . . . We make no fetish of legality. The law in a bourgeois democracy is largely the law of property rights, laid down by those who have "rights" because they are owners. The class character of a capitalist society means that no institution or instrument set up by the capitalist class can be depended upon to establish the Workers' Republic . . . Workers' Councils organized in direct response to a growing revolutionary situation shall constitute the basic unit or organs by which the working class can carry through an armed insurrection . . . Once socialists are in possession of the state machinery by the mandate of the workers, their task is to secure and insure the governmental power for the victorious revolution by arming the workers for its defense against all possibility of a counter-revolutionary resistance, and to proceed to transform the economic and social basis of society.

Walter and Victor Reuther, Roy's brothers, probably wish they could expunge from the record that letter written from the Soviet Union on January 21, 1934. Their friends have either tried to ignore it or to brush it aside as a piece of youthful exuberance.

For example, the "liberal" weekly, *Commonweal*, devotes a single sentence to the Reuthers' experience in the Soviet Union, as follows: "Then came the year in Russia, during which he [Walter] and Victor taught tool-making to Russian workers, studied the Soviet system from the inside and decided they didn't want that kind of socialism." This is an abbreviated account which completely ignores the Reuther enthusiasm for Soviet communism, as expressed in the famous letter, and, by its condensation of the record, amounts to a gross distortion of history.*

Among Walter Reuther's loyal press agents is Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. Schlesinger's political heroes of the "democratic left" are three in number: Franklin D. Roosevelt (of course); Aneurin Bevan, "in whom is distilled the whole tradition of British dissent"; and Walter Reuther, "labor's man of vision and will." It is noteworthy that Schlesinger brackets Aneurin Bevan and Walter Reuther together. With respect to Reuther, Schlesinger predicts: "Walter Reuther, the extraordinarily able and intelligent leader of the United Auto Workers, may well become in another decade the most powerful man in American politics."

*The text of this celebrated letter (containing the Reuthers' description of Soviet life in its entirety) may be found on page 4.

J. B. Matthews, one of America's foremost authorities on the subject of Communist subversion, was the first Research Director of the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

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Following is the text of the letter from the Soviet Union, signed by Victor and Walter Reuther, as it appears in congressional records (emphasis supplied):

"January 21, 1934

Dear Mel and Glad:

"Your letter of December 5 arrived here last week from Germany and was read with more than usual interest by Wal and I. It seemed ages since we had heard from you, so you might well imagine with what joy we welcomed news from Detroit. It is precisely because you are equally anxious I know to receive word from the 'Workers' Fatherland' that I am taking this first opportunity to answer you.

"What you have written concerning the strikes and the general labor unrest in Detroit plus what we have learned from other sources of the rising discontent of the American workers, makes us long for the moment to be back with you in the front lines of the struggle; however, the daily inspiration that is ours as we work side by side with our Russian comrades in our factory, the thought that we are actually helping to build a society that will forever end the exploitation of man by man, the thought that what we are building will be for the benefit and enjoyment of the working class, not only of Russia but the entire world, is the compensation we receive for our temporary absence from the struggle in the United States. And let no one tell you that we are not on the road to socialism in the Soviet Union. Let no one say that the workers in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics are not on the road to security, enlightenment, and happiness.

"Mel, you know Wal and I were always strong for the Soviet Union. You know we were always ready to defend it against the lies of reactionaries. But let me tell you, now that we are seeing all the great construction, watching a backward peasantry being transformed into an enlightened, democratic, cultured populus, now that we have already experienced the thrill, the satisfaction of participating in genuine proletarian democracy, we are more than just sympathetic toward our country, we are ready to fight for it and its ideals.

"And why not? Here the workers, through their militant leadership, the proletarian dictatorship, have not sold out to the owning class like the S. P. in Germany and like the Labor Party in England. Here they have against all odds, against famine, against internal strike and civil war, against sabotage, against capitalist invasion and isolation, our comrades here have maintained power, they have won over the masses, they have transformed the 'dark masses' of Russia into energetic, enlightened workers. They have transformed the Soviet Union into one of the greatest industrial nations in the world. They have laid the economic foundation for socialism, for a classless society. Mel, if you could be with us for just 1 day in our shop you would realize the significance of the Soviet Union. To be with us in our factory Red Corner at a shop meeting and watch the workers as they offer suggestions and constructive criticism of production in the shop. Here are no bosses to drive fear into the workers. No one to drive them in mad speed-ups. Here the workers are in control. Even the shop superintendent has no more right in these meetings than any other worker. I have witnessed many times already, when the superintendent spoke too long, the workers in the hall decided he had already consumed enough time and the floor was then given to a lathe hand who told of his problems and offered suggestions. Imagine this at Ford's or Briggs'. This is what the outside world calls the 'ruthless dictatorship in Russia.' I tell you, Mel, in all the countries we have thus far been in, we have never found such genuine proletarian democracy. It is unpolished and crude, rough and rude, but proletarian workers' democracy in every respect. The workers in England have more culture and polish when they speak at their meetings, but they have no power. I prefer the latter.

"In our factory, which is the largest and most modern in Europe, and we have seen them all, there are no pictures of Fords and Rockefellers, or Roosevelts and Mellon. No such parasites, but rather huge pictures of Lenin, . . . etc., greet the workers' eyes on every side. Red banners with slogans 'Workers of the world unite' are draped across the craneways. Little red flags fly from the tops of presses, drill presses, lathes kells, etc. Such a sight you have never seen before.

"Women and men work side by side — the women with their red cloth about their heads, 5 days a week (our week here is 6 days long). At noon we all eat in a large factory restaurant where wholesome plain food is served. A workers' band furnishes music to us from an adjoining room while we have dinner. For the remainder of our 1-hour lunch period we adjourn to the Red Corner recreation, where workers play games, read papers and magazines or technical books, or merely sit, smoke, and chat. Such a fine spirit of comradeship you have never before witnessed in your life. Superintendent leaders and ordinary workers are all alike. If you saw our superintendent as he walks through the shop greeting workers with 'Hello, Comrade,' you could not distinguish him from any other worker.

"The interesting thing, Mel, is that 3 years ago this place here was a vast prairie, a waste land, and the thousands of workers here who are building complicated dies and other tools were at that time peasants who had never before even seen an industry, let alone worked in one. And by mere brute determination, by the determination to build a workers' country second to none in the world, urged on by the spirit of the revolution, they have constructed this huge marvelous auto factory which today is turning out modern cars for the Soviet Union. Through the bitter Russian winters of 45° below they have toiled with bare hands, digging foundations, erecting structures; they have, with their own brute strength, pulled the huge presses into place and set them up for operation. What they have here they have sacrificed and suffered for; that is why they are not so ready to turn it all over again to the capitalists. That is why today they still have comrades from the Red Army on guard at the factory at all times to prevent counterrevolutionists from carrying on their sabotage.

"About a 20-minute walk from the factory an entirely new Socialist city has grown up in these 3 years. Here over 50,000 of the factory workers live in fine new modern apartment buildings. Large hospitals, schools, libraries, theaters, and clubs have sprung up here and all for the use of those who work, for without a worker's card one cannot make use of all these modern facilities. Three nights ago we were invited to the clubhouse in 'Sosgor' (Socialist City) to attend an evening of enjoyment given by the workers of the die shop. Imagine, all the workers with whom we daily work came together that evening for a fine banquet, a stage performance, a concert, speeches, and a big dance. A division of the Red Army was also present as guests. In all my life, Mel, I have never seen anything so inspiring. Mel, once a fellow has seen what is possible where workers gain power, he no longer fights just for an ideal, he fights for something which is real, something tangible. Imagine, Mel, Henry Ford throwing a big party for his slaves. Here the party was no gift of charity from someone above, for we own the factory, we held the meeting and decided to have the party, and it was paid for from the surplus earnings of our department. What our department does is typical of the social activities which are being fostered throughout the entire factory and the entire Soviet Union.

"Mel, we are witnessing and experiencing great things in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. We are seeing the most backward nation in the world being rapidly transformed into the most modern and scientific, with new concepts and new social ideals coming into force. We are watching daily socialism being taken down from the books on the shelves and put into actual application. Who would not be inspired by such events?

"And now my letter is getting long and still I have said little, for there is so much to say and so little time in which to do it. We have written Merlin and 'Coach' rather lengthy letters and have requested they forward them to you to save duplicity of material. I believe there is little in this letter which they have not already received, so there will be no need of your forwarding this to them.

"A word about your letter. You mentioned that . . .

"Keep your eye on the S. P. It being affiliated to the Second International I am not so certain it is 'drifting' in the right direction, certainly not in the light of recent events.

"Let us know definitely what is happening to the Y. P. S. L. and also the Social Problems Club at C.C.C. . . .

"Carry on the fight for a Soviet America.

"Vic. and Wal."

THE
Dan Smoot Report

Vol. 3, No. 28 Monday, July 15, 1957 Dallas, Texas

DAN SMOOT

Roman Holiday

By GORDON H. SCHERER, *Member of Congress*

Gordon H. Scherer (Republican) is in his third term as Congressman from the First District of Ohio (Cincinnati). He is a member of the Un-American Activities Committee of the House of Representatives. The following is the full text of a special statement which he released on June 26, 1957:

Just ten days ago when the latest controversial decisions of the Supreme Court were handed down, the Un-American Activities Committee was commencing hearings in San Francisco. Although the press in California asked me to comment on those decisions, I hesitated to say anything at that time because I was so shocked and stunned that I felt my observations might be too intemperate.

Since then I have reviewed a series of decisions by the Supreme Court over the last two years. As I come to realize the full impact of these decisions on the security of this nation, I become more alarmed about the direction in which we are heading. Legal principles, investigatory and judicial procedures which I learned in law school and which have been followed during 25 years of practice at the bar have been shattered.

When the most significant of these decisions were handed down by the Court on June 17, a former chairman of the Communist Party in California rejoicingly exclaimed that it was "the greatest victory the Communist Party in America has ever received." She said: "It will mark a rejuvenation of the Party in America. We have lost some members in the last few years, but now we are on our way."

The Committee saw and felt that rejuvenation at the San Francisco hearings. During the last few years, the Communist hangers-on at such hearings had diminished. Enthusiasm had been dampened. The witnesses exhibited less confidence in the rightness of the Communist cause. All this was changed last Monday. The Communists filled the large hearing room and overflowed into the corridors. Their snide and vituperative remarks to Committee

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members as they passed through the halls and on the elevators were again in evidence. The witnesses and the lawyers were jubilant as well as arrogant. The delaying tactics, the evasiveness, and the long Communist propaganda speeches returned.

As we grappled during the hearings with the strangling directives of the Court, we came to the conclusion that Justice Tom Clark, in his dissenting opinion, was right when he said that the investigating committees and the Federal Bureau of Investigation "may as well close up shop" and go home. Yes, it was a great day for the Kremlin but an ominous one for the people of the United States.

I predict that, unless these decisions can be nullified by action of the Congress, *there will be a resurgence of Communist activity in the United States that will not only make your hair curl but your stomach turn.*

Lenin, Stalin, and other top Communists have always predicted that the United States would be destroyed from within, as have been most of the countries that have been taken behind the Iron Curtain since 1933. Their predictions have a far better chance of becoming a reality as a result of these decisions.

Not too many years ago the agents of the Kremlin succeeded in infiltrating the various agencies of the government of the United States and the various institutions of American life. Our most vital secrets, including those of the atom bomb, found their way to the Kremlin. The new method of warfare, namely, the internal subversion of the free countries of the world, made phenomenal headway.

Most of the 800 million people of the free world who have been taken behind the Iron Curtain since 1933 got there not by outward aggression but through the internal subversion of their countries by those who owed their loyalty to the Kremlin. One traitor within is more dangerous to our safety and security than 10,000 enemy troops poised on the other side of the Iron Curtain.

Although the Federal Bureau of Investigation did its job well throughout the years and reported its findings faithfully, it was not until the investigating committees of the Congress moved in and brought to light this insidious subversion that we finally began to clean out this fifth column in America. Patiently and carefully the Congress passed law after law recommended by the investigating committees to enable this nation to deal effectively with this new menace from within, this new method of warfare.

In one fell swoop these decisions of the Supreme Court have all but destroyed the most powerful weapons that the Federal Bureau of Investigation and Congressional investigating committees have in their fight against the internal subversion of this country.

The Court has usurped the powers of the Congress. It has rewritten and nullified laws to fit its own social, political, and economic philosophies. It has destroyed basic and fundamental states' rights. It has invaded and taken over prerogatives of the executive branch. It has supplanted the jury and trial judge when expediency demands. It has handcuffed the police and F.B.I. in criminal cases as pointed out by Justice Tom Clark in his dissenting opinion.

Perhaps I can illustrate by example how one of these decisions, namely, the one in the Watkins case, affects the Committee's fight against subversion. Following the public hearings in California, the Committee on last Saturday held an executive session for the purpose of obtaining evidence in the commencement of an investigation into a new and unexplored field of Communist subversive activity in the United States. The hearings were held in executive session because it was imperative that for the time being at least the objectives of our investigation be kept highly secret and that no notice be given to the Com-

mists as to the fact that the Committee had even any knowledge of these particular operations.

It was apparent that, if they had such knowledge, the whole investigation might fail completely. As an example, some witnesses and documents would conveniently disappear; witnesses would be alerted and their testimony changed or slanted. Of course, if Communist agents were aware of the fact that we had knowledge of the activity, it might be discontinued or go underground.

Now let's see what happened. When the witness appeared, his lawyer, armed with the decision in the Watkins case, demanded, before he would let his client even answer as to his occupation, that we outline in detail the nature and object of our investigation and then explain fully how each question we asked his client was pertinent to the subject and object of the investigation.

Obviously, we had no alternative except to dismiss the witness and forego the investigation. Certainly it was better to do this than to tell the Kremlin what we knew.

The Department of Justice and the Federal Bureau of Investigation are similarly handcuffed by the decision freeing the five California Communists convicted for advocating the overthrow of this government by force and violence. By these decisions the F.B.I. must either bare its secret files to the enemies of this country or forego the prosecution of these traitors. Do you wonder why I say June 17 was a Roman holiday for the Kremlin but an ominous day for the United States?

The tragedy of the Watkins decision is that the conclusion reached by the Court is based on a false premise. The Court assumes that the Un-American Activities Committee is investigating Communism as an economic and political philosophy and that the Communist Party in the United States is a political party as we know political parties in this country. On the basis of this false assumption, the Court comes to an apparent logical but novel conclusion.

However, every school boy should know by this time that the Communist Party is not a political party but a conspiratorial apparatus — a fifth-column arm of the Soviet Union with whom we are at war even though it may not be a shooting war. In fact, the Congress of the United States has by law so stated.

Perhaps the Court has never read the secret oath an individual takes when he joins the Russian conspiracy — the Communist Party. This oath reads:

> "I pledge myself to rally the masses to defend the Soviet Union, a land of victorious socialism. I pledge myself at all times to remain a vigilant and firm defender of the Leninist line of the Party, the only line that insures the triumph of Soviet power in the United States."

* * * * *

Less Than Supreme

Americans have come to think of the Supreme Court as the final arbiter — the authority which has the last word — in all questions of governmental power.

Actually, the Constitution grants no such power to the Supreme Court. The federal courts — including the Supreme Court — were intended to be creatures of Congress, not its masters.

I have carefully read through the Constitution and all its amendments, and I reproduce here, verbatim, every word in the Constitution which deals in any way with the federal courts or the officers thereof:

> The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The judges, both of the Supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behavior, and shall, at stated times, receive for their services a compensation, which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.
>
> The judicial power shall extend to all cases, in law and equity, arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their

authority; to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls; to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction; to controversies between two or more states, between a state and citizens of another state, between citizens of different states; between citizens of the same state claiming lands under grants of different states, and between a state, or the citizens thereof, and foreign states, citizens, or subjects.

In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, and those in which a state shall be party, the Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction. In all the other cases before mentioned, the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions and under such regulations as the Congress shall make.

When the President of the United States is tried (by the Senate in an impeachment), the Chief Justice shall preside.

(The President) shall nominate and, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint . . . judges of the Supreme Court.

The Congress shall have power . . . to constitute tribunals inferior to the Supreme Court.

No fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise re-examined in any court of the United States than according to the rules of the common law.

Judicial officers, both of the United States and of the several states, shall be bound by oath or affirmation to support this Constitution; but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States.

Feeling that the Constitution had not sufficiently limited the judicial power of the United States, the original framers of the Constitution drew up the 11th Amendment, which was adopted as a part of the Constitution in 1798, and which says:

The judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States, by citizens of another state, or by citizens of any foreign state.

The key sentence in the Constitutional definition of the power of federal courts is this one:

The judicial power shall extend to all cases, in law and equity, arising under this Constitution.

This means that the federal courts were given no jurisdiction over the great body of common law which governs the lives of people. The federal courts were to have jurisdiction only over the statutory law of the federal government — the relatively few federal statutes permitted by the Constitution.

This basic jurisdiction of the federal courts was extended, as you can see from the Constitutional language itself, to certain specified types of litigation. But jurisdiction over virtually all legal matters affecting the lives of individuals was left with the courts of the individual states.

* * * * *

The Eisenhower Court

Current reports from Washington indicate that President Eisenhower is out of sorts with the Supreme Court and is calling upon Congress to enact legislation which will curb the court.

The President no doubt realizes that the nation is boiling with anger over the conduct of the Supreme Court; and the President probably does not want to share the Court's unpopularity.

The public should not forget that the Supreme Court which (according to David Lawrence, editor of *U. S. News and World Report* and an Eisenhower enthusiast) has given "treason . . . its biggest victory" is the Eisenhower Court.

Justices Brennan, Harlan, Warren, and Whittaker are Eisenhower appointees.

Justices Black, Douglas, and Frankfurter are Roosevelt appointees.

Justices Burton and Clark are Truman appointees.

The worst of the lot is Chief Justice Earl Warren. His appointment was obviously a political pay-off for his service in swinging the California delegation to Eisenhower at the Republican National Convention of 1952.

This, within itself, would be no great wrong. It has been customary for Presidents to pay political debts by appointing important

political supporters to the Supreme Court. This political pay-off system has put some fine men on the Supreme Court.

Warren, however, is the only Chief Justice in history who had absolutely no previous judicial experience. It would have been difficult for President Eisenhower to find a practicing lawyer more ignorant of constitutional law than Earl Warren was when he was nominated for the Chief Justiceship.

Warren is the leader and unwavering center of the hard core of ultra-liberals on the Court. Yet, President Eisenhower has repeatedly defended his appointment of Warren, publicly characterizing Warren as one of the greatest Chief Justices of all times.

* * * * *

Curbs on the Court

On June 17, 1957, the Supreme Court climaxed a three-year leftward drive which has: (1) made it virtually impossible for the American people, either through their federal or state governments to protect themselves against the communist conspiracy in the United States; (2) seriously restricted private-property rights — the Girard College case; (3) usurped the powers of the national Congress; (4) invaded the rights of the sovereign states; and (5) practically scrapped the Constitution of the United States as an inviolable charter of government, holding that whims and opinions of the court justices are more authoritative than the Constitution itself.

The June 17, 1957, decisions of the Supreme Court caused unrestrained jubilation (and arrogance) among the communists.

On June 21, 1957, Harry Bridges (Australian-born communist) had a long column in the *Dispatcher* (newspaper published by Bridges' International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union).

Bridges refers to Congressman Gordon H. Scherer as "a two-bit political hack." Bridges mentions Senator James O. Eastland and Congressman Francis Walters — and then lumps them together with all other Congressmen and Senators who have served on committees of Congress investigating the communist conspiracy as "an ugly running sore on the face of America."

Harry Bridges said:

> "To refuse to crawl and to spill your guts for the edification of such a committee (any Congressional committee investigating communism), to decline to finger former friends and associates is an honorable thing to do. . . . When the Supreme Court reaffirmed this fact last week, the judges themselves showed a courage and an integrity which unfortunately too few Americans have demonstrated in recent years."

Meanwhile, the Congress of the United States has started groping for a means to repair some of the damage which the Supreme Court has done.

On June 24, 1957, Senators James O. Eastland and Olin D. Johnston proposed a constitutional amendment which would make Supreme Court justices subject to Senate approval every four years.

Several lawmakers are giving close study to a proposal made by David Lawrence (editor of *U. S. News and World Report*). Lawrence, pointing out that the Constitution empowers the Senate to give "consent," to the appointment of judges, says there is no constitutional reason why the Senate cannot withdraw its consent when Supreme Court justices get on the wrong track. He suggests a law of Congress requiring Supreme Court justices to come before the Senate periodically (perhaps every six years) for "reconfirmation."

The best news to come out of Washington with regard to efforts at curbing the Court was the announcement on June 24, 1957, that Congressmen Noah M. Mason (Republican, Illinois) and George W. Andrews (Democrat, Alabama) are sponsoring a movement to start impeachment proceedings against all members of the Supreme Court.

There is more drive behind this impeachment movement than general newspaper coverage indicates.

On February 22, 1957, the General Assembly of Georgia unanimously adopted a resolution calling for impeachment of six members of the Supreme Court.

Throughout the nation, organizations of various sizes and kinds are circulating petitions calling for impeachment of the court.

In Dallas, Texas, for example, the Public Affairs Club (well-established and influential women's luncheon club) met in special session on June 27, 1957, and unanimously adopted a resolution asking for impeachment.

Two days later, J. Evetts Haley, Sr., State Chairman of Texans For America (P. O. Box 1944, Fort Worth, Texas), announced that this organization will distribute petitions throughout the state, giving individual citizens a chance to petition Congress for impeachment of the Supreme Court.

Here is an issue that every citizen *can* do something about: at the least, he can make himself heard; if he wants to do more, he can sign and circulate a petition demanding impeachment of the Supreme Court justices, and mail it to his Congressman.

* * * * *

The Sovereign States

By Warren Jefferson Davis

The Sovereign States *has just been published by Henry Regnary Company, Chicago (price $5.00). The book was written by James J. Kilpatrick, Editor of* The Richmond News Leader. *(This commentary on the book was written for* The Dan Smoot Report *by Warren Jefferson Davis, Counselor at Law in Los Angeles and President of the American Academy of Political Affairs.*

A Supreme Court, moving leftward, bent upon destroying the sovereign states of the union; an outraged Bar, trying to find some quicker remedy than impeachment; more than one hundred members of Congress, anxious to curb the Supreme Court before the sovereign states of the union are reduced to impotent provinces of a powerful centralized government — these conditions are the makings of a revolt of the people.

And these conditions exist.

The Virginia Resolution of 1798 (written by Thomas Jefferson and James Madison and later expounded by one of the greatest constitutional lawyers of all time — John C. Calhoun, Vice President and Senator of the United States) enunciates the Doctrine of Interposition:

> "In case of a deliberate, palpable, and dangerous exercise of other powers not granted by the said compact, the States who are parties thereto, have the right, and are in duty bound, to interpose for arresting the progress of the evil, and for maintaining, within their respective limits, the authorities, rights, and liberties appertaining to them."

The purpose of Interposition is "to arrest the progress of the evil."

The evil is the exercise of an usurped power — by the Supreme Court.

James J. Kilpatrick recommends Interposition as a constitutional way to save the American union from destruction by the Supreme Court.

The object of Interposition, as Kilpatrick phrases it, is:

> "to suspend this usurpation alone, within the limits of the objecting State, and thus to force a decision by the arbitrament of the ultimate umpire — the sovereign people themselves, acting in their respective States."

According to the theory of Interposition as advanced by Jefferson, Madison, Calhoun and other great constitutional leaders, when either branch of the federal government violates the Constitution by usurping more power than the Constitution grants, the "States may be appealed to, three fourths of which, in fact,

form a power, whose decrees are the Constitution itself."

Under British rule, the American colonies were separate, one from another.

The colonies revolted from British rule and declared themselves "free and independent States." Their revolt succeeded; and, as individual, independent, sovereign states, they made a Treaty of Peace with the British Government. It was as individual, independent, sovereign states that they entered into the mutual agreements known as the Articles of Confederation, and later formed the compact known as the Constitution of the United States.

The Constitution is the solemn compact (or contract) by which the individual, independent, sovereign states created the federal government.

The states, not the people, formed the Union. The states did not surrender their sovereignty: they merely delegated certain specified powers to their creature, the federal government. These delegated powers were relatively few in number. All other powers were retained by the states.

The Supreme Court, created under the terms of the Constitution, has no legitimate power to change the Constitution. When the Court does usurp power to change the Constitution (as the present Supreme Court is doing) the states can, and should, invoke the Doctrine of Interposition — to make the Court observe the terms of the contract which created the Court.

This, in brief, is the philosophy of States' Rights which James J. Kilpatrick wrote into his fine book, *The Sovereign States*.

A former Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, well versed in constitutional law, said:

"Since we must rest our decision on the Constitution alone, we must set aside predilections on social policy and adhere to the settled rules which restrict the exercise of our power to judicial review."

Another learned justice is on record as saying:

"It is when a judiciary with life tenure seeks to write its social and economic creed into the Charter that instability is created."

Even Justice Holmes once remarked:

"I cannot believe the (14th) Amendment was intended to give us carte blanche to embody our economic or moral beliefs in its prohibitions."

Dwight D. Eisenhower, as a candidate in 1952, said:

"The Federal Government did not create the States of

WHO IS DAN SMOOT?

Dan Smoot was born in Missouri. Reared in Texas, he attended SMU in Dallas, taking BA and MA degrees from that university in 1938 and 1940.

In 1941, he joined the faculty at Harvard as a Teaching Fellow in English, doing graduate work for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the field of American Civilization.

In 1942, he took a leave of absence from Harvard in order to join the FBI. At the close of the war, he stayed in the FBI, rather than return to Harvard.

He served as an FBI Agent in all parts of the nation, handling all kinds of assignments. But for three and a half years, he worked exclusively on communist investigations in the industrial midwest. For two years following that, he was on FBI headquarters staff in Washington, as an Administrative Assistant to J. Edgar Hoover.

After nine and a half years in the FBI, Smoot resigned to help start the Facts Forum movement in Dallas. As the radio and television commentator for Facts Forum, Smoot, for almost four years, spoke to a national audience giving both sides of great controversial issues.

In July, 1955, he resigned and started his own independent program, in order to give only one side — the side that uses fundamental American principles as a yardstick for measuring all important issues. Smoot now has no support from, or connections with, any other person or organization. His program is financed entirely from sales of his weekly publication, *The Dan Smoot Report*.

If you believe that Dan Smoot is providing effective tools for those who want to think and talk and write on the side of freedom, you can help immensely by subscribing, and encouraging others to subscribe, to *The Dan Smoot Report*.

this Republic. The States created the Federal Government. The creation should not supersede the creator. For if the States lose their meaning, our entire system of government loses its meaning; and the next step is the rise of the centralized national state in which the seeds of autocracy can take root and grow."

As President, however, Mr. Eisenhower has continued the policies of Roosevelt and Truman. In the appointment of Earl Warren, he overlooked many competent and qualified men with judicial experience, and selected a social theorist and politician, who has followed personal predilections and political convictions rather than legal precedent, in basing court decisions on sociological phantasy rather than on law.

The Supreme Court's 1954 decision in the school segregation cases, says Mr. Kilpatrick, "had no basis in law; it had none in history."

This is the mild language of a southern gentleman, stating what constitutional lawyers have no hesitancy in saying:

The Court usurped the functions of Congress and amended the Constitution by judicial fiat — thus rapidly pushing the American nation toward a situation which Congressman Noah Mason (Republican, Illinois) and other authorities have designated as a "centralized federal tyranny."

The 1954 School Segregation decision was followed by the Pennsylvania Sedition Case (Steve Nelson); the New York Slochower Case; the Michigan "Dirty Book" case; the Alabama Bus Segregation case; and now (1957) the Girard College Case: voiding a private will which set up a valid trust in 1831 — and for the reason that the terms of that will did not suit the predilections and sociological opinions of the present members of the Court.

The remedy? Interposition!

The individual States have the constitutional power — and they have the solemn duty — to invoke the doctrine of Interposition as a means of saving the union and protecting the people against tyranny.

Members of State Legislatures can act, Mr. Kilpatrick says, as "sentinels placed over the ministers of the Federal Government" to shield the people from federal tyranny, "or, at least, to sound the alarm when it is threatened with invasion."

Have our sentinels overslept? Is it too late to reclaim the powers illegally seized by the Supreme Court?

In the people, through their states, rest the answers.

If you do not keep a permanent file of *The Dan Smoot Report*, please mail this copy to a friend who is interested in sound government.

DAN SMOOT,
P. O. Box 1305
Dallas, Texas

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CITY AND STATE

August 6, 1957

HIGHLANDER FOLK SCHOOL

The Highlander Folk School at Monteagle, Tennessee, was organized around 1932 by Myles Horton and Don West. (See testimony of Paul Crouch, May 6, 1949, Subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities, page 193.) In his testimony, Mr. Crouch said: "I would like to mention in this connection that the Highlander Folk School at Monteagle, Tennessee, was a school organized by Myles Horton and Don West, and which Mr. [James] Dombrowski shortly thereafter joined."

Paul Crouch, who gave the foregoing testimony concerning the Highlander Folk School, was the top Communist Party functionary in the South.

Speaking of James Dombrowski, Mr. Crouch testified as follows: "I have met officially with him on a number of occasions as head of the Communist District Bureau of Tennessee...at this conference Mr. Dombrowski gave me the impression of being completely pro-Communist and anxious to collaborate with the Communist Party and follow its leadership, without taking the risk of actual Party membership."

A three-page tabulation of James Dombrowski's Communist affiliations is attached to this report.

In March 1954, the Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security held hearings in New Orleans on the subject of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc., of which James Dombrowski was and is the executive director. Among the

(over)

witnesses who testified before the Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security in New Orleans was one John Butler who had formerly been a functionary of the Communist Party in Alabama. In the course of his testimony, Mr. Butler stated that he attended a meeting of Communist Party leaders in July of 1942, in the Thomas Jefferson Hotel in Birmingham, Alabama. Mr. Butler stated that Alton Lawrence introduced James Dombrowski to him on that occasion as a Communist Party member. (See Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security Hearings, March 18, 1954, page 45.) According to Mr. Butler, this meeting of Communist Party leaders was held in Dombrowski's own hotel room. In November, 1956, Alton Lawrence was indicted on a charge of conspiring to file a false non-Communist affidavit with the National Labor Relations Board, which non-Communist affidavit is required of trade union officials by the Taft-Hartley Act. (See New York Times, November 17, 1956.) Alton Lawrence is currently an official of the Communist-controlled International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers.

In the early period of the Highlander Folk School, Alton Lawrence was a member of its faculty. On August 13, 1938, Mr. John P. Frey, president of the Metal Trades Department of the AFL, testified before the Dies Committee on Un-American Activities, and named Elizabeth Hawes, Alton Lawrence, and Myles Horton as persons who "attended a secret convention in North Carolina, at which time plans were made for spreading the revolutionary theories throughout the South." Mr. Frey further testified: "In connection with this I might mention

that the Highlander Folk School at Monteagle, Tennessee, was mixed up in this secret convention, in which these three C.I.O. organizers took a very prominent part." (See Dies Committee Hearings, Volume 1, page 126.)

Paul Crouch testified before the Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security, as follows: "The Highlander Folk School is a school operated at Monteagle, Tennessee, ostensibly as an independent labor school, but actually working in close cooperation with the Communist Party." (See Hearings, page 47.) Dombrowski was an instructor at the Highlander Folk School for a number of years.

The following colloquy took place between Senator Eastland, Committee Counsel Arens, and Mr. Crouch during the latter's testimony:

> SENATOR EASTLAND. Mr. Crouch, did you ever visit Dr. Dombrowski's home?
> MR. CROUCH. I visited the Highlander Folk School where he was working. I didn't visit at his home, but we spent a night at the same home together, Caroline Stevenson's, and he and Leo Sheiner discussed in my presence the actual hideout of Communist leaders the night we were traveling to Winter Haven.
> MR. ARENS. He and Sheiner discussed in your presence the hideouts for Communist leaders, top flight leaders; is that correct?
> MR. CROUCH. That is correct, sir.

(See hearings, page 52.)

Don West, who has already been mentioned as connected with the Highlander Folk School, was district director of the Communist Party of North Carolina. (See House Committee Hearings, May 6, 1949, page 191.)

At the New Orleans hearings of the Senate Committee, on March 20, 1954, Myles Horton was ejected by the United States Marshal from the witness stand and the hearing room. (over)

August 6, 1957

James A. Dombrowski *

(1) American Committee for Indonesian Independence -- signer of letter -- Indonesian Review, 1946

(2) American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born -- signer of birthday greeting to Sabath -- Lamp, May 1946, page 3

(3) American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born -- sponsor of 15th anniversary national conference -- program, December 11-12, 1948

(4) American Continental Congress for Peace, Mexico City -- United States sponsor -- leaflet, September 5-10, 1949

(5) American Peace Crusade -- signer of call to peace pilgrimage to Washington, D. C. -- leaflet, March 1, 1951

(6) American Peace Crusade -- sponsor -- letterhead, May 26, 1951

(7) American Peace Crusade -- signer of appeal -- Daily Worker, January 20, 1954, page 4

(8) Appeal for Amnesty for the Jailed Leaders of the Communist Party Convicted Under the Smith Act -- signer -- Daily Worker, December 10, 1952, page 4

(9) Bachrach Open Letter -- signer -- letter, September 19, 1955

(10) Brief Amici Curiae for the Communist Party -- signer -- U. S. Supreme Court, October 1955

(11) Committee for Equal Justice for Mrs. Recy Taylor, an auxiliary of International Labor Defense -- sponsor -- booklet, August 1945

(12) Committee for Medical Freedom -- signer of statement opposing questioning of professional people by Un-American Activities Committee -- leaflet, June 1952

(13) Communist Party -- identified as a member of by John Butler in sworn testimony before Senate Committee on Internal Security -- Committee Hearings, March 18, 1954

(14) Conference on Constitutional Liberties in America -- speaker -- program, June 7-9, 1940

(15) Continuations Committee of the Conference on Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact -- signer of open letter to Congress -- letter, August 21, 1949

*Member, Anniversary Committee, The Methodist Federation for Social Action, April 1957 Letterhead

(over)

(16) International Workers Order -- defender of -- Fraternal Outlook, November 1948, page 6

(17) International Workers Order -- defender of -- Daily Worker, June 18, 1951, page 8

(18) Methodist Federation for Social Action -- nominated member-at-large by national membership meeting, December 27-29, 1947 -- 1947 ballot, page 2

(19) Methodist Federation for Social Action -- nominee -- official ballot, September 2, 1953

(20) Methodist Federation for Social Service -- nominated for national committee -- 1945 ballot, page 4

(21) National Citizens Political Action Committee -- member -- official list, August 28, 1944

(22) National Committee to Repeal the McCarran Act -- signer of open letter to members of Congress -- letter, January 19, 1951

(23) National Committee to Repeal the McCarran Acts -- signer of open letter to Senator Hennings -- dated November 14, 1955

(24) National Committee to Win Amnesty for the Smith Act Victims -- sponsor -- letterhead, May 22, 1953

(25) National Conference to Defend the Bill of Rights -- sponsor -- leaflet, December 2-3, 1950

(26) National Federation for Constitutional Liberties -- signer of statement opposing renewal of the Dies Committee -- pamphlet, January 1943

(27) National Negro Congress -- sponsor -- 10th convention program, May 30, 1946

(28) People's Institute of Applied Religion -- sponsor -- letterhead, April 9, 1942

(29) People's Institute of Applied Religion -- member of Southern Committee -- letterhead, January 1, 1948

(30) People's Institute of Applied Religion -- member of Southern Committee -- letterhead, April 16, 1953

(31) Southern Conference Educational Fund -- endorser of declaration -- folder, November 20, 1948

(32) Southern Conference Educational Fund -- director -- program of conference, April 8, 1950

(over)

(33) Southern Conference Educational Fund -- director -- letterhead, January 1951

(34) Southern Conference Educational Fund -- director -- letterhead, July 1954

(35) Southern Conference Educational Fund -- director -- letterhead, April 1955

(36) Southern Conference Educational Fund -- coordinator of Southwestern Regional Conference on Integration -- folder, May 17, 1955

(37) Southern Conference Educational Fund -- director -- Southern Patriot, December 1956, page 4

(38) Southern Conference for Human Welfare -- executive secretary -- official report, 1942

(39) Southern Conference for Human Welfare -- executive secretary -- Daily Worker, January 29, 1946, page 4

(40) Southern Conference for Human Welfare -- administrator -- letterhead, June 1, 1947

(41) Southern Conference for Human Welfare -- signer of manifesto -- Southern Patriot, June 1947, pages 4-5

(42) Southern Resident Labor Colleges -- member of finance campaign committee -- letterhead, February 10, 1937

(43) Statement Defending the Communist Party -- signer --, Daily Worker, March 5, 1941, page 2

(44) Win-the-Peace Conference -- sponsor -- call, April 5-7, 1946

(45) World Peace Appeal -- signer -- leaflet, August 31, 1950

WOMAN'S DIVISION OF CHRISTIAN SERVICE
BOARD OF MISSIONS
THE METHODIST CHURCH

MRS. C. C. LONG
CIRCULATION MANAGER
AND
SECRETARY OF LITERATURE
7820 READING ROAD, CINCINNATI 37, OHIO

THE METHODIST WOMAN
AND
LITERATURE HEADQUARTERS

October 10, 1958

Dear Dorothy – This may help – may not. Anyway, here is all I can find out.
Ruth
Please make a single reservation at the Piedmont for me for this Wed. nite – Oct. 15 arrive about 8:30 P.M.

Mrs. E. U. Robinson
P. O. Box 516
Gallatin, Tennessee

Dear Ruth:

Thank you so much for your inquiry about Mr. M. G. Lowman. I can tell you that he has been an agitator, of first one kind and the other, ever since I have first known him. He was a member of our Westwood Methodist Church when I attended there and he caused a great deal of trouble. I feel about him that he really was not successful in his business and so managed to get himself a position as executive secretary of the Circuit Riders. You know, of course, that they are an unofficial body and are trying to undermine many of the agencies of the Church as well as many of the ministers. He takes it upon himself, with his wife, to go to the various congregations in Cincinnati and then articles appear about the ministers. The Council of Churches know about him here in the city and really he is simply tolerated, but people do not feel too much concern about him. He is truly a thorn in the flesh, but I don't know of anything that we can really do about him. Of course, if it is proved as in the article which was contained in your letter, there might be something that they could do about his activities. I really feel that he is doing a lot of harm across the country because people do not know him, but when they know him, at least here in Cincinnati, they do not pay very much attention to his disclosures.

I trust that I have answered in a partially satisfactory way at least, for I do not know anything more about him than this.

Circuit Riders
file

INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

HEARINGS

BEFORE A

SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

SEVENTY-FIFTH CONGRESS

THIRD SESSION

ON

H. Res. 282

TO INVESTIGATE (1) THE EXTENT, CHARACTER, AND OBJECTS OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES, (2) THE DIFFUSION WITHIN THE UNITED STATES OF SUBVERSIVE AND UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA THAT IS INSTIGATED FROM FOREIGN COUNTRIES OR OF A DOMESTIC ORIGIN AND ATTACKS THE PRINCIPLE OF THE FORM OF GOVERNMENT AS GUARANTEED BY OUR CONSTITUTION, AND (3) ALL OTHER QUESTIONS IN RELATION THERETO THAT WOULD AID CONGRESS IN ANY NECESSARY REMEDIAL LEGISLATION

VOLUME 1

AUGUST 12, 13, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 22, AND 23, 1938

AT WASHINGTON, D. C.

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WASHINGTON : 1938

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doing to win over these forces for themselves and of the plan they have to set up a "red" guard that will mow down all deserters once they are in power here as they are in Russia. We hear little about the guards that were ready to refuse action in Michigan during the auto strikes, many of them are said to have worn C. I. O. bands about their arms as signs of solidarity. If it could be known, there is no doubt but that many a "red" has been fired out of the guard ranks over the Nation. This may be an avenue of investigation for this committee to tackle if you think that the leaders of the guardsmen can speak out at this time. Sincere peace movements should not be discouraged. However, we have no place for those that would pick our pockets, that seek to internationalize us, or assume the shape of the Trojan Horse, in sheltering the exponents of communism. To weaken our national defense would not prevent war; to weaken would be to destroy.

Groups of persons, swayed by various impulses and motives, allegedly have endeavored to establish permanent peace. Many of the leaders of the peace movements were idealists and their schemes were impracticable and fantastic. Today, many peace organizations have been penetrated by radical doctrines and are a national menace. In these, pacifism, internationalism, and communism are intermixed. Pacifism, with its alleged goal of everlasting peace regardless of foreign aggression, when combined with internationalism with its supercontrol of constituent societies regardless of ethnic and national antagonisms, present an inimical political combination. When these two are intermixed with communism, with its system of social organization to be brought about by bloody revolution and the doctrine of a community of property, we have a combination that shall ultimately undermine and destroy our Republic. Just how long the pacifist movement has been guided by the "reds" is difficult to say, but during the past 20 years they have practically taken it over, as the story of many peace groups tell. Modern history records the International Peace Congress, often convened after it was first assembled in London in 1843. It was the imperial rescript of Czar Nicholas II of Russia that registered the primary gesture that led to the first Hague Peace Conference of 1899, which was followed by the second in 1907. Out of the first grew the Hague Court of Permanent Arbitration. In 1906 the Conciliation Internationale and the American Association for International Conciliation were formed. The latter disbanded with the advent of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Its fund of $10,000,000 has afforded much aid and comfort to many radical peace groups. About this time the Maryland Peace Society was formed. Under the stress of the World War and the doctrine that modern strife involves combatants and non-combatants, many people became interested in peace and formed organizations to effect that end. We recall Bryan's League for World Peace, Marburg's League to Enforce Peace, the World Peace Foundation, League of Peace, American Peace Society, Women's Peace Conference, and The American Society for Judicial Settlement of International Disputes. The Ford peace ship afforded an opportunity for radical argonauts to war between themselves and plan for future action. German propagandists organized peace societies to keep us out of war; failure to keep their own country out of war did not discourage their activities. Some maintain that enduring peace is strictly an international problem; apparently they have no fear of entangling alliances. The Kellogg-Briand Pact, the Nine-Power Pact, the League of Nations, and the World Court are types.

Disraeli once observed that "the world is governed by very different personages from what is imagined by those who are not behind the scenes." There is no doubt but that much of the opposition to our national defense is conducted by powerful unseen forces whose personnel is not constant and whose theories are foreign to our institutions and policy. They are well organized and assemble in internationals and congresses which dictate so-called peace policies.

The International Fellowship of Reconciliation was organized under the alleged motive to reconcile people. Yet, it maintains that class war is necessary and that all must work for the radical reorganization of society and replace the present system of individual capitalism by collective ownership. Its activities extend to more than 20 nations. It advocates the abolition of compulsory military service and supports movements for disarmaments. It maintains that as long as military force is ready for possible international war, there is a grave danger that it may be used in class war. Its American section is The Fellowship of Reconciliation, organized in 1915. Soon thereafter it became active in the defense of the so-called "conscientious objectors" in special con-

BAYA + AJM OH

nection with the World War. It sponsored a pamphlet against military training. However, its members are not opposed to a war that would end capitalism. They seek a fellowship of religious pacifists and keep close to the churches in order to spread radical Christian views. Christian terms are employed to spread its communist peace propaganda. Connected with it are many ministers and professors; all working for a new social order. Its members refuse to participate in any war or sanction military preparedness. Its publication is called Fellowship. Its activities are many. Some of its members initiated the Brookwood Labor College; others set up the National Civil Liberties Bureau, now the American Civil Liberties Union, the National Council for the Prevention of War, and the Committee on Militarism in Education to oppose military training in schools and colleges. The Fellowship advocates the right of an individual to refuse to obey the State, even in the emergency of war. They have a youth section called the Fellowship of Youth for Peace which was organized about 1928. In 1932 there was circulated the fellowship of reconciliation petition for Russian recognition. The Fellowship is said to be affiliated with the Socialist Pioneer Youth of America and is a section of the ultra-radical War Resisters International and sponsors the Youth Crusade for Disarmament and World Peace. Evidently the Fellowship of Reconciliation is a foreign conceived and planted movement in our country to destroy the spirit of national patriotism of our American people and to oppose our various agencies of national defense.

The War Resisters International is called a Communist organization which desires to bring about a new social order through revolutionary uprisings. It initiated the War Resisters International Council, which comprises the War Resisters International and its sections, together with the International Fellowship of Reconciliation, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Friends' Peace Committee, Friends' Service Council, and others. Their first international conference was held in Holland; one in Austria in 1928, where resistance and revolution were discussed. They unite for the suppression of capitalism and imperialism and would establish their new social and international order. They maintain that war resistance is a practical policy, but do not oppose war of their own making. Its American section is the War Resisters League, whose honorary chairman in 1933 was Albert Einstein. They advise that we change our economic system and thus get rid of war. In an Armistice Day peace letter to the President of the United States, they announced their "deliberate intention to refuse to support war measures or to render war service" should our Government have to resort to arms.

The Women's International Congress was called by British, Dutch, and Belgian radicals and met at The Hague in 1915. They organized the Women's International Committee for Permanent Peace, which in 1919 became the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. Its United States section is the Women's Peace Party. Active Communists and Socialists were prominent in its formation and it was financed in part by the Garland Fund. It has members in 47 countries. Their Vienna Congress decided to "transform the economic system in the direction of social justice." This meant to favor laws in reference to the abolition of individuals' property ownership. In 1925-26 special attention was paid to the subject of economic imperialism in the United States. In 1934 they sponsored the Nye resolution to investigate the manufacture of armaments. They were active in trying to bring the United States into the World Court. It has been referred to as the feminine branch of the American Civil Liberties Union. Their international headquarters is in Geneva, Switzerland. It is their aim to unite women in all countries who are opposed to every kind of war and who work for universal disarmament. The charge has been made that it is closely allied with the Third International and that radical leaders for bloody revolution helped to vote funds for some of their "peace" bulletins as well as for some of the speakers on the "pax special." It is a section of the War Resisters International Council. Its literature bears the names of the World Peaceways, Inc., Public Action Committee, and the National Council for Prevention of War.

The International League Against Imperialism centers in Moscow and has branches in all countries of the world. Its section in our country is called the All-America Anti-Imperialist League. Special attention is devoted to Latin America and its endeavors to create hatred between their people and ours. It also aims to spread revolutionary doctrines among colonial people and persuade them to throw off the control of the parent country. Should they do so they might be easily conquered by the Communists. It is an important Communist agency

Court, disarmament, world control of this and that, theories that were brought to the United States from the conspiring and warring nations of the Old World. They have attempted to persuade the American people to lay aside our own interests and join with them in a carefully conceived human lottery in Europe. Other movements sprang up in America in succession: the Foreign Policy Association, the War Resisters, the World Peace Society, the Women's Peace Society, the Women's Peace Union, the League of Nations Association, the World Court Committee, the Peace Patriots, the American League Against War and Fascism, Congress Against War, National Student League, New History Society, the Youth Peace Federation, and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, etc.

Many of these organizations, as well as the Socialist and Communist Parties and certain international bankers, are striving constantly to internationalize America. The ultimate results of which would unquestionably break down our national character and lower our standards of living to those of the peons of the Old World set America back to the pre-Declaration of Independence period and subject us to some form of an international oligarchy. It might be news to some of our good people who have been led into following some of these movements to learn a few things concerning some of these organizations.

Let us take as an example the "Women's International League for Peace and Freedom," also a section of an international organizations with headquarters in Geneva. Parading as a "peace" movement, they have gained a wide following among advocates of peace. The following is an analysis of their program and of the pronouncements of some of their leaders: Abolition of property privileges (by means of taxation, death duties, and land-reform laws); adherence to League of Nations, World Court, consultative pacts; abolition of military training in American schools and colleges; reduction in size of National Guard; cancelation of war debts; repeal of Japanese Exclusion Act; hands off Cuba, Nicaragua, Philippines, and other American possessions; passage of anti-lynching law; forbiddance of shipment of munitions to any country by the United States. They urged the recognition of Russia, international boycotts against the aggressor, open reception of aliens, reduction in tariffs, and international control of raw materials etc.

In addition, Mrs. Sara Bard Field, one of the leaders of the Women's International League, is quoted as stating on the eve of the launching of one of the organization's "world disarmament caravans:" "I have no confidence in anything short of revolution, peaceful by all means, if possible, bloody if necessary, in every land, resulting in the establishment of the Communist idea in some form. * * * Go about the building of a new world as Russia is painfully trying to do."

Gradually they became quite frank in stating what might be construed by some the real purpose of the movement. We quote here reference to the resolution which was adopted at the last International conference of the Women's International League for Peace and and Freedom held in Europe last year, reference to which was published in the Socialist Party Press Service, issued from Chicago: "Conscious that these aims cannot be attained * * * under the present system of exploitation, privilege, and profits, they (members of Women's International League) consider that their duty is to facilitate and hasten by nonviolent methods of the social transformation which would permit the inauguration of a new system, founded on the needs of a community and not on profit."

That appears to some to have been the purpose of the Women's International League for years, instead of pacifism.

The War Resisters is another so-called peace movement that was originally founded in Europe and transplanted in the United States. Here is a portion of their program: Abolition of war and signed pledges by Americans to refuse to defend the Nation in the event of war, and the destruction of the capitalist system. They stated: "We agree that the class war is a fact * * * We must stand in this matter and must work toward a radical reorganization of society." They urge their members to join political movements aiming toward replacement of the capitalist system by a system of collective ownership. They also demand the abolition of military training.

Let us now consider the Green Shirts, a militant organization originating on foreign soil. This movement advocates the following: War resistance, abolition of national governments and creation of "a United States of the World," world patriotism, refusal to defend the Government in the event of war. Its affiliated movement, the New History Society, stands for the following: Radicalization of

BAYARD RUSTIN - OFFICER

WALTER S. STEELE
EDITOR AND MANAGER

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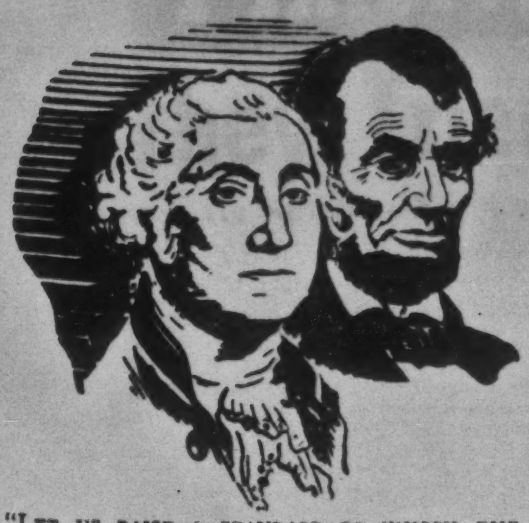

"LET US RAISE A STANDARD TO WHICH THE WISE AND THE HONEST MAY REPAIR."
—WASHINGTON.

"THAT GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE, BY THE PEOPLE, FOR THE PEOPLE, SHALL NOT PERISH FROM THE EARTH."—LINCOLN.

Multilith Reproduction
of excerpts from
February 1954
National Republic

TURNING SEARCHLIGHT ON REDS

By Walter S. Steele

. . . Literally millions of pamphlets and hundreds of pages of abuse have appeared through Communist auspices, in the effort to undermine and destroy the Senator, which is the Red way of attempting to destroy investigations of the Red traitorism which had reached into the very top echelons of our government, union labor, colleges and schools, the United Nations, and other fields. It would matter little if McCarthy happened to be Jones insofar as he attempted to expose the Red Menace. The people of the Nation will recall how similar campaigns of vilification were launched against Cong. Hamilton Fish, and each of the members of the committee he headed. They will recall how an even wider and more vicious campaign was registered against Martin Dies, Joseph Starnes, Fred Busbey, Parnell Thomas, John Wood and others of similar Congressional committees. They recall what efforts have been made to undermine and to destroy Senator Pat McCarran, who preceded Senator Jenner as chairman of the present Senate Internal Security Committee, now the efforts on Cong. Harold H. Velde, and others of the present House Committee. So it matters not what the name of the member of a Congressional committee is; all that matters to the Reds is whether or not he is too successful in exposing the traitorism of the Reds and their brethren. If so, they are the targets of the Reds' vicious smear campaigns.

Recently the Communists have opened fire on some of Senator McCarthy's so-called "friends." This smear campaign was launched recently in Texas, the backers of the Facts Forum, originating out of Dallas, becoming the chief target. Into the picture with Facts Forum was brought a myriad of others throughout the Nation including the writer of this column, Walter S. Steele. . . .

. . . But the smear-bunder for the Communists, in this instance, is no other than Art Shields, writing in the official organ of the Communist Party, heaping all the lies he can, directly or by inference, upon Sen. McCarthy, trotting in odorous lies, in an effort to prove his attacks on the Senator as factual. It is an open book that the NATIONAL REPUBLIC approves of Senator McCarthy's attacks on the Reds. This does not mean that it approves of all of the Senator's pronouncements or that it accepts all of his "friends." This is not meant to be critical of any of his friends, for ones we know of seem to be respectable, but we are not in a position to know who all of his friends may be or of their backgrounds.

However, we do know a little about Art Shields. He has been active in the Red ranks since 1926, according to our own records, when he was a member of the Young Workers (Communist) League. He graduated into the adult field of the Reds ten years later. If he has had time between his propaganda efforts in behalf of the Communist movement and its fatherland, the Soviet Union, to be of any service to our country or to humanity, he must be a man of steel, for he has devoted 28 years to the Red cause, having served them on the staffs of the Young Worker, Peoples World, Daily Worker, Sunday Worker, Political Affairs, Labor News, Solidarity, Party Organizer and Federated Press, and has been an instructor at the Communist School in NYC. His real name is Thomas Arthur Shields, born in the British West Indies, Oct. 31, 1888. His father was a clergyman, and the young sprout is a product of Moravian College, took to school teaching originally and finally to waging propaganda for the Communists. There's one thing significant in studying the Red organs: one finds this pattern over a period of many years, always critical of the U.S.A. and favorable toward the Soviet Union; apologists for the Soviet and its satellites and always anti-American. Always a kind word for Soviet officials, always unkind words for officials of the U. S. Government. Features on anniversaries of the Soviet and its leaders, never on truly American historical events and on its leaders. . . .

Exhibit #259
Circuit Riders, Inc.
308 West Court St.
Cincinnati 2, Ohio

This magazine has been published monthly for the past twenty-nine years, and has a national following among members of Congress, government investigative agents, writers, radio commentators, business and professional leaders and others like yourself who desire to keep abreast with the subversive menace through authentic information on the subject.

Security divisions of our Federal, State and local governments use National Republic constantly as a source of up-to-the-minute reliable information. Many members of Congress and key people throughout the Nation are regular subscribers.

(over)

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M. G. LOWMAN
To Be Interviewed on WCMW

Red Clergymen Authority Will Be on Air Here

One of the leading authorities on alleged Communist infiltration into American churches, M. G. Lowman, will be interviewed at 10:30 a.m. Thursday over WCMW by Ray W. Hambleton and I. G. Harman on the "Keep America Free" program.

Lowman, executive secretary of Curcuit Riders, Inc., an independent national group of Methodists, has appeared on radio forums and addressed service clubs, civic organizations, religious groups, college assemblies and patriotic socities in various sections of the United States.

While, in Canton, he will meet with, consult and advise local Protestant laymen concerning the attempts of the Communists to infiltrate the churches, and will discuss with them effective methods of combating such designs.

Lowman asserts that no stigma is attached to the American clergy because of overt acts of a few, any more than a stigma was attached to the 11 disciples because Judas betrayed Jesus.

Lowman, a Cincinnatian, is active in his city's civic and public affairs including projects for the physically handicapped, religious organizations and college youth. He has collaborated with various security agencies and investigating committees of the government and earlier this month appeared as a witness before the Ohio State Un-American Activities Commission.

PHOTOGRAPH TAKEN IN YENAN, HEADQUARTERS OF CHINESE COMMUNISTS, DURING FOUR MONTHS WHICH LATTIMORE, JAFFE, BISSON AND SMEDLEY SPENT WITH MAO TSE TUNG, COMMUNIST LEADER. SMEDLEY WAS NAMED BY GENERAL MACARTHUR'S INTELLIGENCE SECTION AS A COMMUNIST SPY.

OPPOSITE PICTURE IS LETTER WHICH SMEDLEY SENT TO JAFFE AFTER VISIT OF LATTIMORE, BISSON AND JAFFE TO COMMUNIST HEADQUARTERS IN CHINA.

TO: PHILIP JAFFE

"In my imagination I follow your journey from here, and my friends and I speculate as to your exact location day by day, and your exact occupation. I want to tell you that you left behind remarkable friends. I did not realize the effect of that meeting until two or three days had passed. Then it began to roll in. I have no reason to tell you tales. But the meeting, and your speech in particular, has had a colossal effect upon all people. One was so moved by it that he could not sleep that night but spent the night writing a poem in praise of you all. I enclose the poem. It is not good from the literary viewpoint. But from the viewpoint of the emotion behind it, it is of value. It is a deeply passionate poem. It is not good enough to publish, but it is good enough to carry next to your heart in the years to come. To that meeting, it may interest you to know, came delegations sent by every institution. Many institutions could not cross the rivers. But they sent activists, groups of six to a dozen. They later gave extensive reports. I am getting those reports from instructors day by day. All are deeply impressed and moved and grateful to you and all of you. There has never been anything like this here before."

FROM: AGNES SMEDLEY

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United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FINANCE

June 12, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

May I first thank you for making available to us the figures on Negro voting in the South. I was able to make good use of them on the floor of the Senate on Monday and I am enclosing a copy of my remarks on that day. You may have noted that Mr. James Reston of the New York Times commented on the speech in his column today, June 12.

I checked as many figures as possible on potential Negro voters against the official census figures and in most cases they were correct. However, the figures for the 95 Texas counties were obviously incorrect for they appear to be the total number of Negroes in those counties rather than the number 21 years of age and over. Further, my attention has been called to some inaccuracies for specific counties. Therefore, I have made a re-check County by County of the figures for those over 21 by going directly to the official census figures. I thought you should know this for you may wish to check them yourself before they are further distributed.

Nonetheless, I appreciate having the figures and of course, they are the only ones and the best ones available. I hope you think I made good use of them on the floor of the Senate.

With best wishes,

Faithfully,

Paul H. Douglas

Paul H. Douglas

PHD:HSm
enclosure

June 26, 1957

The Honorable Paul H. Douglas
Senate Office Building
Washington, D. C.

My dear Senator Douglas:

I greatly appreciated your letter of June 12th and the excerpt from the Congressional Record which you were kind enough to send.

We were delighted that you found our findings on Negro voter registration useful and admired the effectiveness of your presentation.

I hope you will call on me at any time when the Southern Regional Council may properly be of service.

With every good wish,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

(Not printed at Government expense) EXCERPTS FROM

Congressional Record

United States of America

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 85th CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

July 10, 1957

PROPOSED CIVIL RIGHTS LEGISLATION—THE JURY TRIAL AMENDMENT

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, the Senate Committee on the Judiciary has adopted an amendment to S. 83, the civil-rights bill, providing for jury trials in all contempt cases which might arise under the provisions of the bill.

I may say in all kindness, without reflection upon the motives of any Senator, that this particular amendment is designed to weaken and destroy the effectiveness of the civil-rights bill and, in particular, to destroy those sections which would help to guarantee the right of Negroes to vote.

I have secured for the information of Members of Congress—and I ask unanimous consent to have it made a part of the RECORD at the conclusion of my remarks—a memorandum prepared by the Research Office of the Southern Regional Council, which I received from the Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress, concerning Negro voter registration in 11 Southern States. In most cases classified by county. I shall include in the RECORD the explanation of how the figures were gathered and some comments on their accuracy, all of which I ask unanimous consent to have printed at an appropriate point in the RECORD.

GEORGIA

County	Nonwhite population over 18, 1950	Negroes registered, 1956
Appling	1,356	1,068
Atkinson	897	408
Bacon	558	8
Baker	1,819	0
Baldwin	8,461	2,487
Banks	229	32
Barrow	1,235	413
Bartow	2,404	702
Ben Hill	2,659	918
Berrien	1,107	738
Bibb	28,993	5,140
Bleckley	1,588	39
Brantley	451	175
Brooks	4,603	707
Bryan	1,269	885
Bulloch	4,755	1,795
Burke	8,797	399
Butts	2,168	1,414
Calhoun	3,232	126
Camden	2,062	1,556
Candler	1,494	1,174
Carroll	3,578	939
Catoosa	183	129
Charlton	772	12
Chatham	38,272	9,720
Chattahoochee	1,510	8
Chattooga	1,030	1,020
Cherokee	473	320
Clarke	6,249	2,866
Clay	2,148	97
Clayton	2,070	275

The Montgomery Advertiser

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Entered at the Post Office at Montgomery Ala as Second Class Matter Under Act of Congress of March 3, 1879

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Alabama's Negro Vote By Counties

The rock bottom race issue in the South is not race mixing in schools, but the registration of Negro voters. In the Senate debate over providing jury trial in the civil rights bill, the enemies of jury trial saw away at the theme that white Southerners would not vote for conviction and Negroes are excluded from juries because they are not qualified voters. Senator Paul Douglas of Illinois argued last week:

> We believe that in the interest of justice . . . this cause will be better aided by having the judges, who are Southern whites, who come from Southern communities, and who share the mores of those communities, but who are somewhat insulated from improper pressure by life tenure, make the decisions, than by having cases tried by juries chosen from carefully culled jury lists, which either completely or preponderantly exclude Negroes.

In this connection, Senator Douglas had inserted into the *Congressional Record* a county-by-county breakdown on the number of Negro voters in Alabama. His figures were supplied by the Southern Regional Council. There is no perfectly accurate count of Negro voters, but this compilation is perhaps as accurate as any available:

County—	1950 potential Negro Voters	1956 number of Negroes registered
Autauga	4,042	73
Baldwin	4,493	625
Barbour	7,158	220

Birmingham Post-Herald

A SCRIPPS-HOWARD NEWSPAPER — TELEPHONE 53-5351

JAMES E. MILLS Editor JOHN W. FRIERSON President

Douglas Blasts Alabama Juries

BY GENE WORTSMAN
Post-Herald Correspondent

WASHINGTON, June 12 — Sen. Paul Douglas (D., Ill.), warming up to the civil rights fight, yesterday lambasted Southern juries and customs, particularly those in Alabama.

He said low registration of Negro voters in Alabama and other Southern states "is the very reason" why civil rights legislation is needed.

Douglas' remarks were printed in full in today's Congressional Record.

Accompanying his statements was a county-by-county breakdown of the number of Negro residents in 11 Southern states in 1950 and the number of Negro voters in those counties in 1956.

Douglas said the Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress obtained figures for him from the research office of the Southern Regional Council.

Citing Alabama, Douglas declared:

"There were 516,245 Negro males and females over the age of 21 who were entitled to vote; but the number of Negroes registered was 53,336, or 10.3 per cent."

He said Southern states vote fewer people by percentage than other regions.

Alabama, with 28.5 per cent of the population voting, ranks 46th, followed by South Carolina and Mississippi.

His figures showed in part:

Jefferson County with 121,667 Negroes had 7000 Negro voters; Calhoun with 8304 had 1800; Cherokee, 736 had 250; Chilton, 2027 had 350; Cleburne, 380 had 60; Colbert, 4519 had 291; Cullman, 249 had 81; Etowah, 7672 had 2000.

Fayette, 1497 had 326; Franklin, 700 had 200; Lamar, 1204 had 100; Lauderdale, 4022 had 495; Lee,

Douglas Takes On South

A View That the Senator Is Emerging As Chief Champion of Civil Rights Bill

By JAMES RESTON
Special to the New York Times

WASHINGTON, June 11—Senator Paul H. Douglas, Democrat of Illinois, is emerging as the most effective advocate of the Eisenhower Administration's civil rights bill in the Senate.

The white-thatched professor from the Middle West is contending with another powerful orator in the Democratic party, Senator Sam J. Ervin Jr. of North Carolina, for domination of what promises to be the most acrimonious debate of the session.

Every few days now, Senator Douglas appears on the floor armed with heavy catalogues of facts, to prove that the Negro in the South is being deprived of his right to vote in Federal elections.

The New York Times

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July 24, 1957

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Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council

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EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL=
ROOM 432 63 AUBURN ST NORTHEAST ATLANTA GA=

PLEASE ADVISE BY RETURN WIRE WHAT SYSTEM YOU USED TO DETERMINE PERCENTAGE OF INEGRO VOTERS REGISTERING IN SOUTH CAROLINA AS PER SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL TABLES PLACED ON PAGE 7684-7687 OF JUNE TEN 1957 CONGRESSIONAL RECORD BY SENATOR PAUL DOUGLAS. SOUTH CAROLINA REGISTRATION DOES NOT REQUIRE OR SHOW RACIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF REGISTRANTS AND IT WOULD BE OF GREAT INTEREST TO ME TO KNOW HOW YOU ARRIVED AT THESE FIGURES=

US SENATOR OLIN D JOHNSTON=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

RECEIVED JUL 29 1957

See pages 11590-5
11631-7
11625-7

Congressional Record

United States of America

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 85th CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

Vol. 103 WASHINGTON, FRIDAY, JULY 26, 1957 No. 133

House of Representatives

The House was not in session today. Its next meeting will be held on Monday, July 29, 1957, at 12 o'clock noon.

Senate

FRIDAY, JULY 26, 1957

(Legislative day of Monday, July 8, 1957)

The Senate met at 12 o'clock meridian, on the expiration of the recess.

The Chaplain, Rev. Frederick Brown Harris, D. D., offered the following prayer:

O God, whose rule is law, but whose name is love, Thou hast given us Thy wide and wonderful earth where Thou hast housed us as royal children. Keep us, we beseech Thee, from absorption in our own selves and from irritable haste as we face the tasks Thou hast given us to accomplish. Let Thy refining fire burn through all our falsehoods and evasions. Deliver us, and especially those who stand above their fellows in posts of public office, from the arrogance which lurks in earthly power. Help us to know that when we forget Thee whatever we build is labor lost; that only in Thy life is our enduring life, and only in Thy will is our peace. Through Christ, our Redeemer. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

On request of Mr. JOHNSON of Texas, and by unanimous consent, the Journal of the proceedings of Thursday, July 25, 1957, was approved, and its reading was dispensed with.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives by Mr. Maurer, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House had passed a bill (H. R. 7697) to provide additional facilities necessary for the administration and training of units of the reserve components of the Armed Forces of the United States, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

HOUSE BILL REFERRED

The bill (H. R. 7697) to provide additional facilities necessary for the administration and training of units of the reserve components of the Armed Forces of the United States, was read twice by its title and referred to the Committee on Armed Services.

CORRECTION OF THE RECORD

Mr. POTTER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to correct the permanent RECORD of Friday, July 19, on page 10996. In my remarks, I asked unanimous consent and received unanimous consent to submit an exhibit as a part of my remarks. The exhibit was not submitted. I ask unanimous consent that the permanent RECORD be corrected so that the exhibit which was listed in the RECORD as exhibit 1 be included at the conclusion of my remarks.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The correction will be made.

THE DEBATE ON THE CIVIL-RIGHTS BILL

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, as the Senate continues to debate the civil-rights bill, it becomes more and more apparent that the Senate was very wise in the beginning in insisting on a thorough examination of the bill which was sent to Congress by the Attorney General.

Many groups in the United States now realize that the bill cannot be approached on the basis of "do not touch a hair on it." They understand that the bill has far-reaching implications, and that thoughtful Senators must be absolutely certain of what they are doing when they finally vote on this proposed legislation.

This morning the Washington Post published an editorial presenting some very interesting points concerning the procedures of the commission which will be set up under the bill.

Some representatives of organized labor have expressed to me deep concern over the absence of an adequate jury-trial provision. These members of organized labor—thoughtful men, Mr. President; not yes men—recall the days before the Norris-LaGuardia Act was passed, when Federal judges had absolute power to break a strike, and when workingmen were not permitted to submit the facts to a jury composed of their fellow citizens. Some of them have told me that they believe new life should be breathed into the Norris-LaGuardia Act.

Mr. President, many very able Senators on both sides of the aisle are now working on this problem, and are attempting to devise suitable language to incorporate proper and enduring safeguards. The Senator from Wyoming [Mr. O'MAHONEY], the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. KEFAUVER], and the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLARK] have submitted amendments; and other amendments will be proposed, I have no doubt. These are proposals, Mr. President, which in my judgment would state clearly that a court has powers to enforce its decrees, but which also would maintain the fundamental basis of our freedom, namely, the right of trial by jury.

I have every confidence in the ability of the Senate to work out a meaningful and effective right-to-vote bill. A meaningful and effective bill does not require the Senate, however, to indulge in any

dressed to the editor by a former judge, Dorothy Kenyon, published in this morning's issue of the New York Times, protesting against the inclusion of a jury-trial provision in the pending bill.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TO PROTECT CIVIL RIGHTS: ELIMINATION OF JURY TRIALS IN BILL SEEN AS EFFECTIVE LEGAL REMEDY

(The writer of the following letter is a former justice of the municipal court:)

To the EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

Women won the right to vote less than 40 years ago. Negroes were luckier; they won it almost 60 years earlier. But once won nobody opposed women's exercising their hard-won right. The same is not true of Negroes. In certain parts of the country, although possessing the right to vote. Negroes cannot do so. They have no effective means of enforcing their right. The old remedies have broken down.

Right without remedies, that paradox of the law so puzzling to most lay people, could have no better illustration. What part IV of the pending civil-rights bill seeks to do is to supply an effective new remedy.

In certain areas of the South (we have to face it) the old remedy by criminal process and trial by jury of one's peers is worthless. No remedy worthy of the name exists for deprivation of his voting rights, there being no justice for black men before all-white juries. So we have to invent another remedy. The history of the law is full of just such examples of the age-long search for remedies to give meaning and substance to otherwise empty rights.

AMENDMENTS OPPOSED

The heart of this section of the bill, make no mistake, is its elimination of trial by jury. Hitch on a jury provision (no matter how limited, as suggested by some, to facts actually in dispute; and what cases cannot be so converted by the simple expedient of the defendant's pleading not guilty?) and you will have cut out the heart of this new remedy. The bill becomes a worthless piece of paper.

Why, then, all the outcry about the sacred right of trial by jury, the conflict of civil liberties involved, and so forth? Many people are confused by such talk. What is the answer and the argument in favor of this new remedy?

First, there is no constitutional right to trial by jury in injunction cases where the Government is the plaintiff. In the strict sense, therefore, no civil liberties issue is involved. It becomes merely a question of the wisdom, on balance, of extendiing jury trials to cases such as these and whether greater or less fair play is thereby brought about.

The standard illustration brought forward by its proponents is the requirement of jury trials in labor injunction cases.

DIFFERING CASES

But note the difference: In labor injunction cases the Government or a great corporation is the plaintiff; the defendant is frequently a solitary individual, economically weak and powerless. Jury trials in these cases tend to redress the balance, to protect the weak against the strong.

In our case, Government sues instead of an individual for the reason that the individual is frequently too intimidated to dare to sue for himself. And it sues, in almost every case, a government official, register of voters or the like, who in his governmental capacity has attempted to deprive that individual of his right to vote. Here the roles are reversed, the plaintiff represents the weak, the defendant the strong. To give the defendant, a government official, this added protection of trial by jury is to strengthen the strong against the weak, a precisely opposite result from that achieved in the labor cases.

No, this is no situation that calls for jury trials. On the contrary, they have become only too often a tragic mockery of justice for Negroes in the South. The whole purpose of this bill is to get away from just this type of failure of justice and to carve out a new and fair and effective remedy for this ancient right.

DOROTHY KENYON.

NEW YORK, July 24, 1957.

THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, at various times in the past I have quoted the publications of the Southern Regional Council. The Southern Regional Council is composed entirely of southerners, men and women of good will of both races in the South. It is in no sense a lobbying organization. I have been able to obtain material it provides through the Library of Congress, at my request.

I think the statement which has been prepared on the origins and aims of the Southern Regional Council should be printed in the RECORD at this point so as to indicate the high qualifications of the council and its emotional attachment to the South. So I ask unanimous consent, Mr. President, that the statement be printed in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL: A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF ITS ORIGINS AND AIMS, APRIL 1956

"The South of the future toward which our efforts are directed, is a South freed of stultifying inheritances from the past. It is a South where the measure of a man will be his ability, not his race; where a common citizenship will work in democratic understanding for the common good; where all who labor will be rewarded in proportion to their skill and achievement; where all can feel confident of personal safety and equality before the law; where there will exist no double standard in housing, health, education, or other public services; where segregation will be recognized as a cruel and needless penalty on the human spirit, and will no longer be imposed; where, above all, every individual will enjoy a full share of dignity and self-respect, in recognition of his creation in the image of God." (From a Statement of Policy and Aims of the Southern Regional Council (1951).)

SRC AND THE COMMISSION ON INTERRACIAL COOPERATION

The Southern Regional Council and its predecessor, the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, have a history of 35 years of constructive activity.

In the troubled days following World War I, race conflict and the lawlessness of terror organizations reached such proportions that the need for new techniques of restoring harmony could not be ignored. To meet this need, interracial committees were formed in cities and towns throughout the South. It was found that by bringing together influential members of both races grievances could be aired, mutual problems discussed, and a meeting of minds effected. This method had such beneficial results that interracial committees became an established part of the life of the South in the early twenties. Their influence became southwide through the formation of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, a central organization with headquarters in Atlanta.

The commission was founded in 1919 by a group of the South's leading church men and women. Among them were Dr. M. Ashby Jones, prominent Baptist minister, Dr. John Hope, president of Atlanta University, Mr. John J. Eagan, businessman and philanthropist, Dr. Plato Durham, dean of the Emory University Theology School, Dr. Robert Moton, president of Tuskegee Institute, and Dr. Will W. Alexander, the commission's director. Its work in behalf of sound race relations was acclaimed by the South's leading newspapers, religious leaders, and by many public officials.

The commission helped organize, extend, and guide the work of State and local interracial committees. It assisted them in making their influence felt by newspapers, civil authorities, churches, school officials, police administrators, and health officers. It gave much attention to factual analysis of the problem of lynching and other forms of interracial violence. Its auxiliary, the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching, under the direction of Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames, did much to educate public opinion in the causes and possible remedies for such violence.

From these early activities, the commission built up a body of acquaintance and confidence that has been an increasing asset through the years. The traditional barrier between the races was broken down to allow an interchange of ideas and mutual trust. The notion of cooperative action by people of good will, both white and Negro, took root and has continued to grow. In its 25 years of operation, the commission made the meeting of white and Negro citizens for the discussion of common problems an accepted practice almost everywhere in the South. It marshalled thousands of southern church people in opposition to lynching and other injustices, brought new light to bear on race relations, issued 2 million copies of pamphlets and leaflets, and symbolized the faith of the southern white people and Negro people in the processes of mutual agreement and cooperation.

Transition to SRC

In 1939 the leaders of the commission began to explore the possibility of expanding the activities of the organization to permit a broader approach to the problems of the South. In October, 1940, the commission instructed its executive committee to "take whatever steps are necessary to carry out the plans for the formation of a council on southern regional development," which would include in its program "the work of the commission and other activities connected with the economic, educational, and social development of the South."

Meanwhile the efforts of other progressive southerners were leading them to a similar purpose. The first movement in that direction took place when a group of southern Negro leaders met in Durham, N. C., on October 20, 1942, to set forth just what the Negro wants and is expecting of the postwar South and Nation, and to enlist the aid of interested white southerners. The result of this historic conference was a comprehensive statement covering the following areas: Political and civil rights, industry and labor, service occupations, education, agriculture, military service, and social welfare and health. Many social thinkers regarded the Durham statement as the most hopeful pronouncement on race relations that had come out of the South in the last 75 years.

In April 1943 a group of southern white leaders met in Atlanta to consider the statement of the Durham conference. These white leaders found the statement so frank and courageous, so free from any suggestion

tial fiscal and monetary danger will be thoroughly explored.

Mr. President, no war has ever been won without sacrifice. We will not defeat the forces of inflation without paying the price—but the cost of victory will be small indeed as compared to the disasters that could be inflicted upon us by runaway inflation.

In the war to preserve the economic health and strength of our Nation there will be casualties—and these may include political casualties—because there is no way of controlling inflation that will be universally popular. There is no magic formula. We cannot buy security, stability, and increasing prosperity on the easy payment plan.

VISIT TO THE SENATE BY EXCHANGE STUDENTS

During the delivery of Mr. DOUGLAS' speech,

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, will the Senator from Illinois yield to me in order that I may have the privilege of introducing 25 exchange students who are seated in the gallery?

Mr. DOUGLAS. I yield, with the understanding that I shall not lose the floor, and that the interruption will appear elsewhere.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I am most grateful to the Senator from Illinois. With his usual courtesy and generosity he has yielded in order that I may invite the attention of Senators to the fact that in the gallery are seated 25 exchange students, most of them from Germany, with 2 or 3 from Austria.

They have been in the United States for a little more than a year, living in the homes of Americans. They came to our country under what we call a student-exchange program. They are here today under the leadership of Mr. Leroy Doty, of the Church of the Brethren.

I have had an opportunity to visit with these young people this afternoon. We discussed the debate in the Senate. They are greatly interested in our processes of democracy. I tried to explain to them a little about this important controversy.

I said to them what I repeat here, that we are enriched by their presence in America, and we know that our young people who have gone to their countries have been enriched by their visits.

It is very gratifying to me to have the privilege of introducing these fine young people. I ask them to rise in order that we may greet them.

(The visitors rose in the gallery and were greeted with applause, Senators rising.)

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT

A message in writing from the President of the United States submitting a nomination was communicated to the Senate by Mr. Tribbe, one of his secretaries.

EXECUTIVE MESSAGE REFERRED

As in executive session,

The PRESIDING OFFICER laid before the Senate a message from the President of the United States submitting the nomination of Farrant Lewis Turner, of Hawaii, to be Secretary of the Territory of Hawaii, which was referred to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1957

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (H. R. 6127) to provide means of further securing and protecting the civil rights of persons within the jurisdiction of the United States.

Mr. JOHNSTON of South Carolina. Mr. President, I am very much pleased that the debate on the pending subject has developed along the lines it has, because my prepared speech, documented with records, will answer a great many of the questions raised.

The Senate, and the entire world, for that matter, has heard a great deal about figures issued by the Southern Regional Council, Inc., dealing with the issues of how many Negroes in the South, including my native State of South Carolina, are alleged to have registered to vote or have been deprived of this right. These figures, too, were accompanied in many instances, as in the Washington Post of yesterday, with comments about how Negroes in the Southern States are coerced and otherwise prevented from registering and from voting. The extremely biased magazine, Time, in today's issue, has picked up these figures issued by the council for further propaganda.

Tables issued by the Southern Regional Council have been used at great length to allegedly show that Negroes are being deprived of the right to register in order to vote in the South.

These tables were inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of June 10, 1957. Subsequently, they have been used in support of this bill in public statements and elsewhere—and, I might add, convincingly so to those otherwise uninformed of voting and registering conditions in the South.

However, Mr. President, I believe there are several points regarding the Southern Regional Council, its members, and officials, which have not been brought to light fully, and certainly there are some very important facts regarding their method of arriving at the figures they published, that should be fully aired.

I charge, Mr. President, that the figures used by the Southern Regional Council to attempt to show that Negro registration in the South is exceptionally low because Negroes are being deprived of the right to register in order to vote, are highly misleading, in error, and in fact were distorted purposely in order to slander the South.

In the first instance, Mr. President, let us take the figures issued by the Southern Regional Council as regards my own native State of South Carolina, with which I am most familiar.

Southern Regional Council states that in 1950 there were 98,890 Negroes registered, or about 25 percent of the Negro voting age population. The State of South Carolina, until the election law was amended this very spring, had never practiced or required the practice of indicating race or color on registration certificates in South Carolina.

If the Senator from Illinois and other Senators who have been speaking on this subject will kindly get in touch with us after the registration for 1958 has been completed, they can then ascertain the number of colored persons who are registered. But at the present time that information is not included in the registration at all.

Allow me to quote from a telegram from the secretary of state of South Carolina I received yesterday:

> Voting registration in South Carolina is made without reference to race. Any figures given as to the number of colored or white registered is purely an estimate. There is no way insofar as this office knows that an accurate estimate could be given.

Mr. President, if the State does not require indicating on a registration certificate, or the records of those certificates, race, then how in the world can anyone determine how many people who registered were Negroes, or whites, or Indians, or what have you? It is impossible.

The Southern Regional Council stated, in issuing these figures, that they were compiled from official records and from best figures available.

In South Carolina, there were no records to go by at all. What I would now like to know is just what available figures did they use in determining registered Negroes in South Carolina? Did they use figures submitted to it by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People? They claimed they took a field check of the 46 counties in South Carolina. Such a task would be as formidable as a general census-taking in that particular field. If they did, I am sure such a study in the southern States would have taken more than the money with which the Ford Foundation provided the council, even though it received the largest amount ever granted by the foundation.

With this question in mind, I asked the Southern Regional Council for their system used in arriving at these figures. I now quote from the reply, which, in my opinion, is as broad as it is long, and still tells nothing as to the formula:

> As our foreword reprinted in the RECORD at page 7684 states: "The attached material on Negro voter registration was compiled in the summer of 1956 from official records or from the best estimates available from reliable sources in each county." Since official figures are not available in South Carolina, we arranged for county-by-county field survey to gather best estimates. Estimated figures as published were derived from interviews with knowledgeable persons in each county. These estimates indicate total increase of approximately 20,000 over our estimate for 1952; 50,000 over 1947.

Now they claim they arranged for a county-by-county survey in South Carolina.

tional Fund, Inc. (of 822 Perdido Street, New Orleans 12, La.), "was initially an adjunct of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. After the exposure of the Southern Conference for Humen Welfare as a Communist front, it began to wither and was finally dissolved, but the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc., continued." The subcommittee found that after 'an objective study,' the 'Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc., is operating with substantially the same leadership and purposes as its predecessor organization, the Southern Conference for Human Welfare." (See Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, hearings, Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc., 1955, pp. V and VIII.)

For the information of Firing Line readers, the following eight current directors of the council have been affiliated with the aforementioned Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc., which was fully exposed in the July 1, 1955, issue of this publication: F. Woods Beckman, Blailsford R. Brazeal, Rufus E. Clement, James M. Dabbs, Charles G. Gomillion, Duncan Hunter, Benjamin E. Mays, and Josephine Wilkins. It may be of interest to recall that the former southern regional director, Aubrey Williams has been VII, and 102; and Southern Conference Educational Fund since 1948. He was named a a member of the Communist Party during the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee's 1954 hearings. (See Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, hearings, Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc., 1955, pp. VI, VII, and 102; and Southern Conference Educational Fund, leaflets and letterheads, 1953–56.)

Mr. JOHNSTON of South Carolina. Mr. President, the picture of this matter boils down to this. Figures compiled by an organization closely tied or related to a Communist front organization are being used in the United States Senate to attempt to shove this civil rights bill down the throats of the American people.

Mr. President, the record of the Southern Regional Council and its shady affiliates and tie-ins with red activites and fronts should be enough to convince anyone of the unreliability of its figures and of the probable design behind their creation.

These figures and accompanying charges were designed to slander the South, divide the Members of Congress, promote race hatred and generally confuse the picture. No doubt, some of the same people who promoted these figures will be the first knocking at the door of the Attorney General or the President's office for a job on the proposed Commission on Civil Rights if it is ever set up.

This bill, Mr. President, contains the vehicle by which people of the type of the Southern Regional Council and Communist front organizations can get into Government. They cannot get elected on their philosophies and programs, but they worm their way into the halls of Congress through such erroneous, generalized official sounding but shallow figures as the Southern Regional Council's report on registration and voting in the South.

Mr. President, I am ready to yield the floor unless there are some questions.

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. JOHNSTON of South Carolina. I yield.

Mr. DOUGLAS. I am very sorry that the Senator from South Carolina, who, in my experience, has always appeared to be fair, has made the statements which he has made, and which I am sure are not founded on fact.

Earlier in the day I introduced a statement, which will be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of today at an earlier point, describing the history and composition of the Southern Regional Council. That statement will show that this council did not spring from the Southern Conference on Human Welfare, but that it sprang from the Committee on Interracial Cooperation.

Mr. JOHNSTON of South Carolina. Does the Senator deny that the same men were on the Southern Conference on Human Welfare?

Mr. DOUGLAS. I simply say that the Southern Regional Council did not spring from the Southern Conference on Human Welfare. It came from the Committee on Interracial Cooperation.

Mr. JOHNSTON of South Carolina. Were not some of the same individuals members of the other body?

Mr. DOUGLAS. There may have been a few, before that other body was taken over by subversive interests.

Mr. JOHNSTON of South Carolina. Does not the Senator find the names of 11 individuals who are members of the Southern Regional Council, which names also appear on the list of the Southern Conference on Human Welfare?

Mr. DOUGLAS. I believe that in every case they got out of the Southern Conference on Human Welfare when un-American groups took that organization over. In its beginning, I think that also was an innocent and decent group.

As I was saying, the Southern Regional Council did not develop from the Southern Conference on Human Welfare, but from the Committee on Interracial Cooperation, started in 1919. This committee included leaders of the churches and church organizations in the South and one of its leading members was the late W. W. Alexander, who was a very fine citizen.

Mr. President, in view of the statements of the Senator from South Carolina, I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the RECORD at this point as a part of my remarks a direct refutation of the statements which the Senator from South Carolina has placed in the RECORD, together with an editorial from the Atlanta Constitution for February 1, 1957, which clearly differentiates the Southern Regional Council from the other group mentioned.

There being no objection, the statement and editorial were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AN ANALYSIS OF THE ATTACK ON SRC IN THE FIRING LINE OF MAY 15, 1957

The Firing Line is the publication of the American Legion's National Americanism Commission, Post Office Box 1055, Indianapolis, Ind. * * * In the issue of May 15, the Firing Line contains an article on the Southern Regional Council. This article presents in the guise of facts allegations against SRC and various of its past and present board members that range from outright falsehoods to cunning distortions designed to support utterly unfounded conclusions. Following is a point by point analysis; the quoted paragraphs are quoted verbatim from the Firing Line.

"Readers of the April 15, 1957 issue of the Firing Line will recall the Council was identified as a 'Southern Red front by Manning Johnson on March 8, 1957, before the State of Louisiana Legislative Committee on Segregation.' The Firing Line report also revealed testimony which reflected the Council was 'formed by James E. Jackson, a Southern organizer of the Communist Party' and 'is affiliated with the Mississippi Council on Human Relations.' "

The Louisiana State body referred to here was set up to combat desegregation and is headed by State Senator William M. Rainach, who is also the chief leader of the White Citizens Councils in that State. Manning Johnson is a self-styled ex-Communist whose testimony has been repudiated by the United States Department of Justice and the Subversive Activities Control Board. His testimony about SRC is demonstrably false. The founding of SRC by a group of outstanding Southerners is a matter of public record. The incorporators were Bishop Arthur J. Moore of the Methodist Church, Ralph McGill, editor of the Atlanta Constitution, Dr. Rufus E. Clement, president of Atlanta University, the late Dr. Charles S. Johnson, president of Fisk University, and the late Dr. Howard W. Odum, professor of sociology at the University of North Carolina. Any claim that these men would have permitted the James E. Jackson in question or any other person of communistic persuasion to play any part in the founding of the organization is fantastic. The founding of SRC is a matter of extensive public record, as reported in the press and official documents, all clearly showing that this charge is an outright falsehood.

The statement that SRC "is affiliated with the Mississippi Council on Human Relations" is both inaccurate and irrelevant. The Mississippi Council is a thoroughly respectable body of the citizens of that State, including among its officers the wife of a cotton broker and the Catholic Bishop of Mississippi. It was for a time affiliated with the Southern Regional Council (not vice versa) though it now functions as an independent group.

"Records of the American Legion reveal a definite trend of interrelationship between the SRC and the Southern Conference For Human Welfare, a defunct Communist-front organization. According to the files of the National Americanism Commission, the following 16 former directors of the SRC have been supporters of this aforementioned subversive organization: Charlotte H. Brown, Louis E. Burnham, George E. Clary, Herbert Davidson, J. M. Ellison, Clark H. Foreman, Guy B. Johnson, David D. Jones, George S. Mitchell, Howard W. Odum, F. D. Patterson, Edwin A. Penick, Homer P. Rainey, Ira DeA. Reid, Forrester B. Washington and Aubrey Williams.

The charge that SRC was related to the Southern Conference for Human Welfare continues to be used by the detractors of this organization although it has long since and repeatedly been refuted. SRC was the official successor to the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, founded in 1919 by a group of outstanding southern churchmen. SRC came into existence at a time when the southern conference had been operating for six years, and it was attacked by some persons on the grounds that it was a more conservative organization set up in competition with the southern conference. It was never in any way connected with the southern conference.

The spurious technique of connection by association used here was exposed for what it is by the Atlanta Constitution in 1953. At that time, Dr. Rufus E. Clement, the distinguished president of Atlanta University, had announced his candidacy for the Atlanta Board of Education. Prosegregationists

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GROVER W. ENSLEY, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Congress of the United States

JOINT ECONOMIC COMMITTEE

(CREATED PURSUANT TO SEC. 5(A) OF PUBLIC LAW 304, 79TH CONGRESS)

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PAUL H. DOUGLAS, ILL.
J. W. FULBRIGHT, ARK.
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ARTHUR V. WATKINS, UTAH
BARRY GOLDWATER, ARIZ.

JOHN W. LEHMAN, CLERK

July 27, 1957

RECEIVED JUL 29 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Our use of the excellent factual material of the Southern Regional Council, secured through the Library of Congress, has led to the usual attacks upon the Council.

I sought to head this off in the Senate by inserting in the Congressional Record yesterday the positive information about the Council's origin. But later in the day, the attack from Firing Line was put in the Record, and I countered with the Council's answer to that attack and an editorial from the Atlanta Constitution of February 1.

I am sending you a copy of the Record at once so that you may have full information about what was said in the Senate yesterday.

It is most regrettable that any currency is given to these irresponsible charges. I have tried to get the true facts about the Council before the Senate as fully as possible. Do let me know if there is further information we should have or issue.

We appreciate the fine work you are doing and the difficulties under which you have to work.

Faithfully yours,

Paul H. Douglas

Paul H. Douglas

PHD:FMg

July 30, 1957

The Honorable Paul H. Douglas
Senate Office Building
Washington, D. C.

My dear Senator Douglas:

This will acknowledge with keen appreciation your letter of July 27 and the enclosures which you were thoughtful enough to send us.

As I read the Record for Friday, July 26, my admiration for both your skill and your fairness in debate continued to grow.

An organization such as ours comes to expect the kind of attack that was made upon us in the Senate, although I must say we are sorry to see the name of the American Legion used to lend respectability to the charges.

We could ask for nothing better, however, than the able and sympathetic defense which you gave. I know I speak for the Council as a whole when I say that we are warmly grateful.

With every good wish, I am

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

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J. ALLEN FREAR, JR., DEL.
RUSSELL B. LONG, LA.
GEORGE A. SMATHERS, FLA.
CLINTON P. ANDERSON, N. MEX.
PAUL H. DOUGLAS, ILL.
EUGENE D. MILLIKIN, COLO.
EDWARD MARTIN, PA.
JOHN J. WILLIAMS, DEL.
RALPH E. FLANDERS, VT.
GEORGE W. MALONE, NEV.
FRANK CARLSON, KANS.
WALLACE F. BENNETT, UTAH
ELIZABETH B. SPRINGER, CHIEF CLERK

RECEIVED AUG 9 1957

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FINANCE

August 6, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

God bless you.

Faithfully yours,

Paul H. Douglas

PHD/jc

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT:

Douglas, Paul H.

REGARDING:

Ala. Council Newsletter and "Confidential" Report on Shades Valley Citizens Council Meeting.

DATE:

August 13, 1957

(SEE)

NAME OR SUBJECT:

Hughes, Robert
Alabama Council on Human Relations

Sent to: Exec. Committee (except M.A.W. & Joe. Wilkins)
Chief State Consultants - Voting Survey
Exec. Directors - State Groups
C. H. Parrish
John Hope, II
Consultants on Cons. Ser. Program
Morris Abram (with Hodding Carter editorial)
Frank Loescher (with Hodding Carter editorial)
John Popham
Ben Segal (with Hodding Carter editorial)
Mr. & Mrs. Bem Price
Art Levin (with Hodding Carter editorial)

file copy

Mailed: Sept. 6, 1957

for original ltr see MA Wright 1957 Corresp.

UNITED STATES SENATE

Committee on Banking and Currency

August 26, 1957

Mr. Marion A. Wright, President
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Office of the President
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

I was more than pleased to have been able to place the materials about the Southern Regional Council in the Record immediately following the attack on the organization.

I have had some personal experience with unfair attacks and I was determined to have the answers appear with the charges.

Your organization has been of great service throughout this civil rights debate. It is true that you, as a private organization, have provided more information and more facts concerning the voting situation than has the Department of Justice. In fact, it is some reflection on the Department that it was necessary for us to turn to private groups for help, especially when that help demands such a high degree of courage on your part.

With best wishes,

Faithfully,

/s/ PAUL H. DOUGLAS

Paul H. Douglas

PHD:HSL

This note from Craft seems to imply that some person or some organization is ~~[illegible]~~ controlling

ONE METHODIST VOICE

BLAKE CRAFT, EDITOR

A MONTHLY PUBLICATION

IN DEFENSE OF

EVANGELICAL METHODISM AND AMERICANISM

"A Voice and Not An Echo"

(UNOFFICIAL, UNAFFILLIATED, UNAFRAID)

CLAYTON, GEORGIA

May 1, 1952

Miss Lois Rogers,
Clayton, Georgia.

Dear Miss Lois:

Your letter requesting that ONE METHODIST VOICE be stopped, has been received.

Please be informed that your name is not now on our mailing list, nor has it been on the mailing list.

This office has no control over any person who desires to mail another person a copy of ONE METHODIST VOICE. Quite a few of my papers are mailed out by others to friends. One physician alone receives 200 copies a month. He does not give me a list of names to whom he sends the paper.

Sincerely yours,

Blake Craft
S

BC-DS BLAKE CRAFT

Dictated
but not read

I compared the handwriting on his paper sent me with handwriting on copies for others, and it seemed alike. I don't believe a word in this note! Strange it didn't come to me any more, if he wasn't sending it to me! He has an office in a building here in town. I heard he paid his secretary $50 a month. Believe she quit some months ago

PASTOR, FIRST METHODIST CHURCH CHAPLAIN, U. S. NAVAL RESERVE

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
VICE-PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, RICHMOND
VICE-PRESIDENT
ALFRED MYNDERS, CHATTANOOGA
VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, NEW ORLEANS
VICE-PRESIDENT
GEORGE S. MITCHELL
EXECUTIVE-DIRECTOR
KATHERINE STONEY
SECRETARY-TREASURER
HAROLD C. FLEMING
DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION
MRS. M. E. TILLY
IN CHARGE OF WOMEN'S WORK

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

RECEIVED
JUN 22
Southern Regional Council

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

June 18, 1953

Dear George:

I have given a good deal of thought to what we should do about One Methodist Voice in view of its more recent issue.

In so far as SRC is concerned I am still of the opinion that we should continue to ignore this publication.

That is also my feeling as to your own personal attitude. I realize, however, that your personal problem is one for solution by you and you may feel that you, individually, should act. I do not think so, but feel that the decision on that point should rest entirely in your hands. I can see, however, that any litigation which you personally may institute would collaterally involve SRC. Hence, if you do contemplate any action--I trust that you do not--I would like to suggest that your course be first submitted to the executive committee in order that you may have the benefit of its thinking.

Now other matters:

1. Does the postponement of the Supreme Court's decision in the segregation cases give us a desirable opportunity for a fresh approach to the Ford people? The point would be made in such approach that the South is given an additional four months of grace within which to prepare to handle the gravest situation with which it has been confronted in many decades. During this interim there should be an organized movement to prepare public opinion for the change which must inevitably follow the decision. We are the one body equipped--with everything except funds--to undertake that task.

2. Even without additional funds from the Ford people should we not, during the next four months, use all of the time and energy we have in preparing the mind of the South for the impending changes?

We might:

a. Convert New South into a bi-monthly containing largely re-prints of editorials and other articles which are sanely written and which urge the South to abide faithfully by what the court shall order. Myidea would be that we should like to put before the editors, to influence their own policy, expressions such as those recently appearing in the Atlanta Journal and Asheville Citizen. It may be that the Field people would make us an additional grant to cover this extra expense.

b. Induce certain radio and TV stations to give us ten or fifteen minutes to be utilized by southerners whom we would induce to speak in favor of gracious acceptance of the court's decision. The preachers are showing a little more independence and some of them might appear for us.

c. Suggest to our state divisions that each of them hold a meeting during the summer at which the same idea of acceptance would be stressed and, if possible, a statement adopted and issued.

My point is that it will be much easier to have harmonious meetings in advance of the decision than after the fat is in the fire.

d. Speed up as rapidly as possible the work of our representatives who are compiling information on present discrepances in public education and the cost of equalization. This information might be released to the press piecemeal--state by state or county by county--so that the public could now be forming some intelligent opinion of the actual situation which will be presented when the decision comes down. The material might be used in the form of press releases to the papers of the particular areas covered by the report. I have no doubt that a great many of our figures will be challenged, but it will be worth something to get the problem discussed, even if it there is no unanimity on the data.

3. Reverting to OMV, I am entirely willing to write Bishop Moore along the general line that I was interested in knowing if the church had taken or planned to take any official action on Brother Craft. I might remind him that when I was last in Atlanta the impression was created on my mind by him and Mr. Mackey that something would be done by way of officially advising Methodists that the allegations of Mr. Craft were completely unsanctioned by the church.

If you think that such a letter would accomplish anything, I would be glad to have you write it and send it up for my signature. I think that it is well for you to do this since I might inadvertantly commit a diplomatic breach.

It was good to see you and Alice the other night. We do hope that you will both come back sometime during the summer. The supply of country ham here is practically unlimited.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Wright

raj

OTV

July 7, 1953

Mr. Leonard Haas
Haas-Howell Bldg.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Leonard:

What do you think we ought to do about the district attorney's letter of July 3 re Blake Craft?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

July 3, 1953

RECEIVED
JUL 6
Southern Regional Council

Mr. Leonard Haas
Attorney at Law
Haas-Howell Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Haas:

In re: Complaint of George S. Mitchell
vs. Blake Craft and
"One Methodist Voice"

I am addressing this letter to you, due to the fact that Mr. Abram stated to me on the occasion of my first conversation with him about this matter that he was pinch hitting for you in your absence. I, therefore, assume that you are interested in following up on it.

Mr. Abram had suggested the possibility of a prosecution of Blake Craft under Section 1718, of Title 18, U.S.C.A., on the theory that since the publication was mailed without any outside cover the front page containing the objectionable matter became the outside cover and, therefore, brought it within the provisions of this statute.

We find out, however, on research by Mr. H. A. Stephens, of this office, that the Courts have considered this matter and construed the statute against your interpretation. Please see United States vs. Higgins, 194 Fed. 539, in which a situation very much on all fours with the present case was considered. The Court there held that the exposed portion of a newspaper mailed without any outside cover did not come within the meaning of the statute.

Mr. Stephens has run this case through Shepards and, insofar as he can find, the matter has never been held otherwise since the date of the Higgins decision, nor has it ever been considered by the Supreme Court of the United States. It is, therefore, possible that the Department of Justice might approve our instituting action in order to further litigate this point. I also notice that in the Higgins decision no mention is made of the

fact that the statute covers objectionable statements contained on a postcard. It is possible that an analogy to the postcard situation might strengthen out contention in the present matter.

However, I notice by the daily papers that the Annual Conference of the Methodists of Georgia took strong action in condemning the Reverend Craft and his publication, and it may be that Mr. Mitchell will feel that he has been sufficiently vindicated in the minds of the people to whom Reverend Crafts publication has been addressed. He also has available to him his rights under State law to bring an action for damages for libel and otherwise to protect himself against this situation. Under these circumstances he might prefer not to press any kind of Federal criminal action at this time. I would appreciate your comments on this point.

If it seems desirable, I will write the Department in Washington for an expression of their views on the advisability of bringing any action in the face of the Higgins decision.

Sincerely yours,

James W. Dorsey

James W. Dorsey
United States Attorney

cc: Mr. Morris Abram, Attorney,
Healey Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

JWD:alt

DIVISION OF NEWSPAPER
AND PERIODICAL MAIL

File under Blake Crapp

AMS-cls
IN YOUR REPLY REFER TO
N AND P
55614

Post Office Department
ASSISTANT POSTMASTER GENERAL
BUREAU OF ~~INNNCEX~~ POST OFFICE OPERATIONS
Washington 25, D. C.

July 31, 1953

Dr. George S. Mitchell
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Reference is made to that portion of your letter of June 25, which you addressed to the Solicitor for the Department, concerning the circulation of the publication mentioned by you.

The law, Sec. 14,20 Stat. 359, as amended; 39 United States Code 226, contained in section 34.20, Postal Laws and Regulations, which is the general law governing the second-class mailing privilege, requires among other things, that a publication to be entitled to second-class entry thereunder and to retain such entry must have a "legitimate list of subscribers" and must not be "designed primarily * * * for free circulation, or for circulation at nominal rates." The circulation of the publication should be mainly to persons who have themselves subscribed for it and paid or agreed to pay therefor at a rate not less than 50 percent of the regular advertised annual subscription price.

The records in the case indicate that at the time admission of the publication as second-class matter was authorized, its circulation conformed to the requirements prescribed for second-class matter.

Sincerely yours,

N. R. Abrams

N. R. Abrams
Assistant Postmaster General.

RECEIVED
AUG 3 1
Southern Regional Council

Press Rel
Outrages Gen.

September 23, 1953

U. S. Senator William Jenner
Senate Internal Security Subcommittee
U. S. Capitol
Washington, D. C.

My dear Senator Jenner:

The Southern Regional Council has published since January, 1946 a small monthly magazine with the title New South. Associated Press despatches on September 20th and thereabouts wrote your Subcommittee as releasing testimony by one Paul Crouch, touching upon publication on behalf of the Communist Party of a sheet with the same title. The release is unclear as to the period in which this Communist publication was issued.

Naturally, as our magazine has this title, we are open to some public confusion on the matter. I would be grateful for your assistance in sending me so much of the transcript or summary of the Crouch testimony as may be publicly available, in order that we may pin down the complete absence of any connection between the two publications.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director

GSM/allo

October 2, 1953

Hon. James W. Dorsey
U. S. Attorney
Post Office Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dorsey:

Our warm thanks for the time and research that went into your reply of July 3 to the Southern Regional Council's inquiry as to possible Federal prosecution of the Rev. Mr. Craft, of Clayton, Georgia, for use of the mails in uttering what the Council considers libellous statements in the April, 1952 issue of his paper, One Methodist Voice.

Our Executive Committee has considered the matter, and I am instructed to write you that the Council does not at this time wish to push the possible case. We are impressed by the value of the action of the North Georgia Conference of the Methodist Church in its condemnation of Mr. Craft and his publication, and incline to the view that action will adequately steer public opinion.

With warm appreciation of your care in reviewing the matter, I am

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director

GSM/allo

cc. Leonard Haas
Morris Abram

United States Department of Justice

ADDRESS REPLY TO
UNITED STATES ATTORNEY
ATTENTION OF
ASSISTANT SHOWN BELOW

OUR FILE

UNITED STATES ATTORNEY
NORTHERN DISTRICT OF GEORGIA
ATLANTA 1

October 9, 1953

RECEIVED
OCT 12
Southern Regional

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

This will acknowledge receipt of and thank you for your letter of October 2nd with reference to Mr. Blake Craft. In view of this letter we will consider our file closed.

I hope that Mr. Craft does not publish any other matter in his paper which gives you any cause of complaint. I notice from the last copy or two which I have seen that he is now directing his fire at Bishop Moore. I am frankly not concerned that anyone will take such attacks seriously.

Yours very truly,

James W. Dorsey

James W. Dorsey
United States Attorney

JWD:alt

cc- Miss Anna Lenora Sass
Marion Vogel

Cut = flow

April 3, 1954

Reverend James A. Mackey
Oxford, Georgia

Dear Reverend Mackey:

I saw today the new outburst from Reverend Blake Craft, in his April, 1954 issue.

Last year when Mr. Craft had quite similar things to say, you will recall that we made available to you and to the Trustees of the Church Building fairly full information as to Mr. Craft's allegations. I want you to know that we stand ready now and at any time to supply any information relating to the Southern Regional Council, which you or the Trustees may desire.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
VICE-PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, RICHMOND
VICE-PRESIDENT
ALFRED MYNDERS, CHATTANOOGA
VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, NEW ORLEANS
VICE-PRESIDENT
GEORGE S. MITCHELL
EXECUTIVE-DIRECTOR
KATHERINE STONEY
SECRETARY-TREASURER
HAROLD C. FLEMING
DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION
MRS. M. E. TILLY
IN CHARGE OF WOMEN'S WORK

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

RECEIVED
MAY 4 1954
Southern Regional Council

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

May 1, 1954

Dear George:

I mailed this morning the interesting copy of The Statesman. Of course, we were all looking for Talmadge to react as he did to the Ford grant. I think that we should have searched our hearts to find what was wrong with us if the good governor had not loosed his blast.

I think that there is nothing more for us to do about this than has been done beyond fortifying ourselves against future attacks by him and others similarly disposed.

My impression is that the material developed when the Methodist minister was dropping his poison into the mails constitutes about what we would need in the future. While I do not have that material at hand, my recollection is that it consisted in part of:

a. Names of all of our officers and directors from organization date, with a brief who's who of each one.

b. List of names of at least some prominent people who were associated with all of the other organizations mentioned, particularly the Southern Conference for Human Welfare.

c. Your own full who's who with all of the embellishments.

d. Copies of letters written by people of stature to the Ford Foundation.

e. Editorials, news articles and ~~the~~ letters certifying to our good morals.

If it would not disrupt the office too much, it seems to me that it would be wise now to collect all of this material and bring it down to date against the time when we will properly need it.

One other point:

Would it be well to issue a form letter to all of the members of our board asking for their advice and suggestions as to enterprises which should properly be undertaken by the central office and the state

divisions? There is but little contact between the staff and the board. We do not wish any member of the board to acquire the conviction that on the important question of policy or program he is not being properly consulted.

Best regards.

Yours sincerely,

Marion

M. A. Wright

MAW/raj

May 4, '54

Dear Marion,

May 1 letter. We've also been touched up, I hear, in Roy Harris' Augusta Courier, fussing about tax exemption for foundation grants, and saying it should be ended. Will see it later - a copy in mails towards us now.

Here is what we did up the last time. I agree with your excellent suggestion that we should collect still more answering material, and we will get busy. The Williamsburg business is on us for the rest of this week, but starting Monday, will do.

Also correct that we should write the Board about new program. Suppose I write them of what we are proposing, and ask their further suggestions or changes?

Sincerely,

GSM

file copy

CONVENTION RESOLUTION NUMBER 7

1. On May 17, 1954, the Supreme Court of the United States in the case of Oliver Brown versus Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas, held that the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment prohibits the States from maintaining racially segregated public schools, even though the physical facilities and other tangible factors, such as curricula and qualifications and salaries of teachers, may be equal.

2. By this decision said Federal Supreme Court overturned principles long established in law, which had been announced and applied in 5 decisions of the Federal Supreme Court, 13 decisions of other Federal Courts, and 59 decisions of the highest courts of States and Territories.

3. By this decision, said Court also assumed legislative power and authority, and acted in violation of the express provisions of the Tenth Article of Amendment of the United States Constitution providing that the powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States ~~reserved to the States~~ respectively, or to the people,

4. In order to arrive at said decision, said Federal Supreme Court held, as a matter of fact, that colored children could not learn and study as well in their own schools, as they could learn and study in mixed schools. This conclusion, based as it was upon the opinions of certain psychologists whose writings were deliberately selected by the members of said Court, is contrary to the facts as known to the people of this State, and an affront to the intelligence of all reasonable men and women.

5. By said decision, the present members of said Court have undertaken to substitute their private and personal views for the law of the land, and to elevate their own eccentric notions to

the high plane of constitutional law.

6. This decision of said Court was politically inspired and promulgated, and in our judgement those who rendered it have thereby demonstrated their lack of fitness for judicial office.

7. This decision was pronounced at the urging and prompting of Herbert Brownell, Attorney-General of the United States, appointed to that important office by President Eisenhower, and the text of the opinion bears the name of the California politician, Chief Justice Earl Warren, who was appointed to said Court by President Eisenhower, upon the recommendation of said Brownell, with instructions, as the members of this Convention do believe, to make the rule of decision subsequently announced by him in said case.

8. Said Supreme Court of the United States is not possessed of power or authority, under the Constitution of the United States, to construe the Constitution of the United States; and the sole power and authority of said Court to construe said Constitution arises from the power given it to decide those classes of cases which the Judiciary Act of Congress permits said Court to entertain and determine.

9. The purpose of said decision is not to afford equal educational opportunities, but to destroy the social order now existing in this State, the continuation of which is desired by her people, and necessary for their continued happiness, concord, prosperity and mutual respect and regard.

10. After the rendition of said decision, the Southern Regional Council which has offices in this State, acclaimed the same and announced its purpose and intention of undertaking agitation to implement and effectuate the purposes thereof.

11. After said decision, those in charge of the leadership of the Georgia Education Association carried a delegation of Georgia

teachers to the Convention of the National Education Association, and at said Convention of the National Education Association a resolution was adopted in favor of the mixing of the races in the public schools, for which resolution said delegation of the Georgia Education Association voted, said delegation later stating that it cast said vote under misapprehension.

NEW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED by the Democratic Party of the State of Georgia in convention duly assembled in the City of Macon on this September 30, 1954, as follows:

First: We condemn the Supreme Court of the United States for the decision which it rendered against the separate public schools. We denounce said decision as a gross and flagrant abuse and perversion of power and authority, and we denounce the personnel of said Court for the rendition of this political opinion.

Second: We condemn President Eisenhower for his appointment to said Court of Chief Justice Warren, for his having caused said Brownell, as Attorney General of the United States, to urge the Court to make said decision, and for having set in motion the forces which led thereto.

Third: Said Southern Regional Council is condemned for its activity in support of said decision. In the judgment of this Convention the workings of said Southern Regional Council are a menace to the institutions of this State, and the people of Georgia, by the force of their opinions, should drive this organization from out midst.

Fourth: We deplore the conduct of those of the present leadership of the Georgia Education Association who have caused the great teaching profession of this State to be credited in the National press with acts and opinions contrary to the actual views of Georgia

teachers, and out of harmony with the ideals of Georgians.

Fifth: We call upon our Senators and Representatives in the Congress of the United States to introduce in that body appropriate Amendments to the Federal Judiciary Act, so that the Federal Courts, including the Supreme Court of the United States, may be stripped of all power and authority to decide cases against the public schools of Georgia or any other State of the Nation.

Sixth: It is the sense of the members of this Convention that said usurped decision of the Federal Supreme Court should not be accepted in this State, but that it should be resisted.

Seventh: We applaud the position of our distinguished leader, Governor Nominate Marvin Griffin, with reference to said decision, as stated by him in the recent campaign before the people, in that he pledges that at all hazards separate schools will be maintained in Georgia and the Georgia way of life preserved. We in turn pledge him our support in this regard and stand ready to do whatever is necessary to this end.

Eighth: It shall be the duty of the nominees of this Convention said decision to the contrary notwithstanding, to uphold, maintain and defend the provisions of the Constitution of this State that there shall be separate schools for the white and colored races. Upon election to their respective offices, it shall be their duty to maintain this law with all the resources of the State and every power at their disposal, which duty each nominee, by acceptance of his nomination, pledged himself to perform.

C
O
P
Y

June 30, 1954

The Honorable Eugene Cook
Attorney General
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Cook

We were somewhat concerned by a news broadcast on Monday to the effect that you might be considering an investigation of the Southern Regional Council, upon some theory of its alleged subversive nature.

We are gratified to observe in today's Constitution that you had been incorrectly quoted, and did not contemplate such an investigation any more than you contemplated it against the American Legion or the Baptist Church.

We do not wish to seem to be unduly proud of our personnel. However, it is our conviction that the men and women who compose the organization, its Board of Directors, and its staff, will compare favorably with any group in the South. Each of them has a reputation which may be damaged by carelessly initiated investigations or rumors of investigations. It is encouraging to note that you are sensitive to the value of a good name and will not impair that value unless there is substantial reason for you to do so.

Your disclaimer of any present purpose to take action which would be detrimental to many of the South's foremost citizens, in our opinion, reflects a proper conception of the duties of your position.

Yours very truly,

/s/

M. A. Wright
President

MAW?eab

HCF

Leonard Haas thought our letter weakish, and suggested roughly these changes, which I have made.

LH will be glad to see MAW, today or (more likely, I thought) to-morrow.

Not mailed

June 30, '54

Editor, ...
Dear Sir,

Roy Harris' political weekly, publlished in Augusta, gave most of its issue of June 28 to what he calls an exposure of the Southern Regional Council. His main charge was that the Council was "the successor" to the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. This is the kind of baseless attack which Georgians have come to expect from Mr. Harris, and the article is full of gross misstatements, cunning omissions, and deceitful innuendo.

The Southern Regional Council was chartered in 1944, after a series of meetings of prominent Southern people, and was and is an independent body, successor only to the old Commission on Interracial Cooperation, begun in the South in 1919 and continued until the Council took over its work.

The Southern Regional Council is an organization combining people from the ministry, church lay leadership, education, business and labor. It has been reasonable, accurate, non-inflammatory, educational, and non-political. It has worked to get an even break for all the people of the South, regardless of race, in matters of health, education, housing, employment, and farming. It can point to some achievements, in lessening violence and tension, in getting better and fairer law enforcement, better public services, and a growing understanding of the dignity of all human beings. It is widely held to be the South's most useful body in race relations.

The Council and all of its officers are opposed to Communism and all that Communism stands for. Mr. Harris does his State and the South a disservice in equating the Council's careful, thoughtful approach with Communism. Nothing pleases Communists more than to have people's own, native, intelligent efforts to solve problems confused with the Communist method of wrecking and revolution.

Georgia has a statute which makes it a crime to engage in subversive activity. If Mr. Harris believes his own charges let him prosecute the Southern Regional Council under the law. The Council's sound Americanism can stand any honest investigation.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

326 words.

Roy Harris' political weekly, published in Augusta, gave most of its issue of June 28 to what he calls an exposure of the Southern Regional Council. His main charge was that the Council was "the successor" to the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. This isthe kind of ~~blind and baseless~~ ill-aimed attack which Georgians have come to expect from Mr. Harris, and the article is full of ~~gross misstatements~~ ~~lies~~, cunning omissions, and deceitful innuendo.

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The Southern Conference for Human Welfare was formed ~~in~~ 1938, and disbanded, in debt and in poor esteem, in 1949. Before its disbanding it organized the Southern Conference Educational Fund, which continues to exist, with offices at New Orleans, and which is the only successor to the SCHW.

~~Previous~~ SRC and SCHW were rival organizations, always entirely distinct, ~~in~~ and different in methods, program, and approach.

The Southern Regional Council is an organization combining people from the ministry, church lay leadership, education, and business and labor. It has been reasonable, accurate, non-inflammatory, educational, and non-political. It is widely held to be the South's most useful body in the field of race relations.

Positive Program

Mr. Harris does his State and his region a disservice in equating SRC's careful, thoughtful approach to these difficult matters with Communism. Nothing pleases Communists more than to have people's own, native intelligent efforts to solve problems confused with the Communist effort for wrecking and revolution.

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C
O
P
Y

July 3, 1953

FILE COPY

Mr. Leonard Haas
Attorney at Law
Haas-Howell Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Haas:

In re: Complaint of George S. Mitchell
vs. Blake Craft and
"One Methodist Voice"

I am addressing this letter to you, due to the fact that Mr. Abram stated to me on the occasion of my first conversation with him about this matter that he was pinch hitting for you in your absence. I, therefore, assume that you are interested in following up on it.

Mr. Abram had suggested the possibility of a prosecution of Blake Craft under Section 1718, of Title 18, U.S.C.A., on the theory that since the publication was mailed without any outside cover the front page containing the objectionable matter became the outside cover and, therefore, brought it within the provisions of this statute.

We find out, however, on research by Mr. H. A. Stephens, of this office, that the Courts have considered this matter and construed the statute against your interpretation. Please see United States vs. Higgins, 194 Fed. 539, in which a situation very much on all fours with the present case was considered. The Court there held that the exposed portion of a newspaper mailed without any outside cover did not come within the meaning of the statute.

Mr. Stephens has run this case through Shepards and, insofar as he can find, the matter has never been held otherwise since the date of the Higgins decision, nor has it ever been considered by the Supreme Court of the United States. It is, therefore, possible that the Department of Justice might approve our instituting action in order to further litigate this point. I also notice that in the Higgins decision no mention is made of the fact that the statute covers objectionable statements contained on a postcard. It is possible that an analogy to the postcard situation might strengthen out contention in the present matter.

However, I notice by the daily papers that the Annual Conference of the Methodists of Georgia took strong action in condemning the Reverend Craft and his publication, and it may be that Mr. Mitchell will feel that he has been sufficiently vindicated in the minds of the people to whom Reverend Craft's publication has been addressed. He also has

available to him his rights under State law to bring an action for damages for libel and otherwise to protect himself against this situation. Under these circumstances he might prefer not to press any kind of Federal criminal action at this time. I would appreciate your comments on this point.

If it seems desirable, I will write the Department in Washington for an expression of their views on the advisability of bringing any action in the face of the Higgins decision.

Sincerely yours,

James W. Dorsey
United States Attorney

cc: Mr. Morris Abram, Attorney,
Healey Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

JWD:alt

July 6, 1954

Mr. Ralph McGill
Editor
The Atlanta Constitution
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. McGill:

As a couple of news broadcasts gave some currency to Roy Harris' broadcast, and as The Constitution carried in its June 30th issue the small story about Attorney General Cook's attitude in the matter, it seems to me that the Council should offer, for publication by the Paper, a letter in reply to the charges.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

July 6, 1954

Dear Sir:

Roy Harris' political weekly, published in Augusta, gave most of its issue of June 28 to what he calls an exposure of the Southern Regional Council. His main charge was that the Council was "the successor" to the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. This is the kind of baseless attack which Georgians have come to expect from Mr. Harris, and the article is full of gross misstatements, cunning omissions, and deceitful innuendo.

The Southern Regional Council was chartered in 1944, after a series of meetings of prominent Southern people, and was and is an independent body, successor only to the old Commission on Interracial Cooperation, begun in the South in 1919 and continued until the Council took over its work.

The Southern Regional Council is an organization combining people from the ministry, church lay leadership, education, business and labor. It has been reasonable, accurate, non-inflammatory, educational, and non-political. It has worked to get an even break for all the people of the South, regardless of race, in matters of health, education, housing, employment, and farming. It can point to some achievements, in law enforcement, better public services, and a growing understanding of the dignity of all human beings. It is widely held to be the South's most useful body in race relations.

The Council and all of its officers are opposed to Communism and all that Communism stands for. Mr. Harris does his State and the South a disservice in equating the Council's careful, thoughtful approach with Communism. Nothing pleases Communists more than to have people's own, native, intelligent efforts to solve problems confused with the Communist method of wrecking and revolution.

Georgia has a statute which makes it a crime to engage in subversive activity. If Mr. Harris believes his own charges let him prosecute the Southern Regional Council under the law. The Council's sound Americanism can stand any honest investigation.

Sincerely,

/s/

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

July 12, 1954

Mr. Marion A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls,
North Carolina

Dear Marion:

You asked about Blake Craft. The ministerial court convicted him of "Unchristian tempers, words and actions" and "imprudent or unministerial conduct." He was acquitted on charges of "disobedience to the order and discipline of the Church." He was suspended from the ministry until the beginning of the 1955 meeting of the North Georgia annual Conference next June. That means his authority to preach, perform marriages, burials, etc., is in suspense. He has given notice that he will appeal the decision before the Southeastern Jurisdiction of the Methodist Church.

Except for one mention of SRC in a round-up story a day or two later in one of the newspapers, we have not been brought publicly into the matter of the trial of Mr. Craft.

Mr. Roy Harris again, in his issue of June 12, 1954, spouts in his red ink, "Ford Foundation Particular Affinity Toward Financing Left-Wingers Shown." He repeated in a front page column a summary of his earlier "findings" against the Southern Regional Council, and in another column said that SRC was using the big grant to force mixing of the races in the schools.

He reprinted, as a cut, a letter which Ralph McGill, unknown to us had written Roy Harris June 29, 1954, as follows:

Mr. Roy Harris
Attorney at law
Augusta, Georgia

June 29, 1954

Dear Roy:

I received in the mail today a copy of the Courier with the article concerning the Southern Regional Council. I do not at all agree with the conclusions reached in the article, since not only was Bishop Arthur Moore among the incorporators, but leading men in every Southern state are, or have been, members of it. Certainly it contains nothing subversive.

There were at least twenty serious errors of fact in the article. What I chiefly want to say to you, and to make a metter of record, is:

There was a direct quotation from me saying that I had joined the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, but had left it when I saw the direction it was taking. This is completely false. I never at any time was a member of this organization nor did I ever attend any of its meetings.

For a number of years it was a respected organization, but later became infiltrated with Communists, and it is a matter of record that I and the Atlanta Constitution helped drive it out of existence.

I simply want to call your attention to the fact that this direct quote was a deliberate falsehood without any substance of fact whatever.

Sincerely,

/s/

Ralph McGill

Roy Harris went on to say that McGill had lied and Harris' item to prove that was a reprint of an earlier column Ralph McGill's (characteristically, date not given) in which after describing the SCHW and its fall from grace , if any, McGill had said that a small Communist Southern headquarters at Birmingham did participate openly in the first SCHW meeting at Birmingham. When this happened, he knew enough to get out and knew enough to know that"the SCHW was finished as it began." Now Mr. Harris says, in some triumph, Mr. McGill had lied and if he was not in it how could he get out. Harris went on to appeal to McGill, in the issue of July 12, to do with the Southern Regional Council, as Harris assumed McGill did with the SCHW, and report to the FBI similar exposition of SRC. Or, if not the FBI, he suggests the House Unamerican Activities Committee. etc., etc.

I have only the one copy of this July 12th issue, and don't know that I can lay hands on another, though I am trying hard to find one to send up to the Fund for the Republic.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

Statement by Mr. Seegrist of WEAS
August 4, 1954

(taken over telephone)

Last Wednesday we called Dr. Mitchell at his office at 63 Auburn Avenue and advised him that we had reported the highlights of the Roy Harris charges regarding the Southern Regional Council. We advised Dr. Mitchell further that the purpose of our call was to give him, in behalf of himself and the Southern Regional Council, equal opportunity to reply to the Harris charges. We explained to Dr. Mitchell that we felt we should be remiss in our purpose and obligations as an American newsman should we not afford him and the Council such an opportunity on this broadcast. For, as we told Dr. Mitchell, we thought the charges severe. We offered Dr. Mitchell the opportunity to come to our studios at any day at any time from that moment until today (Monday, August 9) to make an advance tape recording of any answer which he might see fit to make.

Dr. Mitchell replied that, and we quote, "The charges are poppycock," and refused further comment.

October 8, 1954

Mr. Leonard Haas
Haas-Howell Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Leonard:

Here is a copy of the resolution passed by the Georgia State Democratic Convention at its meeting in Macon, September 30, 1954.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

October 8, 1954

Mr. Morris Abram
Healey Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Morris:

I send you, as of interest, this copy of a resolution of the Georgia State Democratic Committee made at its Convention in Macon, September 30.

I have not sent this around generally, but wanted you to see a copy.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

December 1, 1954

RECEIVED
12-6-54
Southern Regional Council

Editor of the Greenville News
Greenville
South Carolina

Dear Sir:

This letter is not for publication but is for your own information.

On November 10, 1954 there appeared on your editorial page a letter from Stanley F. Morse of Charleston attacking the Southern Regional Council. The letter picks up its material from the Augusta (Ga). Courier and repeats the Courier's insinuations of disloyalty or subversion.

Incidentally these insinuations were made many weeks ago and have been uniformly ignored by the reputable Georgia press. That press is familiar with the Courier's background and reliability. It is also informed about the Southern Regional Council which has its headquarters in Atlanta. The Georgia press, as the enlightened press generally, likewise knows that any group concerned with a larger measure of justice for the Negro population and with the application of Christian principles to an ancient problem runs always the grave risk of being called Communistic.

On the same page on which the letter appeared you had an excellent editorial on the late Dr. Howard Odum. You are perhaps not aware of the fact that Dr. Odum was the first president of the Southern Regional Council and, more than any other individual, may be considered as its author—a fact commented upon in many press notices about Dr. Odum's death. He is one of the 38 officials whom the Courier brands as having records of association with communist-front groups. The remaining 37, while perhaps not so eminent as Dr. Odum embrace a bishop of the Methodist Church, teachers, lawyers, editors (including Ralph McGill and Hodding Carter) and others who would be well known to you as loyal and intelligent American citizens.

The juxtaposition of the Morse letter and your editorial about Dr. Odum seems to be a bit incongruous. We believe that the editorial represents the real views of The News.

As for New South, our magazine is not related by blood, marriage, identity, purpose, personnel or otherwise to any other magazine. If there should ever have been a magazine by that name launched by one Henry Winston and associates (as to which I have no information), it has never had the slightest relationship or connection with our own publication--a fact which Mr. Morse could easily have learned. The name, of course, derives from the title of Henry W. Grady's famous Boston speech.

There are several Greenvilles scattered throughout the country. For all I know, there may have been many papers titled Greenville News. One of them may have been a Communist organ. I should hesitate to print a charge, based upon the mere use of a name, that your paper was communistic when the truth could be so easily ascertained.

The insinuation in Mr. Morse's letter is completely false and libelous.

The Council has heretofore followed the policy of ignoring the fulminations of the Augusta Courier, Mr. Morse and others of their ilk. We shall probably continue that course, relying upon the reputable press, such as the Greenville News, to protect us from such malicious libels. We are therefore now acquainting you with the facts in order that you may be on guard if communications similar to the one from Mr. Morse should come to you for publication.

Judge Richard Foster of your city is president of the South Carolina division of the Southern Regional Council. In addition to being some evidence of the devotion of that group to American principles, his presence in Greenville gives you the opportunity to secure personally any information which you would like to have in regard to the Council.

Yours very truly,

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

By_____
President

MAW/cm

bc Mr. George Mitchell
bc Judge Richard Foster

clip to A. H.
Comments

December 1, 1954

Mr. George B. Tindall
4564 Arrowhead Street
Baton Rouge, Louisiana

Dear Mr. Tindall:

That was certainly mighty kind of you to send the piece from The Greenville News of November 10.

You are quite right in your appraisal of Stanley Morse. I think that informed South Carolinians have his number. The paper called the Augusta Courier which he quotes as though it was a reputable sheet, is actually a political organ of a leading politician in Georgia, one Roy Harris. It gave many issues early this past Summer to piling up a record that our Council was red-related. All poppycock. And as the paper has no reputation we do not dignify it with reply. But we have tried to stamp on the lies when they appear in reputable organs. I arranged for the President of our Council, Marion Wright, to visit the Editor of the Greenville Piedmont about November 24th and point out to him that Morse's letter was silly.

Harris had also picked up the visible circumstance of some Communist sheet published years ago having the name New South. When the Council picked that name for its publication, it had never heard of the Communist sheet, and the two things have no connection organically, historically, or otherwise. I doubt if the Communist Party one showed for more t an three issues. In any case, it is down in the minutes of the Council that the Executive Committee considered twenty-odd names as possibles, and finally settled on this one -- reminiscent of Henry Grady.

The Louisiana Council on Human Relations, which is in part an outgrowth of our movement in that state, now has its employed secretary, Milton Vigo at 303 Board of Trade Annex Building in New Orleans. I hope you and he will be in touch and doing things together.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

4564 Arrowhead Street
Baton Rouge, Louisiana
November 21, 1954

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

On a recent trip to South Carolina to attend the meeting of the Southern Historical Association I picked up the enclosed item from my hometown paper, the Greenville News. You have probably seen it by now, but I am sending it along in case you have not.

I have noticed screwball letters from Stanley F. Morse in a great many other papers. He usually gives his address as Wadmalaw Island. I suppose the most generous assumption would be that he has confused the SRC with the old Southern Conference for Human Welfare and the New South with some Communist propaganda sheet of the same name.

I hope this does not come too late to be of any use to you.

Sincerely,

George B. Tindall

George B. Tindall

I thought it particularly ironic that the page that carried the Morse letter also had the editorial eulogy of Dr. Odum.

RECEIVED
11/23/54
Southern Regional Council

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF
. . . GEORGE S. MITCHELL . . .

TO: G.T.H.

For your Info.

Thanks
G.T.H.

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
VICE-PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, RICHMOND
VICE-PRESIDENT
ALFRED MYNDERS, CHATTANOOGA
VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, NEW ORLEANS
VICE-PRESIDENT
GEORGE S. MITCHELL
EXECUTIVE-DIRECTOR
KATHERINE STONEY
SECRETARY-TREASURER
HAROLD C. FLEMING
DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION
MRS. M. E. TILLY
IN CHARGE OF WOMEN'S WORK

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

December 21, 1954

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

I go along entirely with Leonard Haas on my not writing Mr. Stanley Morse. I am sure that Mr. Haas is correct. The personal satisfaction of writing Mr. Morse was probably the main reason why the idea appealed to me.

The memorandum of December 13 to state organizations in regard to their possible programs seems to me to be excellent. I have not a word of criticism, which is almost unprecedented for me.

Best regards,

M. A. W.

M. A. Wright

MAW:sgd

STUDY ON COMMUNISM AND THE CHURCHES
3041 BROADWAY
NEW YORK 27, N. Y.

RALPH LORD ROY
PAUL A. CARTER

April 7, 1955

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Rm. 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thank you very much for your helpful letter of April 1 with reference to Blake Craft and his activities.

Yes, I am painfully aware of his work. Indeed, I devoted a couple pages to him in my Apostles of Discord -- which you may be able to locate in an Atlanta library, if you are interested. However, I was happy to be reminded of Craft's existence, as I have not received his paper for many months now. I shall write him immediately.

One of us will contact you further on this matter, either by mail or personally.

Thank you very much.

Faithfully yours,

Ralph L. Roy
Ralph Lord Roy

RLR:ef

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF
. . . GEORGE S. MITCHELL . . .

June 1, 1955

HCF:

I recall that there was some idea that one of the studies being made by the Fund for the Republic might review the matter of Roy Harris' criticisms of SRC. I am more and more impressed with the wisdom of hoping that that will happen.

GM

eab/

Outlawed B
See
For orig cover
See "Fatigue
Cancel pressure
under Churches
Setting
OTP

August 31, 1955

Dr. Almon R. Pepper
The National Council
Protestant Episcopal Church
Church Missions House
281 Fourth Avenue
New York 10, New York

Dear Dr. Pepper:

Thank you for writing me August 17th.

We have had an occasional annoyance in the past from whatever it is that calls itself the Grass Roots League, Inc., at Charleston, South Carolina.

We think this is the creature of a man named Stanley F. Morse of that city. So far as the proposed publication of the Grass Roots League goes, its principle accusation against us is that "The Southern Regional Council was exposed last year as an offshoot of the Communist defunct front Southern Conference for Human Welfare by the Augusta Courier." This is cunning language contrived to leave the impression that the Augusta Courier is a reputable newspaper. There is a well known newspaper called the Augusta Chronicle which is published daily. The Augusta Courier is a weekly sheet owned by a Georgia political figure named Roy Harris. It is in the bad tradition of free-booting weekly newspapers in Georgia: red letter headlines; confederate flag at the masthead. It constantly foams at the mouth in opposition to the established constitutional rights of Negro persons and in opposition to most worthy causes.

The facts are that the Southern Regional Council was established in 1944 by a group of people, little if at all related to those who had embarked in 1938 on the enterprise of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. The mere founding of this new organization, while the Southern Conference for Human Welfare was still vigorously alive, indicates a quite different point of view among those who set up SRC. As a matter of fact, the Southern Conference for Human Welfare had its own proper successor in a would-be-tax-exempt wing of itself called the Southern Conference Educational Fund, which is still in existence. It is fraudulent to claim that the SRC is an offshoot of the SCHW. At the time of the Augusta

Courier's original charges of this nature, the reputable press ignored it, with one or two exceptions, and in those instances the papers called us for our comments and printed our comments along with the Augusta Courier's charges.

It is a clear misstatement to say that I was vice-chairman of the SCHW in 1938. I do think I held some office in the Committee for North Carolina at about that time, and the Committee for North Carolina was an affiliate of SCHW. Quite true that I am against the use of injunctions in labor disputes. Quite true that I allowed my name to be used as a sponsor for the first meeting of the Civil Rights Congress, supposing that it would be an honest and responsible movement. But I went to none of its meetings, paid no dues, never joined it, and when next they wrote and asked me to be a sponsor again, indicated that I would not be associated with them. I was from 1944-47 a member of the Board of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. And I have been for a good many years a member of the Executive Committee of the Highlander Folk School. Highlander would vigorously resist the charge that it knows or follows the Communist Party Line.

I assume that the charges of the Grass Roots League against other persons are at least equally baseless or distorted.

The thing to have in mind is that the Grass Roots League and its companion organizations are engaged in a genuine effort to subvert lawful government in the United States, and in pursuit of that aim resort to charges of subversion against those who propose compliance!

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
(Dictated August 29th)

October 14, 1955

HCF:

Leonard Haas expressed an interest in laying his eyes upon the mention of him in Roy Harris' so-called paper.

Would you at your convenience contrive a visit to Mr. Haas, paper in hand.

GSM/eab

Criticisms of SRC

FILE COPY

Any charges that the Southern Regional Council has Communist connections or is influenced by Communist ideas are poppycock. The Southern Regional Council is made up of reasonable, tolerant, and forward-looking citizens who wish to see the states in the South do a sober, responsible job of accommodating themselves to the changes in the world around us. As to investigations, they are perfectly welcome. We have nothing to hide. All that will result will be red faces for those who set on the investigators.

The Southern Regional Council is made up of some eighty people, who are members of its Board of Directors. Some of them are white and some are Negro. All of them are distinguished for their active and thoughtful careers within the South. What a tragedy for a state attorney general, sworn to uphold the law, to attack one of the few efforts which proceeds within the South to deal truthfully and in mutual respect with the problems which the region confronts! Watch the birdie. Who is proposing conduct subversive of the Constitution and courts of our land?

IN ANSWER TO ATTORNEY EUGENE COOK'S SPEECH OF OCTOBER 19, 1955.
FOR THE GEORGIA PEACE OFFICERS ASSOCIATION.

Criticism
SRC

November 8, 1955

Mr. Joseph B. Parham, Editor
Macon News
Macon, Georgia

Dear Mr. Parham:

Recently, the Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation, an affiliate of the Council, called on Governor Marvin Griffin. I enclose a copy of a resume of the meeting. I hope you will use something on this in your report to Southern School News next month.

Incidentally, I noticed that your report, carried in the November issue, failed to include statements by the Southern Regional Council and the Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation in refutation to the attack made on them by Atty. General Eugene Cook. These statements were given to the press and we were disappointed that they were not included along with the charges. I enclose copies of both statements.

If ever we can be of assistance to you in supplying information, please let us know.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Editorial Assistant

Enclosures-3
JC/ys

Criticism of SRC

November 10, 1955

Mr. Marion A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls,
North Carolina

Dear Marion:

What do you want to do about conferring with the lawyer from the Fund for the Republic?

Harold will be sending you the best account we have of what was in the Journal-American, and what we know -- which is by no means all -- of what Fulton Lewis, Jr., has been saying.

You could go up, or you and Leonard could go. We would be happy with whatever arrangements you care to make. The trip is, of course, at SRC expense.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
cc: RA

November 10, 1955

MEMORANDUM

TO: HCF

FROM: GSM

There was talk at the Board meeting yesterday afternoon about getting around to our state offices something that they called directives on how to counter the attacks on SRC.

eab/

Hon. Brooks Hays,
Member of Congress,
U. S. Capitol,
Washington, D. C.

December 14th, 1955.

Dear Brooks,

The absurd man Roy Harris, who publishes a weekly sheet called the Augusta Courier, devotes the main column of his issue of December 12th,'55 to an open letter to members of the Georgia delegation in the Congress. It is a diatribe against the Fund for the Republic, and an appeal for sharply limiting what foundations may do, and for putting ordinary taxes on their money. Generally in the spirit of the Reece Committee, to which he refers.

The references to SRC are as follows:

"The Augusta Courier has proved beyond any doubt that the Ford Foundation and its subsidiaries have contributed three hundred and ninety thousand dollars to the Southern Regional Council to fight segregation in Georgia".

"Not only have we proved this beyond any doubt, but our charges have never even been denied".

"In addition, we have proved that the Director of the Southern Regional Council is an ex-official of the communist-front Southern Conference for Human Welfare, that twenty-four members of the Board of Directors of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare are now Directors of the Southern Regional Council and that at least thirty-eight officers, members of the Executive Committee or members of the Southern Regional Council's Board of Directors have known records of association with various organizations which have been cited as communist-fronts by either the Attorney General of the United States of the House Committee Investigating Un-American Activities".

Bilge, but sent to members of Congress it achieves dignity.

Hon. Brooks Hays,
U.S. Capitol,
Washington, D. C.

December 14th, 1955.

Items: No difficulty about "proving" that the Fund for the Republic gave us $390,000. We put out a press release on the grant April 1st., 1954 of $240,000; and a press release on the grant October 1st. of $150,000. "To fight segregation in Georgia", our 1951 statement of policy and purposes, enclosed, said that the South of the future was one in which segregation would be recognised as a cruel and needless burden on the human spirit, and would no longer be imposed; and we said we were working to that end. And we and our affiliated Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation support the decision of the Supreme Court.

The Director of the SRC is GSM. Quite true that GSM was a member of the Board of the SCHW, from about 1944 into 1947, I do not take it as established that the SCHW was a Communist front. The Attorney-General of the U. S. has not so listed it, so far as I have heard. Doubtless true that the Un-American Activities Committee has charged it with being a bunch of bad eggs; all I know is that there were plenty of good guys on it, and that as long as I was with it I worked to keep it straight.

"Twenty-four members of the Board of Directors of SCHW are now Directors of the Southern Regional Council". This is "achieved" by making use of the list of all persons who had ever served on our Board, which list was duly supplied to the Cox Committee on its request. I can count on our present Board of Directors of SRC maybe 9 or 10 who were identified with any prominence with the SCHW.

"Thirty-eight officers, members of the Executive Committee or members of the Southern Regional Council's Board of Directors have known records of association with various organizations ..."

Same screwball business of taking the list of the whole 109 people who at the time of the Cox Committee had ever served on our Board. I daresay most of those thus charged with disloyal associations would answer with proof that their associations, if existent, were not disloyal.

The truth is that this sort of guff is raked together by professional hate-mongers, and given currency by Mr. Harris in his unhallowed sheet. Anybody sensible knows it is lies, trotted out in pursuit of subversion of the Constitution and Courts of the United States. But I wanted to make sure that at least one member of Congress had the answers. Harris' paper has been printing this sort of thing, in detailed mis-charges, for months. I could answer it with a showing of ten or a dozen flat lies; but never mind for now.

Sincerely yours,

(Dr. George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director.)

GSM:rl.
Encl.

April 25, 1956

TO: GSM
FROM: HCF
RE: Harris charges

Here is a stab at cataloging Roy Harris' lies about SRC. I dare say it would be possible, by tediously plowing through more issues, to turn up some further nonsensical items. But the ones treated here represent the substance of Harris' mythology about us, and I should think any reasonable person would see how he works from this much analysis.

Let me know whether this is the kind of thing you had in mind and how close this comes to meeting the need as you see it.

November 29, 1956

Editor
News and Courier
Charleston, S. C.

Dear Sir:

Somebody sent us in from somewhere a snippet from the News and Courier of November 8, 1956, which was a printed letter from one James E. Godkin of Beaufort. Mr. Godkin told asserted untruths about the Southern Regional Council. The truth is as in the enclosed mimeod pamphlet. I am not asking the News and Courier to print the pamphlet, but I do think it is fair to ask that one or two on the editorial staff inform themselves of the truth.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mbo
Enc. SRC-Origins and Aims
CC: James E. Godkin, Esq.
Beaufort, S. C.

BCC: Miss Helen Louise Cohen
94 Oliver Street
Rochester 7, N.Y.

RECEIVED DEC 4 1956

The News and Courier
ESTABLISHED 1803
CHARLESTON, SOUTH CAROLINA

THOMAS R. WARING
EDITOR

Dec. 1, 1956.

Mr. George S. Mitchell,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Room 432,
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.,
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you for your letter of Nov. 29 with enclosure.

I note that you say the letter by Mr. Godkin which we published Nov. 8 contains "assorted untruths", and that the truth is contained in the material you enclosed. I have read that material and will pass it along to Mr.Godkin for his information.

I do not see a bill of particulars on the "untruths", and on re-reading Mr. Godkin's letter I find that he refers to the Southern Regional Council as "the de facto successor to the old Southern Conference for Human Welfare." I find no reference to the Conference in the material that you sent.

Is it your contention that the Southern Regional Council is not the "de facto successor to the old Southern Conference for Humal Welfare"? If so, will you give us a letter so stating, for publication?

We make it a practice, whenever statements that we publish are contested, of offering an opportunity to contradict them within reasonable limits, and we now make that offer to you.

Sincerely,

T.R.Waring,
Editor.

Criticisms

December 4, 1956

Mr. T. R. Waring
Editor
The News and Courier
Charleston, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Waring:

We do not feel called upon to speak in derogation of any other organization. But we think that the record should be set straight as to the origin of the Southern Regional Council; in view of a recent letter in the News and Courier from Mr. James E. Godkin from Beaufort.

Mr. Godkin charged that the Southern Regional Council is the successor of an organization called the Southern Conference for Human Welfare.

The Southern Regional Council was chartered early in 1944 and is the direct outgrowth of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, which was founded in 1919. The Southern Conference for Human Welfare was organized in 1938 and survived until about 1949. One can readily see that the Council was in existence about five years prior to the disbandment of the SCHW; and therefore, the Council could not possibly be the successor of the SCHW as Mr. Godkin charges.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

Copy to:

Frank Loescher
Maxwell Hahn
Harry Fleischman - April 10, 1957

Extra copies attached

Clerics Predict Racial Problem Will Be Solved

TUSCALOOSA — The Ala. Council on Human Relations heard predictions that a solution to the South's racial problem would be realized through "patience and discipline".

Approximately 400 members of the council heard this prediction from two speakers, one white and the other Negro.

They were Dr. Dan C. Whitsett, pastor of the First Methodist Church, Sylacauga, Ala., and the Rev. Raymond F. Harvey, pastor of the Greenwood Baptist Church for Negroes at Tuskegee.

Dr. Duncan Hunter, pastor of the First Methodist Church Alexander City, was re-elected chairman of the council, which met at Stillman College, a Presbyterian school for Negroes.

Dr. C. G. Vomillion, dean of students at Tuskegee Institute, was reelected vice chairman William Irby, Sylacauga, was named secretary, and J. E. Brooks, Alabama State College Montgomery, was reelected treasurer.

The council originally was called the Alabama Inter-Racial Commission, founded in the early 1920's.

KLANSMEN
ARE MARCHING BACK TO THE
KLAVERNS
TO
DEFEND OUR LEADERS
DOES YOUR PREACHER
PREACH SEGREGATION?
INTEGRATION IS UNSCRIPTUAL
KLANSMEN
WILL DEFEND AND PROTECT
THE
PURITY OF WHITE WOMANHOOD
AGAINST
ALIENS WHO SEEK TO DESTROY
THE WHITE RACE BY
MONGRELIZATION
NO GOVERNMENT IS ANY STRONGER
THAN ITS WOMANHOOD
THE YOUTH OF TODAY WILL BE
YOUR LEADER OF TOMORROW
HELP US FIGHT THE EVILS
OF COMMUNISM
AND PRESERVE OUR
SOUTHERN WAY OF LIFE
WITH SEGREGATION
U. S. KLANS, KNIGHT KU KLUX KLAN

From: The Alexander City Outlook
Friday, March 22, 1957

WE QUOTE:

Mr. J. C.

Wouldn't you know that the K. K. K. would get out its literature at the most inopportune time. This morning, not long after coming into the Chamber office, an industrial prospect walked in, and we began talking about the excellent opportunities and facilities which Alexander City offers his firm. After talking for some length, he stated that all these things seemed to be true, but that the K. K. K. literature which he found left on his windshield wiper this morning left a bad taste in his mouth, and a bad impression about the community. He stated that attitudes of a community were important to his firm and that when they heard about the incident, he was not too sure about their reaction as to their wishing to continue to consider Alexander City as a possible location.

I tried to explain that such material must have come from outside Alexander City. Unfortunately, I am afraid the damage has been done, and that we can forget this particular person's firm as a potential industrial prospect.

Lewis Lawrence, Mgr.,
Chamber of Commerce, Inc.

Statement concerning SRC which appeared in Research Bulletin No. 2, issued by the Grass Roots League, Inc., Box551, Charleston, S. C.

"The Southern Regional Council of Atlanta is conducting racial integration propaganda among church and other groups, and recently has received a $240,000 grant from the "Fund of the Republic" (Ford Foundation) for "educational purposes" in 12 Southern states. The Southern Regional Council in 1951 received $2,500 from the Sidney Hillman Foundation (C.I.O.) for improvement of race relations and social justice in the South* (N. Y. World-Telegram, March 31, 1951). Communist affiliations of members of the board of directors of the Southern Regional Council are disclosed by a series of articles in the AUGUSTA (Georgia) COURIER beginning with its issue of August 16, 1954, based on reports and records of the House-Un-American Activities Committee and the U. S. Attorney General, stating: "At least 38 of SRC's officials and members of its board of directors have association with groups and activities which have been branded as Communist-fronts by responsible federal officials or congressional committees...That Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director of SRC, was also a top official in the Southern Conference for Human Welfare and his name has been linked to other 'red' fronts, according to records and reports of the House Committee Investigating Un-American Activities." The Red records of many of these SRC officials are being published currently. The official monthly publication of the SRC is called NEW SOUTH. Is it the successor or continuation of the Communist Party organ, NEW SOUTH, launched August, 1938, with negro Communists Henry Winston and Benjamin Davis among its editors? Also the Southern Conference Educational fund, (whose address is 822 Perdido St., New Orleans), under investigation by the Senate Internal Security Sub-committee as a poosible Communist-front, is headed by James A. Dombrowski, formerly secretary of the Communist-front Southern Conference for Human Welfare, at 808 Perdido St., New Orleans. In addition, the House Un-American Activities Committee lists as subversive some 87 Communist and Socialist organizations which have been active in the pro-negro campaign.

*Underlined portions of the statement were italicized in the original.

for extra copy see: "Criticisms - Congressional Debates - attacks on S.R.C, 1957"

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P
Y

THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD * HOUSE

Thursday, June 13, 1957

Page 8073

MR. CELLER:

One (can) hardly tell from members of various Southern states that there has been no deprivation of the right to vote because of a man's color. I like to believe what my colleagues tell me, and I might say that at first blush I do believe them, but there are many contradictions of what these gentlemen state. For example, there is a report by the research office of the Southern Regional Council received from the Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress which clearly indicates deliberate attempts to exclude Negroes from voting and those exclusions are very serious.

.....

MR. DAVIS:- Page 8080

Now to get down to this amendment the gentleman from New York (Mr. Celler) gave as an authority for some statement he made on the floor here a few minutes ago the Southern Regional Council, Inc. I want to tell you something about the Southern Regional Council. It started off as that organization which was designated as a Communist-front organization by the Attorney General, the Southern Conference for Human Welfare.

.....

MR. DAVIS:

The Southern Conference for Human Welfare was designated as a Red front, and the American Legion publication, the Firing Line, of May 15, 1957, gave this list of former directors of the Southern Regional Conference who were connected with the Southern Conference for Human Welfare: Charlotte H. Brown,

George E. Clary, J. M. Ellison, Guy B. Johnson, Louis E. Burnham, Herbert Davidson, Clark H. Foreman, David D. Jones, George S. Mitchell, F. D. Patterson, Homer P. Rainey, Forrester B. Washington, Howard W. Odum, Edwin A. Penick, Ira DeA. Reid, and Aubrey Williams.

Any organization that has such a long string of directors who have a long record of connection with subversive and front organizations in the House Committee on Un-American Activities, I say is not a respectable source of information for us to use when we are dealing with the bill before us.

THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD - HOUSE

Thursday, June 13, 1957

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MR. DAVIS

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Charlotte H. Brown	Louis E. Burnham
George E. Clary	Herbert Davidson
J. M. Ellison	Clark H. Foreman
Guy B. Johnson	David D. Jones

For surpassing all human philosophies and ideologies, is an imperishable Reality: the Love of God in Christ Jesus our Lord.

Leader and People (in unison): Being thus rooted and grounded in his love we bow our knees before the Father, from whom every family in heaven and on earth is named, that he may grant us the power to comprehend what is the breadth and length and height and depth of the love of Christ, that we may be filled with all the fullness of God.

Leader: Who shall separate us from the love of Christ? Shall famine?

People: Lord, we thank thee for our daily bread. Thou hast taught us to take it no longer simply for granted by having made us taste physical hunger. Glory to thee that at the same time thou hast also evoked the hunger and the thirst of our soul for thy eternal Word.

Voice: I am the bread of life; he who comes to me shall not hunger, and he who believes in me shall not thirst.

Leader: Who shall separate us from the love of Christ? Shall nakedness?

People: Lord, we have lost many things. All that we called "life" before has fallen from us like an old cloak. We find ourselves shivering and naked in a changed world. Yet, O Lord, thy mercy has turned our loss into gain by stripping our life of flimsiness and cheap decoration as well, so that the X-rays of the Truth should freely penetrate us.

Voice: My word is living and active as it discerns the thoughts and intentions of your heart. And before me no creature is hidden but all are open and laid bare to my eyes.

Leader: Who shall separate us from the love of Christ? Shall peril?

People: Lord, have mercy upon us when the cold hand of fear grips our hearts. Gorgive us when the brainwash of tense days and wakeful nights puts the reproach on our lips: "Our God, do you not care if we perish?" Assure our fainting faith that in

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George S. Mitchell

F. D. Patterson

Homer P. Rainey

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Howard W. Odum

Edwin A. Penick

Ira DeA. Reid

Aubrey Williams.

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Criticisms - James C. Davis
See also: Survey, Voting
(distrib. of)

June 14, 1957

Mr. Howard Schuman
Office of Senator Paul Douglas
Senate Office Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Schuman:

I thought you and Senator Douglas should have the enclosed copy of my letter to Representative James C. Davis protesting his attack on the Southern Regional Council. Also enclosed are copies of editorials from the Atlanta Constitution and the Chattanooga Times commenting favorably on the Council and its work.

I have also sent copies of the enclosed to Representative Celler.

If you should find yourselves in need of documentation on the Council's origins or activities, do let me know.

With kindest regards to you and the Senator,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/hs

encs.

"Criticism - James C. Davis
See also: Survey Voting
(distrib. 7)

June 14, 1957

Hon. Emanuel Celler
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Celler:

We felt that you would like to have a copy of the enclosed letter to Representative James C. Davis protesting his recent attack on the Southern Regional Council. Also enclosed are copies of editorials from the Atlanta Constitution and the Chattanooga Times commenting favorably on the Council and its work.

Please feel free to make any use you may wish of the enclosed letter and editorials.

With every good wish, I am

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF:hs

encs

June 14, 1957

Hon. James C. Davis
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Davis:

In this morning's Atlanta Constitution, the following paragraphs appear:

> The Stone Mountain congressman attacked statistics on Negro voting in the South as prepared by the Southern Regional Council and quoted to the House by Rep. Celler (D-NY).
>
> Davis, in his speech, linked the Southern Regional Council with an earlier Southern Conference for Human Welfare, some of whose members he said had long records of connection with subversive front organizations.
>
> "I say that is not a respectable source of information for us to pass on in connection with this bill," he asserted.

While we have not seen the full text of your remarks, the views attributed to you above are wholly unjustified. The Southern Regional Council is the direct successor to the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, which was founded in 1919, and has never had any connection with the Southern Conference for Human Welfare or its successor, the Southern Conference Educational Fund.

Furthermore, any suggestion that the Southern Regional Council is or has ever been sympathetic to the Communist movement is utterly false. Since it was founded, the Southern Regional Council has been squarely opposed to Communism and all other totalitarian philosophies. Untrue allegations to the contrary do a grave disservice to some of the South's finest citizens, and give comfort only to the Communists themselves.

The Southern Regional Council's findings on Negro voter registration in the South stand on their own merits. The study was conducted last summer as part of the Council's continuing survey of progress in this field, and the results were supplied to the Library of Congress at its request.

Wherever available, official sources were drawn on. You may be interested to know that the Georgia registration figures cited in our report were those on file at the office of the Georgia Secretary of State as of late summer 1956.

Very truly yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/hs

cc: Rep. Emanuel Celler

STATEMENT OF CONFERENCE OF WHITE
SOUTHERNERS ON RACE RELATIONS

Atlanta, Georgia
April 8, 1943

In October , 1942 a representative group of Southern Negro leaders met in Durham, N. C., and issued a statement in which they addressed themselves "to the current problems of racial discrimination and neglect, and to ways in which we may cooperate in the advancement of programs aimed at the sound improvement of race relations, within the democratic framework."

Their statement is so frank and courageous, so free from any suggestion of threat and ultimatum, and at the same time shows such good will, that we gladly agree to cooperate.

We do not attempt to make here anything like a complete reply to the questions raised nor to offer solutions for all the vexing problems. We hope, however, to point the pathway for future cooperative efforts and to give assurance of our sincere good will and desire to cooperate in any sound program aimed at the improvement of race relations.

These Negro leaders rightly placed emphasis in their statement on discrimination in the administration of our laws on purely racial grounds. We are sensitive to this charge and admit that it is essentially just. From the Potomac to the Rio Grande there are some ten million Negroes. While all citizens are governed by the same laws, it is recognized that Negroes have little voice in the making and enforcement of the laws under which they must live. They are largely dependent upon the will of the majority group for the safety of life and property, education and health, and their general economic condition. This is a violation of the spirit of democracy. No Southerner can logically dispute the fact that the Negro,

as an American citizen, is entitled to his civil rights and economic opportunities.

The race problem in any Southern community is complicated by our economic limitations. The factors which have kept the South a tributary section have also kept it poor and lacking in sufficient industry to develop and to provide enough jobs and enough public funds for every public need. Yet the only justification offered for those laws which have for their purpose the separation of the races is that they are intended to minister to the welfare and integrity of both races. There has been widespread and inexcusable discrimination in the administration of these laws. The white Southerner has an obligation to interest himself in the legitimate aspirations of the Negro. This means correcting the discrimination between the races in the allocation of school funds; in the number and quality of schools, and in the salaries of teachers. In public travel where the law demands a separation of the races, primary justice and a simple sense of fair play demand the facilities for safety, comfort and health should be equal. The distribution of public utilities and public benefits, such as sewers, water, housing, street and sidewalk paving, playgrounds, public health and hospital facilities should come to the Negro upon the basis of population and need.

It is recognized that there is often practical discrimination by some peace officers and in some courts in the treatment of Negro prisoners and in the abrogation of their civil rights. There is no such discrimination incorporated in the laws of any of the Southern states. False arrests, brutal beatings and other evils must be stopped.

In the economic field, unquestionably procedures should be undertaken to establish fully the right to receive equal pay for equal work. To do otherwise works a wrong to our entire economic life and to our self respect. With so large a proportion of our wage-earning population belonging to the minority race, if we cannot plan for a well-trained, well-employed and prosperous Negro population, the economic future of the South is hopeless.

Most of the Negroes in the South are on farms and in rural communities. Failure to provide for them all the facilities for improving agricultural practices through schools, county agents, supervision holds back all of the South. Fair wages, longer tenures of leases and increased opportunities for farm ownership are also necessary.

All men who believe in justice, who love peace and who believe in the meaning of this country are under the necessity of working together to draw off from the body of human society the poison of racial antagonism. This is one of the disruptive forces which unless checked will ultimately disturb and threaten the stability of the nation. Either to deny or to ignore the increased tension between the white and the colored races would be a gesture of insincerity.

That there are acute and intricate problems associated with two races living side by side in the South cannot be denied. But these problems can be solved and will ultimately disappear if they are brought out into an atmosphere of justice and good will. If we approach them with contempt in one group and with resentment in the other group, then we work on hopeless terms. The solution of these problems can be found only in men of both races who are known to be men of determined good will. The ultimate solution will be found in evolutionary methods

and not in ill-founded revolutionary movements which promise immediate solutions.

We agree with the Durham Conference that it is "unfortunate that the simple efforts to correct obvious social and economic injustices continue, with such considerable popular support, to be interpreted as the predatory ambition of irresponsible Negroes to invade the privacy of family life." We agree also that "it is a wicked notion that the struggle by the Negro for citizenship is a struggle against the best interests of the nation. To urge such a doctrine, as many are doing, is to preach disunity, and to deny the most elementary principles of American life and government."

It is futile to imagine or to assert that the problem will solve itself. The need is for a positive program arrived at in an atmosphere of understanding, cooperation and a mutual respect.

Theodore F. Adams, Richmond, Virginia
Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames, Atlanta, Georgia
Miss Fannie Bame, Augusta, Georgia
Noble Y. Beall, Atlanta, Ga.
Noel R. Beddow, Birmingham, Alabama
George C, Bellingrath, Rabun Gap, Georgia
Albert D. Betts, Orangeburg, South Carolina
Rabbi Stanly Brav, Vicksburg, Mississippi
Wright Bryan, Atlanta, Georgia
A. R. Buhrman, Gainesville, Florida
A. C. Burttram, Birmingham, Alabama
William E. Cole, Knoxville, Tennessee
R. L. Cousins, Atlanta, Georgia
Bishop Charles Clingman, Louisville, Kentucky
W. H. Crawford, Atlanta, Georgia
Virginius Dabney, Richmond, Virginia
Mrs. Andrew Dale, Columbia, Tennessee
Mrs. George E. Davis, Orangeburg, South Carolina
Miss Mary DeBardeleben, Atlanta, Georgia
F. M. Dickenson, Memphis, Tennessee
J. C. Dixon, Macon, Georgia
S. Hughes Garvin, Louisville, Kentucky
Mrs. Nathaniel Gist Gee, Greenwood, South Carolina
William G. Gehri, Memphis, Tennessee
Mrs. Rebecca M. Gershon, Atlanta, Georgia
C. H. Gillam, Atlanta, Georgia
Bishop Robert E. Gribbin, Asheville, North Carolina
Carey E. Haigler, Birmingham, Alabama
Julian LaRose Harris, Atlanta, Georgia
Mrs. Henry Havens, Jacksonville, Florida
Waights G. Henry, Atlanta, Georgia
Waights G. Henry, Sr., Anniston, Alabama
W. C. Henson, Cartersville, Georgia
Mrs. Herman Heyman, Atlanta, Georgia
John L. Hill, Nashville, Tennessee
John W. Inzer, Asheville, North Carolina
Miss Annie Tait Jenkins, Atlanta, Georgia
M. Ashby Jones, Atlanta, Georgia
Smith L. Johnston, Sr., Woodstock, Georgia
Ryland Knight, Atlanta, Georgia
Bernard J. Kane, Atlanta, Georgia
Nat G. Long, Atlanta, Georgia

Ralph McGill, Atlanta, Georgia
Frank McCallister, Atlanta, Georgia
Miss Alice McLarty, Birmingham, Alabama
Rt. Rev. Msgr. T. James McNamara, Savannah, Georgia
Edward G. Mackay, Atlanta, Georgia
Wm. H. Marmion, Birmingham, Alabama
Rabbi David Marx, Atlanta, Georgia
Miss Lucy Randolph Mason, Atlanta, Georgia
Armand May, Atlanta, Georgia
Haskell M. Miller, Knoxville, Tennessee
Bishop Arthur J. Moore, Atlanta, Georgia
Mrs. Audley Morton, Athens, Georgia
N. C. Newbold, Raleigh, North Carolina
Dr. Howard W. Odum, Chapel Hill, North Carolina
Dr. Stuart R. Oglesby, Atlanta, Georgia
W. M. Parker, Atlanta, Georgia
J. M. Payne, Columbia, South Carolina
A. M. Pennybacker, Chattanooga, Tennessee
E. C. Peters, Augusta, Georgia
H. W. Pittman, Porterdale, Georgia
Wm. J. Proctor, Atlanta, Georgia
H. T. Quillian, LaGrange, Georgia
Mrs. W. H. Ratliff, Sherard, Mississippi
Miss Rebecca Reid, Columbia, South Carolina
J. McDowell Richards, Atlanta, Georgia
James L. Robb, Athens, Tennessee
R. L. Russell, McDonough, Georgia
John W. Shackford, Greenville, South Carolina
Neal B. Spahr, Knoxville, Tennessee
Mrs. A. H. Sterne, Atlanta, Georgia
John B. Tate, College Park, Georgia
Mrs. M. E. Tilly, Atlanta, Georgia
L. L. Trent, Atlanta, Georgia
Mrs. R. L. Turman, Atlanta, Georgia
King Vivion, Nashville, Tennessee
Goodrich C. White, Atlanta, Georgia
Miss Josephine Wilkins, Atlanta, Georgia
W. H. Wiseman, Erin, Tennessee
Miss Emily Woodward, Vienna, Georgia
Bishop John Moore Walker, Atlanta, Georgia

One Methodist Voice

"A Voice and Not An Echo"

VOLUME 3 — CLAYTON, GEORGIA, APRIL, 1953 — NUMBER 4.

Communist Fronters Honeycomb The Southern Regional Council

Great Rally In Interest Of Americanism And Evangelical Methodism, Clayton Methodist Church, Sunday, May 17

The Warren A. Candler Chapter of Circuit Riders, Inc., is sponsoring a Great Rally in the interest of Americanism and Evangelical Methodism at the Clayton Methodist Church, Sunday, May 17, at 2:30. Mr. Mack A. Carnes of Jonesboro, Ga., the executive vice-president extends a cordial invitation to all Methodists who are interested in the preservation of our historic Methodism to attend this rally. An interesting and informative program will be presented. Mr. Carnes' announcement suggests that as many as can come to Clayton in time for the eleven o'clock service where the Reverend Blake Craft, Editor of OMV will preach a Gospel sermon.

Those interested in coming up on Saturday to enjoy the beautiful scenery and pleasant climate in the Blue Ridge Mountains write the Clayton Hotel, Clayton, Ga., for a reservation.

SRC Big Moguls Meet In Wesley Memorial To Plan Drive For Finances And Members

Dr. Harry V. Richardson, president of Gammon Theological Seminary, (Negro); Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, president, Morehouse College, (Negro); Dr. Channing H. Tobias and Col. A. T. Walden, Atlanta Negro lawyer whom many call "Kingfish" and believe he keeps in his vest pocket the Negro block vote of Atlanta met at Wesley Memorial Church, September, 1951 reports the Daily World to devise plans to raise money for the support of S. R. C., and to increase the membership.

The Southern Regional Council has had to turn elsewhere for funds since losing the substantial support from the Rosenwald Fund.

THE ROSENWALD FUND had been a great financial help to this agitating organization which is for the abolition of segregation whose headquarters are permitted to stay in Wesley Memorial Church. Ac-

(Continued on page six)

-EDITORIALS-

"A SOLEMN STATEMENT"

We send out this issue of OMV with the consciousness of the gravity of its contents. It is filled with awful facts. It carries terrible truths. We are not unmindful of the possible varied reactions on the part of our readers.

This issue has been prepared prayerfully, intelligently and patiently. It has been edited without fear or favor of any man, but with the sincere desire to tell the truth at a time when Americans need to know the truth.

The general public is not aware of Russia's design and pattern to take over the control of America. Her techniques and methods are insidious to fool us trusting Americans. We who have made a study of the Kremlin's Plan shudder and stagger at its treasonable effectiveness.

I, as a Minister, a Methodist Minister am gravely concerned over the Soviet Union's scheme to enlist the aid, names, and influence of gullible Church folk into Communist fronts. I am disturbed over the undisputable fact that there are outright Communists parading under the banner of religion to hide their affiliation while they have the voice of Jacob, but the hand of Esau.

When the security of our nation is at stake. When our American boys are spilling their blood and dying in a war planned, originated and continued by the godless forces of Russia. When that godless and ruthless bunch has a thousand fronting organizations in this Country dedicated to destroy our freedom. When an organization is in one of my churches which has on its Board of Control people who belong to Russia's fronts—I can't remain silent. I MUST speak out. I HAVE SPOKEN OUT IN THIS ISSUE. I HAVE PUT IT IN PRINT. I AM SENDING IT THROUGH THE MAILS. IF IT IS NOT THE TRUTH, SILENCE ME. IF IT IS THE TRUTH, EVERY METHODIST IN GEORGIA SHOULD RISE UP AND DEMAND TO PURGE WESLEY MEMORIAL CHURCH FROM EVERY VESTIGE OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL.

REMOVE THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL FROM WESLEY MEMORIAL

The Southern Regional Council's occupancy of rooms within the sacred and hallowed walls of beloved Wesley Memorial Methodist Church, Atlanta, Ga., is embarrassing to every Georgia Methodist who is properly informed of the true situation. Certainly, the Church should encourage every organization which is endeavoring to improve human relations that travels the roadway of Americanism. It certainly would be permissible for an orgaization whose record is clean to be permitted to have its headquarters in that part of Old Wesley Memorial which is designated for lease. But there is no rhyme or reason why SRC should be tolerated any longer. It doesn't deserve the privilege of hiding behind the sanctity of a building dedicated to the preaching of the gospel whose denomination has in its Constitution the allegiance to one Country.

Those in authority are not playing fair with Georgia Methodists by permitting the occupancy in OUR building of an organization which has on its policy forming councils communist fronters who fraternize and associate with such Negro Communists as Langston Hughes, Paul Robeson and Dr. DuBois and then assemble themselves in a meeting in Dixie to tell us how

(Continued on page two)

The main offices for the SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC., are in the Historic Wesley Memorial Methodist Church, Atlanta on the fourth floor which also houses the offices of many activities of the North Georgia Methodist Conferences. From this point of advantage and influence the Southern Regional Council, whose Board of Directors for years has been honeycombed with leftists, radicals, Communist fronters is able to carry on its stubborn program for racial mixture which is obnoxious to Southern Methodists and which foments racial strife and hatred in an area where sympathetic citizens have been doing much to develop the descendents of our grandparents' slaves. Unfortunately, some good and intelligent people who have not taken the time to personally investigate SRC's connections have lent their names to the organization.

GEORGE S. MITCHELL a former professor of Columbia University and a notorious Communist fronter is the Executive Secretary who directs the work of SRC from his office in Wesley Memorial Methodist Church.

At a meeting held at the Atlanta YWCA, September 9, 1952 under the sponsorship of the Friends Service Committee, a young Negro man when speaking to the group said to the effect that it was a shame that one could not present an effective program on peace in his community without being called a Communist. The person presiding according to a reliable source said, "We have a member of the Communist Party here, let's hear what he has to say to that". The leader then said, "Dr. Mitchell, will you answer that"? George S. Mitchell, arose and said, "I am not talking today, but I will say that we will never get anywhere by moral force alone". According to my source of information, Dr. Mitchell did not deny that he was a member of the Communist Party.

The official organ of the Southern Regional Council is the "NEW SOUTH" which was consciously or unconsciously borrowed from the old official organ, "NEW SOUTH" of the now defunct Communist originated and Communist

(Continued on page two)

One Methodist Voice

(Unofficial but not unorthodox)

A monthly publication (except July and August) for those who believe in Evangelical Methodism, Americanism and the peculiar heritages and cherished traditions of the Southland.

BLAKE CRAFT ..... Editor

Subscription, per year $1.00

Entered as second-class matter at the post office at Clayton, Georgia under act of Mar. 3, 1879, as amended by act of June 11, 1934.

THIS IS WHAT WE BELIEVE IN:

The Doctrines of the Methodist Church.
The Preservation of the Jurisdictions.
Our Historic Episcopacy.
Revival Meetings.
The Brotherhood of Methodist Preachers.
Church School Literature Which Is Acceptable to Southern Methodists.
Preservation of the Integrity of the Races
The Perpetuity of the Sovereignty of the U. S.
A Vigorous Opposition To Communism.
The American System of Free Enterprise.
Adequate Military Preparedness.

EDITORIALS — continued

Remove The Southern Regional Council From Wesley Memorial—

(Continued from page one)

we ought to treat the Negro. Atlanta Methodists resent the fact that a member of the Board of Directors of SRC writes a column in a Northern Daily, uncomplimentary things about Georgia then enters Old Wesley Memorial to lay plans to reconstruct us. Georgia Methodists are insulted that a leading official of SRC sits in Moscow inspired meetings with the fat, flabby, former pin-up girl of American Communists and then comes down to Georgia to sit somewhere in Wesley Memorial Church with a Georgia Methodist woman to make plans for their program.

NO ORGANIZATION OUGHT TO BE PERMITTED TO HAVE ITS HEADQUARTERS IN A METHODIST CHURCH OR ANYBODY'S CHURCH WHICH HAS JUST ONE MEMBER WHO BELONGS TO JUST ONE COMMUNIST FRONT. But the SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL has more than twenty Directors within the past few years who belong to numerous Communist fronts. The Southern Regional Council has on its Board of Directors people who are fraternally known to notorious Communist fronters in every section of our nation. The Southern Regional Council has leading members whose names are listed in the files of patriotic investigators in every large city of America. The Southern Regional Council is largely directed by persons whose names are commonly known to state legislative and national congressional investigating committees. **THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL HEADQUARTERS OUGHT TO BE MOVED FROM THE CHURCH BUILDING IN ATLANTA.**

Not all members of the Board of Directors come within this regrettable catagory. There are those who would not be unpatriotic to identify themselves with just one subversive front. It is our opinion that they are unaware of what is going on in the organization to which they have lent their name and influence. We believe that they, not because of expediency but of conviction will withdraw their names and demand that the SRC move immediately from our Church. This responsibility does not rest in the hands of the Pastor. It is the responsibility of the Board of Trustees of Wesley Memorial Church which is elected by the North Georgia annual conference. Dr. E. G. Mackay is chairman of this Board. We brought to his attention in the October, 1952 issue of O. M. V., a little of what was going on. We had expected then that some action would be taken. He knew how to say, "NO" to the Warren A. Candler Chapter of Circuit Riders, Inc., an organization composed of true, tried and loyal Methodists. We would like to remind Dr. Mackay that for every Georgia Methodist who is in sympathy with the program of SRC, there is twenty-five Methodists in Georgia who believe what the Circuit Riders, Inc., stand for. If the Board fails to do its duty—then, the only other course is for the annual conference meeting in June to take appropriate action.

The continued presence of SRC in Wesley Memorial is a reflection upon our loyalty to Americanism. It would be most embarrassing to have leading dailies across this country carrying screaming headlines of a Congressional investigation of an off color organization in a Methodist Church in the heart of Dixie where patriotism to country is a passion and Old Glory is an adored sacred symbol.

Come on Dr. Mackay, you have a great opportunity to do a patriotic duty.

THE RED HAND OF RUSSIA REACHES INTO GEORGIA

One of Russia's most effective plans to sell Communism to America is to cause discontent and strife among so-called minority groups. Their prize weapon to destroy freedom and our American way of life is to stir up racial strife and discord among the Negro, the Southern Negro. The Soviet Union has no love for the Negro. It seeks to bring about a revolution by pitting one race against another race. Communists seek to capitalize on every racial incident so as to turn it into effective propaganda for the gospel of the Soviets. All persons acquainted with Russia's diabolical pattern know of her program to create racial discord. This design includes the forcing of a changed social pattern which will bring confusion. In this they hope to start a Revolution.

Nowell a Georgia born Negro and former Communist told Judge Medina, on the witness stand in the dazed and hushed Federal Court room at the trial of the top eleven American Communists, that he was trained at Moscow in the technique for the overthrow of the government of the United States. He told under oath that it was the plan of the Soviet Union to foment a revolution among the Negroes of the South and to set up a Communistic regime with Negroes in complete and absolute control in the 'Black belt'. He said it was the Reds' further plan to capture the industrial worker of the North by constantly condemning private capitalism, and then to tie together the 'red-black' man of the South with the labor revolutionists of the North for the establishment of complete Communistic control in America.

In Russia's iniquitious pattern she has very effectively set up such Communist fronts as: the **"National Negro Congress"**; the **"National Negro Women's Council"**; the **"Negro Cultural Committee"**; the **"Negro Labor Victory Committee"**; the **"Negro People's Committee To Aid Spanish Democracy"**; the **"African Blood Brotherhood"**; **"All Harlem Youth Conferences"**; the **"Southern Negro Youth Congress"**; the **"Southern Conference for Human Welfare"** and many other such fronts which have drawn into their propaganda nets American liberals, radicals and some gullible, innocent 'pretty good folk' with American and foreign born Communists to foment a revolution. One church member in a place of authority and in a position of influence working in a Communist front can do Communism's Cause more good than a dozen card toting members of the Communist Party.

The Southern Regional Council with its Board of Directors top heavy with fellow travelers and Communist fronters is unknowingly to some of its members aiding the Russian Cause to stir up the Negro question in the South. That is what pleases the Kremlin. The Red hand of Russia reaches into Georgia.

Mitchell—

(Continued from page one)

inspired organization known as, **"The Conference For Human Welfare"**. Earl Browder, well known Communist leader in this Country according to the Daily Worker praised this organization for its fine work. Paul Crouch, before his conversion from Communism, James Ford, Negro Communist candidate for vice president of the United States and Ben Davis, Jr., convicted for his conspiracy to overthrow the government of the United States were associated with the old "NEW SOUTH".

A dozen or more of the leftist leaders in the now deceased Communist front, The Southern Conference for Human Welfare are either now or have been on the policy making board of the Southern Regional Council. This organization was incorporaated under the laws of the State of Georgia in January, 1944 with general objectives which on the face seem to be commendable. But its program, conduct and much of its personnel have removed it worthiness to be permitted quarters in a Church much beloved and respected by the rank and file of loyal Georgia Methodists.

MITCHELL'S shameful record of affiliations with polices, idelogices and organizations which are Communist inspired is certainly unknown to many good American Methodists who ride the same elevator to the fourth floor of Old Wesley Memorial which is dear to the heart of every Methodist within the bounds of the North Georgia Conference. MITCHELL was an endorser and sponsor of **Brookwood College at Katonah, N. Y.**, which the American Federation of Labor put a ban on it because of the school's Communistic affiliations. He is affiliated with the notorious Communist organization, **CIVIL RIGHTS CONGRESS** which the House Committee On Un-American Activities says, "it was dedicated to the broader issues of civil liberties, **but specifically to the defense of individual Communists and the Communist Party and controlled by individuals who are either members of the Community Party or openly loyal to it"**. Mitchell was a sponsor

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Mrs. M. E. (Dorothy) Tilly, Director of Women's Work, Southern Regional Council has quite a record of affiliations with Communist fronts. Her connection with the WSCS of the Methodist Church has placed her in an advantage position to preach the doctrines of SRC to many Church Women Groups. Here is a partial listing of her affiliations:

She was a sponsor of the Mid-Century Conference For Peace held in Chicago, May, 1950. A Congressional Committee says the purpose of this so-called Peace Rally was the aim of assembling as many gullible persons as possible under Communist direction and turning them into a vast sounding board for Communist propaganda. Some of her fellow sponsors were James Durkin, recently expelled from the CIO because of his Communist activity; Haloise Moorehead, member several Communist front Negro organizations, sponsor of Communist Party in the city of New York and defender of indicted Communists. On her return as a delegate to the world conference, WIDF, "Haloise" attended a dinner held in honor of the delegates where America was ridiculed and the Soviet Union was praised, and testified that, "Hungary had provided her with her first real taste of human freedom: Other fellow sponsors of Mrs. Tilly were Sylvain Schnaittacker, Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers; Rabbi Jack J. Cohen; Leo Krzycki; and a host of other radical labor leaders, liberal churchmen and Communist fronters.

According to the letterhead of the Communist front known as THE COMMITTEE FOR PEACEFUL ALTERNATIVES TO THE ATLANTIC PACT, Mrs. M. E. Tilly is listed as a member of the Executive Board. The House Committee says that "Communists in the United States did their part in the Moscow campaign by instigating a Conference for Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact, allegedly held in July, 1949 in Washington, D. C. This resulted in the formation of a front organization known as "the above mentioned of which Mrs. Tilly is listed as an executive member. The House Committee on Un-American Activities says, "Preparatory to the formal establishment of this 'peace' front, various preliminary conferences were called and statements issued which were featured and supported by the Daily Worker".

Mrs. M. E .Tilly was also a sponsor of the NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO ABOLISH THE POLL TAX which is cited as a Communist Front by the California Committee On Un-American Activities. It says in its citation that it is, "Among the Communist-front organizations for racial agitation which also serves as a 'money-collecting media' and 'as special political organizing centers' for the racial minority they pretend to champion."

She was a sponsor of the National Citizens Conference on Civil Liberties according to the Daily Worker, April 16, 1948. The National Conference on Civil Liberties has been cited as a Communist front by the California Committee.

Mrs. Tilly was one of the initiators of the National Committee to Repeal the McCarran Act and appears as Mrs. M. E. Tilly on the letter head while her signature appears with other signers of an open letter to all Congressmen as Dorothy Tilly.

Mrs. M. E. Tilly's name appears on the official roll of The Methodist Federation For Social Action several years as an executive member.

MRS. M. E. (DOROTHY) TILLY, of Atlanta, Ga., is listed as a member of "THE NATIONAL CITIZENS' POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE" on page 10300 of the Special Committee On Un-American Activities House of Representatives Bulletin entitled, "Investigation of Un-American Propaganda Activities in the United States". Here is a small part of the vast documentary evidences of this organization being an outright, powerful Communist front organization. On page 10303 of the above mentioned bulletin this question and answer is given. A member of the Committee asks Mr. J. B. Matthews, Research Director, Special Commitee To Investigate Un-American Activities, this question, "Would you call the 'National Citizens Political Action Committee' the most active Communist front organization in the United States today"? Mr. Matthews answer, "It seems to me that that is the unavoidable conclusion, that this is the Communist Party's major front organization. Furthermore, it represents the Communist Party's supreme bid for power throughout its 25 years of history in the United States. Never before has it set up a front organization with so ambitious an objective as that of the National Citizens Political Action Committee. It is the Party's supreme bid for power—and I use the word 'party' instead of the Communist Political Association, on the ground that the Communist Party has simply gone underground and has come up under the name of the Communist Political Association in order to advance the purposes which are INVOLVED in the National Citizens Political Action Committee". Mr. Costello, Congressman from California said, "The only purpose (of the Communist Party) in organizing the Communist Political Association is to lead the public into believing that that is the Communist activity, while this other, the National Citizens Political Action Committee, is put forward as not a Communist organization".

Mr. Matthew said, "If the list of membership of the National Citizens Political Action Committee had been drawn up by Earl Browder personally in Communist Party headquarters, it would be difficult to see how that list would have varied in any important respect".

The names of a few of the 82 Communist fronters, fellow travelers and outright Communists who are fellow members of Mrs. M. E. Tilly in this un-American and Communist honey-combed organization are: James Dombrowski; Bruce Bliven, Langston Hughes, the Communist Negro poet and author of the blasphemous poem, entitled "Good-Bye Christ"; Paul Robeson, the infamous Negro Communist Singer; Leo Krzycki, President, American Slav Congress, a subversive organization which there is nothing about it American but in every way Russian; Adam Kulikowski, publisher of OPPORTUNITY; James Loeb, secretary, Union for Democratic Action; Carey McWilliams, an affiliate of some fifty Communist fronts; W. T. Osowski, president, American Slav Congress, Michigan; Julian D. Steele, president, Boston Branch National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and George Soule, associate editor of New Republic an off color and wrong color magazine.

NO PERSON OUGHT TO BE PERMITTED AN OFFICE WITHIN THE SACRED WALLS OF WESLEY MEMORIAL CHURCH WHO HAS BEEN A MEMBER OF THIS GANG—UNLESS SUCH MEMBERSHIP HAS BEEN PUBLICLY REPUDIATED.

Mrs .Tilly's name appears on the letterhead of the "American Civil Liberties Union" as a member of the National Committee that was used in October, 1951, which the California Committee On Un-American Actiivties says it may be definitely classed as a Communist front or 'transmission belt' organization. She has been a member of the National Board, **"Americans for Democratic Action".** She was listed as one of the signers of a statement on Korea, released by the Communist inspired **"Committee for Peaceful Alternatives—"** as shown in the Daily Worker of July 28, 1950, the official organ of the Communist Party in the U. S.

Mrs. Tilly, according to the Daily World, April 6, 1952 addressed a three days' Women's Conference on World Peace at Daytona Beach, Florida called by the notorious Communist fronter Dr. Mary McCleod BETHUNE founder of the National Council of Negro Women. MARY McCLEOD BETHUNE'S affiliation with Communist and Communist front organizations are too numerous to mention. A House Committee Report includes her name among a group it des--cribes as they "were such fronters, if not ACTUAL COMMUNISTS".

McCallister Big Wheel At Southern Regional Conference Meeting, Atlanta

Frank McCallister, Director of the "Georgia Workers Education Service took part in all the functions of the Southern Regional Conference of SRC, which was held in Atlanta, Ga., March 4, 1948. McCallister was in charge of the Hall on Courtland Street, Atlanta which was used in 1948 for mixed dances until the Atlanta Police broke them up. According to an Atlanta daily, the apparent sponsors of these mixed dances were directors of the Fellowship of Southern Churchmen organization.

Four Negroes and 17 white persons, among whom were ministerial students, were arrested by the Atlanta police on Friday night, July 16th, 1948.

One of the persons arrested was the Reverend A. J. Ritchie who said that his organization had no intention of causing trouble. He said he was a "Southern minister" but would not reveal his church affiliation to the police. Ritchie stated that he and his wife were staying at the Bethlehem Center a Home Missionary project supported by the WSCS of the Methodist Church. While he was living there, he was directing an interracial and interdenominational group on the campus of the Gammon Theological Seminary (Negro). This group was interested in making a study of the economic conditions in the (poor) South. The Southern Regional Council never condemn such mixed dances.

HERE IS A PARTIAL LIST OF PERSONS WHO EITHER ARE NOW OR HAVE BEEN MEMBERS OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL WHOSE HEADQUARTERS ARE IN WESLEY MEMORIAL CHURCH, WHICH SHOW AN INCOMPLETE LISTING OF THEIR SPONSORSHIP, SUPPORT AND AFFILIATION WITH COMMUNIST FRONTS. GEORGIA METHODISTS, WHAT ARE YOU GOING TO DO ABOUT IT?

DR. RUFUS E. CLEMENT

Dr. Clement is president of the Atlanta University, one of the organizers, and a member of the Board of Directors of the Southern Regional Council. He is NOW in the race for election to the Board of Education in the city of Atlanta, Ga. We are not interested in the political campaign going on in Atlanta to the extent that we would claim the right to suggest as to whom should be elected in that great city. But, we must say that Clement's record of affiliation with Communist fronts disqualifies him to be on the Board of Education in any American city. HERE IS A PART OF HIS RECORD AS A COMMUNIST FRONTER:

"National Council of Arts, Sciences and Professions: cited as a Communist front by the House Committee On Un-American Activities. The California Committee on Un-American Activities says it "is the most potent Communist-controlled cultural front in California—." Some of CLEMENT'S associates in this Communist front are Charlotte Bass, the vice presidential nominee on the Communist controlled Progressive Party in the last election; Paul Robeson, the infamous Negro Communist singer; John Gates, editor of the Daily Worker and one of the eleven convicted Communist AND Alexander Trachtenberg who was recently convicted in New York but preferred to go to jail in capitalist America than to go to the "good old USSR" he has been writing for. CLEMENT was associated with the **American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born** which has been cited as subversive and communist by the Attorney General of the United States. The California Committee On Un-American Activities says it is, "Among the Communist front organizations for racial agitation which also serves as 'money-collecting- media' and as special organizing centers for the racial minority they pretend to champion. Works closely with the International Labor Defense, legal arm of the Communist Party, in defense of foreign-born Communists and sympathizers". **National Conference on American Policy in China and the Far East** ,a Communist organization says the Attorney General of the U. S., This 'Stalin Club' propagandized for the Reds in China who are killing American boys in Korea. **Progressive Citizens of America** which was cited as subversive by the California Committee. Some of RUFUS CLEMENT'S progressive associates are Dr. W. E. U. DeBois, Negro communist; The Reverend Jack McMichael, Methodist minister and a member of the Communist Party; the late Louis Adamic who affiliated with forty Communist fronts before he got so progressive and died in his burning farm house in New Jersey, September, 1951. **The Southern Negro Conference** which was cited by the U.S. Attorney General as subversive. **The National Federation for Constitutional Liberties**, says the House Committee, "There can be no reasonable doubt about the fact that the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties - regardless of its high-sounding name is one of the viciously subversive organizations of the Communist Party". Sponser of the so-called **World Peace Conference** whose aims were to disrupt America's defense and to discredit American culture and extol the virtues of Soviet Culture. Among Clement's fellow sponsors which includes long haired, Russian named, fellow travelers is the Negro Communist poet, LANGSTON HUGHES, who is author of the blasphemous poem, entitled, "GOOD-BYE CHRIST".

DR. BENJAMIN E. MAYS

He is president of the Negro Morehouse College, Atlanta, Ga. He is associated with **"The American Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born** which the U. S. Attorney General says, is, "One of the oldest auxiliaries of the Communist Party in the United States". The California Committee says it, "Works closely with the International Labor Defense, the legal arm of the Communist Party, in defense of foreign-born Communists and sympathizers". **The crowd Dr. Mays associates with in this organization is quite different from Georgia Methodists he associates with when he appears on the programs in white Methodist Church and institutions in Atlanta.** He was sponsor of the "DEMAND NEGRO RIGHTS NOW" delegation sent to Washington. He was one of the initiating sponsors of the Communist inspired Mid-Century Conference for Peace held in New York, 1950.

MAYS was initator and honorary chairman of the notorious Communist front known as **"THE CIVIL RIGHTS CONGRESS"**. This organization condemned the indictment and conviction of the 12 COMMUNISTS. On page 2517, of the House Committee's Bulletin entitled, EXPOSE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA, a reprint of Dr. Mays' organization's explosive and lying circular appears which says, "MORE NEGROES WILL BE SHOT IN THE SOUTH FOR DARING TO VOTE—MORE LYNCHINGS—MORE JIM CROW—UNLESS YOU STAND UP FOR THE TWELVE".

MAYS has a daily column in the Pittsburg (Negro) Courier where he writes says the heading of one of his columns, **"Uncomplimentary Things About Georgia"** and calls for the abolition of segregation in the South. Speaking before the American Baptist Convention in Buffalo, N. Y., in 1951 he said, "Protestant churches throughout the country should take a daring step and throw their doors wide open to Negro worshippers".

AUBREY WILLIAMS

Williams is a friend of the Communist Party said David Whitaker Chambers under oath before the House Committee On Un-American Activities.

Supported the American Youth Congress which is subversive and Communist said Attorney General Tom Clark. Attorney General Francis Biddle said, "It originated in 1934 and—has been controlled by Communists and manipulated by them to influence the thought of American Youth.

Aubrey Williams is a fellow member of Carey McWilliams on the Board of the Progressive Citizens of America. McWilliams is affiliated with more than forty (40) Communist fronts. This organization encourages Communists to join.

Member of now defunct communist front, the Southern Conference for Human Welfare.

Sponsor of the Communist inspired **Mid-Century Conference for Peace held** in Chicago, 1950.

Sponsor of **Stockholm Appeal Conference** which the Prime Minister of Sweden expressed his disgust over the fact that the name of that city was being used for international Communist propaganda.

Williams was a member of the **National Citizens Political Action Committee** which is dominated by communist fronters; the **"Washington Committee for Democratic Action"**; and the **"Workers Alliance of America"** which is the Communist Party's organization of the unemployed patterned after the "Unemployed Councils' of St. Petersburg, Russia.

He was national chairman in 1948 of the Communist front known as the **"Civil Rights Congress"**. His name appears on the letterhead of Civil Rights Congress which bears letters condemning the indictment of the 12 Communists in Ohio and commends Eisler and Paul Robeson.

LOUIS E. BURNHAM

Member of Board of Director of SRC.

Mrs. Tilly's magazine called the "New South" lists him as Organizational Secretary, Southern Negro Youth Congress which was cited as subversive by the Attorney General of the U. S. Former Attorney General Tom Clark said it is "among the affiliates and committees of the Communist Party, U. S. A., which seeks to alter the form of government of the United States by unconstitutional means". The House Committee says it is "surreptiously controlled by the Young Communist League".

Burnham before coming South to recruit members for this Communist front and to help direct the SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL whose headquarters are in the Wesley Memorial Building in Atlanta, participated in young Communist strikes in New York. His name appeared frequently in young Communist publications.

BURNHAM was one of the three speakers at a home coming for the Negro Communist Paul Robeson in New York City, June, 1949, which was attended by five thousand. In his speech he deplored the lack of a rebellious spirit among the Negroes of the United States. Paul Robeson said in his speech, "It is unthinkable that American Negroes or Negroes anywhere would go to war on behalf of those who have oppressed us for generations, against a country (Russia) which in one generation has raised our people to the full dignity of mankind". Robeson had just returned from the Paris Conference where the theme song was "Rebellion against consti-

(Continued on page five)

SRC Directors Affiliations Continued—

BURNHAM—

(Continued from page four)

tuted government in the event of war with a Communist nation". It was designed to deceive us in America. The song is still heard on the battlefields in Korea and will be heard as long as an American veteran will slowly die in a V. A. Hospital.

He was the vice chairman of the AMERICAN YOUTH FOR DEMOCRACY which was cited as Communist by the Attorney General of the U. S., The House Committee On Un-American Activities says it was "a front formed in 1943 to succeed the Young Communist League and for the purpose of exploiting to the advantage of a foreign power the idealism, inexperience and craving to join which is characteristic of American college youth. Its high-sounding slogans cover a determined effort to disaffect our youth and to turn them against religion, the American home, against college authorities, and against the American Government itself."

BURNHAM was a sponsor and member of the notorious and powerful Communist front known as the Civil Rights Congress. He was sponsor of the Communist inspired National Youth Assembly against Universal Military Training.

BURNHAM sponsored supported and joined other such communist fronts and subversive organization as: **"American Peace Mobilization"; "International Labor Defense"; "The Southern Conference For Human Welfare"; "the American Committee For Indonesian Independence"** which endorsed and supported the Indonesian Revolution.

THE REVEREND D. V. JEMISON

He was president of the National Baptist Convention. A sponsor of the Communist front, **"The Civil Rights Congress"**. On **"Eisler Defense Committee"** with resolutions, rallies, protests, and publicity statements which were drummed up by the Communist party and its fellow travelers to defend known Communists from charges of perjury, contempt of Congress and the courts, immigration and passport frauds, illegal registration and other violations of law. This member of the Board of Director of the Southern Regional Council signed the statement requesting Congress to abolish the House Committee On Un-American Activities.

He is listed as a member of the Advisory Board of the Communist front known as the **"Southern Negro Youth Congress"**. He is vice chairman of **"Conference On Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact"**. He was a sponsor of the **"Stockholm Appeal"**. He was an initiating sponsor of the **"Mid-Century Conference for (phoney) Peace"** which was Communist originated and supported.

He was the recipent of the **seditious** document of the **Peace Now Movement** which asked liberal Church leaders to call upon their followers in uniform to lay down their arms at once. Such action on the part of this movement went beyond "private conscientious objection" and advocated **treason.**

DR. CHANNING H. TOBIAS

A delegate to an executive meeting of SRC held in Wesley Memorial Church, Atlanta, Ga., Sept. 1951 according to the Daily World, September 6, 1951.

TOBIAS was a sponsor of the AMERICAN SLAV CONGRESS which is according to the House Committee On Un-American Activities "a Moscow-inspired and directed federation of Communist-dominated organizations seeking by methods of propaganda and pressure to subvert the 10,000,000 people in this Country of Slavic birth or descent".

He is a prominent affiliate of the communist front known as the **American League for Peace and Democracy.** It has been the largest communist front in this country. Earl Browder was its vice president. The House Committee says that "it was nothing more nor less than a bold advocate of treason."

He was affiliated with the **Conference On Constitutional Liberties In America** which established the National Federation For Constitutional Liberties, "part of what Lennin called the Solar system of organizations, ostensibly having connection with the Communist Party, by which Communists attempt to create sympathizers and supporters of their program" says former Attorney General Biddle. Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, a high ranking member of the national committee of the Communist Party and recently convicted in a federal court for her attempt to overthrow the government of the United States worked with Tobias at this conference. **Tobias has varied experiences from scheming with fat, flabby, former pin-up girl of American Communists at a Moscow inspired session to sitting in a room in the hallowed building of old beloved Wesley Memorial Methodist Church in Atlanta with a Georgia Methodist woman to lay plans for the raising of funds for and for the increasing of the membership of the Southern Regional Council.**

He signed a Communist-originated petition to the House of Representatives to abolish the House Committee On Un-American Activities. Among his co-signers were such communist as Langston Hughes, the Negro poet; Negro Paul Robeson; and dozens of long haired, un-Americans.

TOBIAS according to the Daily Worker, official organ of the Communist Party in the United States signed a statement in defense of the Communist Party. He was a member of the communist front, the **"Southern Conference for Human Welfare".**

DR. CLARK FORMAN

Member of Board of Directors of SRC

Was President of the defunct Communist front, Southern Conference for Human Welfare.

Paul Crouch (sometimes has used the name of Fred Allen) and a member of the Communist Party from 1925 to 1943 said under oath the following about, Dr. Forman a member of the Board of Directors of the SRC, whose main office is in WESLEY MEMORIAL CHURCH,, ATLANTA: "I have spoken to him frequently. He knew I was an official in the Communist Party, and he was very anxious to discuss policy and so on, **and he impressed me as being anxious to carry out the policies of the party."**

Forman was sponsor of a meeting under the auspices of the American SLAV CONGRESS which was cited as subversive and Communist by the Attorney General of the U. S., The California Committee says it is a "permanent, completely Communist created and controlled organization".

Forman was associated with or sponsor and member of the following Communist fronts and subversive organizations: **"Progressive Citizens of America"; "The Win the Peace Conference"; "The Washington Committee for Democratic Action"; "The National Citizens Political Action Committee"; "American Youth Congress"**; One of the incorporators of the Radio Station WQQW which use Communist programs and talent; Sponsor of the **"New York Cultural Conference"**; which from its inception had the active approval and support of Moscow and the Communist Party of the United States says the House Committee; Member of he **"Civil Rights Congress"** one of Moscow's most effective fronts; Supporter of **"Young Communist League"**; and sponsor of **"Dinner for Ferdinand Smith."**

His book entitled, "THE NEW INTERNATIONALISM" is pure socialist and has a Communist slant.

DAVID D. JONES

Member of Board of Directors of SRC.

President of (Negro) Methodist Bennett College, Greensboro, N. C.

Sponsor of the communist fronting, Scientific and Cultural Conferences for World Peace; Sponsor and an affiliate of the notoriously subversive Civil Rights Congress; sponsor and affiliate of the NATIONAL NEGRO CONGRESS which has been cited by two Attorney Generals, the House Committee, California and Massachusetts Committees On Un-American Activities as being subversive and communist. James W. Ford (Negro) a well known Communist was vice president of the Executive Board of Jones' organization. William Z. Foster, chairman of the Communist Party in the United States, stated that the role of his party was "one of central importance in the organization of the great united front National Negro Congress in Chicago."

JONES was a member of the defunct communist front known as the SOUTHERN CONFERENCE FOR HUMAN WELFARE. (The March, 1953 issue of OMV covers its record). He was affiliated with the Communist front known as the NATIONAL FEDERATION FOR CONSTITUTIONAL LIBERTIES. He was signer of statement, "WE NEGRO AMERICANS — DEFENDING COMMUNIST PARTY". Jones was a participant in the communist inspired support of Gerhart Eisler. He is a member of the Methodist Federation For Social Action.

CHARLOTTE HAWKINS BROWN

President of Palmer Institute.

She is a member of at least 16 Communist and communist front organizations. She with Paul Robeson, Communist Negro singer, Dr. W. S. B. DuBoise, Negro communist, Charlotte A. Bass, Negro who was the vice presidential candidate on the Progressive Party (Communist controlled) last year, signed an appeal to President Truman to reject the illegalization of the Communist Party. She was one of the speakers for the Conference held in New York by the communist front known as the NATIONAL COUNCIL OF AMERICAN-SOVIET FRIENDSHIP. She is an officer in the Communist front, NATIONAL NEGRO CONGRESS. She is a member of the Advisory Board of the SOUTHERN NEGRO YOUTH CONGRESS a communist front which the Attorney General of the United States says is "among the committees of the Communist Party, USA, which seeks to alter the form of government of the United States by unconstitutional means". She is a member of the COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS which the Attorney General says is communist. She was a member of the defunct **Southern Conference for Human Welfare** which was communist originated, communist controlled and I believe was folded up by the Communist party so another organization could carry on. She was a member of the communist front, CIVIL RIGHTS CONGRESS. She was vice chairman of the CONGRESS OF AMERICAN WOMEN which the Attorney General said is communist and supported at all times by the International Communist movement. She also was or is affiliated with the following other Communist fronts: the **Women's International Democratic Federation; Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy; United Negro and Allied Veterans of America; Americans Sponsoring World Congress for Peace In Paris; World Congress of Partisans of Peace Held in Paris and Prague; On Executive Board of the "Committee for Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact" with Mrs. M. E. Tilly a fellow worker of SRC; "The American Continental Congress for Peace, Mexico City";**

SRC Directors Affiliations Continued—

BHOWN—

(Continued from page five)

"The Stockholm Conference"; AND

DR. IRA De A. REID

Reid is Head, Department of Sociology, Atlanta University, (Negro). Member of the Advisory Board of the **"Southern Negro Youth Congress"**. Co-sponsor of the delegation for **"Demand Negro Rights Now"**. Speaker at meetings for the defunct Communist front known as **"The Southern Conference for Human Welfare"**. Member also of the following Communist fronts: **"The American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born"; "Jefferson School of Social Science"**; cited by the Attorney General of the United States as an "adjunct of the Communist Party"; Signer of statement, **"We Negro Americans — Defending Communist Party:** Listed as PANEL MODERATOR for the **"World Peace Conference."**

According to sworn testimony given before the House Committee, Communist reports are that police raided the meeting of the labor division of the Tenth Convention of the National Negro Congress and arrested 37 of the members. AMONG THEM WAS ONE "IRA REID".

Ira Reid is listed as a sponsor or member of the following Communist fronts: "The American League Against War and Fascism"; "National Federation for Constitutional Liberties" and the **"National Citizens Political Action Committee".**

Harry Stanley Brav

He is listed as a member of the Executive Board of the **"Conference of Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact"** which was supported by Communists and the Daily Worker. Sponsor of the **"Stockholm Conference"** which Prime Minister Tage Erlander of Sweden expressed his disgust over the fact that the name of that fair city was being used for international Communist propaganda. He declared, "The overwhelming majority of the Swedish people have no sympathy to spare for the attempts of the Communists to exploit for their particular ends, mankind's love for peace and abhorrence of war". He was sponsor of the **"Mid-Century Conference for Peace".**

"Let the People Speak for Peace. Washington Conference".

Charles S. Johnson

President of Fisk University (1949), Chairman Executive Committee (1946) of SRC.

Sponsor of the World Peace Conference under the auspices of the Communist front known as the National Council of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions.

Dr. Charles S. Johnson has been affiliated with the following Communist fronts: American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born; National Federation for Constitutional Liberties; and the Southern Conference for Human Welfare.

Send your friends a copy of **ONE METHODIST VOICE** and get them to become subscribers to this paper.

OTHER MEMBERS OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF SRC, WHO HELP FORM POLICY OF RACIAL MIXTURE

F. D. PATTERSON, of Tuskegee Institute. Was a member of the defunct Communist front, the "Southern Conference for Human Welfare". He was chairman of the Advisory Board of the notoriously subversive organization, **"The Southern Negro Youth Congress".**

DR. WILL W. ALEXANDER, vice president, Julius Rosenwald Fund, North Carolina, member of the Committee of the **"National Citizens' Political Action Committee".**

REVEREND JOHN D. LONG, a sponsor of the **"Mid-Century Conference for Peace'.**

PAUL R. CHRISTOPHER, C I O Regional Director, Tennessee is a member of the executive council of **"Highlander Folk School in Monteagle, Tenn."**, which "unquestionably keeps pretty close to the party line" says a report by a Congressional Committee. It has been a recipient of funds from the Robert Marshall Foundation which has so lavishly contributed to front organizations. Christopher was on the Board of Representatives of the **"Southern Conference of Human Welfare"** but since its decease he has found a place in the **"Southern Region Council"** with headquarters in beloved old Wesley Memorial Church Building of Atlanta to carry on his program of racial agitation.

CARTER WESLEY is affiliated with the powerful communist front, known as the **"National Citizens' Political Action Committee".**

PROFESSOR FLORENCE SYTZ, a member of the so-called **"World Peace Conference"** which is composed of fellow travelers, communist fronters, wild-eyed leftists, long-haired comrades and outright Communists to hinder and destroy America's preparedness program which is to protect our security and keep our freedom.

F. B. WASHINGTON, Director, Social Science, Atlanta (Negro) University is on the Advisory Board of the **"Southern Negro Youth Congress"** which the Attorney General of the United States has cited as subversive and he says it, "is among the affiliates and committees of the Communist Party, U. S. A., which **seeks to alter the form of government of the United States by unconstitutional means".**

A GROUP ATTENDING ATLANTA CONFERENCE OF SRC

The man in the back with hat talking with the woman is Col. A. T. Walden, a champion of the abolition of segregation in Atlanta; The man hatless talking with the woman is Calvin Kytle, co-author with James A. Mackay, of the book, entitled "Georgia Politics" which is an insult to the people of Georgia. The gentleman in the foreground facing the blonde was not identified by the photographer.

Mitchell—

(Continued from page two)

of an urgent summons to a meeting of the CIVIL RIGHTS CONGRESS held in Detroit, Michigan, April 27 and 28, 1946. In the call he was identified as Dr. George Mitchell, Veterans Service, **SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL. We would like to know if he signed that "urgent summons" for that Communist fronting organization in an office of old Wesley Memorial Church.**

MITCHELL according to records of the Political Action Committee which were subpoened by the House Committee On Un-American Activities was head of Region 8, of PAC which embraced the State of Alabama. Telephone call slips of the Atlanta office of PAC show that Mitchell was in communication with Mr. Morgan prior to the primary campaign in that state. There is much documentary evidence to support the fact the PAC in many places was manned by Communists. The voice of Harry Bridges the notorious Communist was familiar to some people in the PAC offices.

SRC BIG MOGULS—

(continued from page one)

cording to the president, the FUND had some twenty million dollars to be used to bring about the amalgamation of the White and Negro races in the South.

Atlanta, Georgia
May 7, 1943

Following the instructions of the group of White Southerners who met in Atlanta on April 8, 1943, authorizing me to appoint and act as convenor of a committee on collaboration, I am writing to ask you to serve as one of the committee which will meet with the one appointed last October by the Durham conference.

An effort has been made to have representation from each state which was represented at the Atlanta meeting. Also each of the religious, educational, business, professional, and journalistic groups is represented.

Through correspondence with the Chairman of the Durham Committee, the date for the joint conference is set for June 16 at Richmond, Virginia.

Selection of the list was most difficult in that so many worthy and splendid persons had to be left off. You will be glad to know that more than 200 persons have signed the statement, printed copies of which will be ready for distribution in the very near future. Even though you may not be able to attend, I hope that you will accept the appointment. Alternates will be named at a later date.

With deep appreciation of your services and interest, which I express on behalf of the entire list of signers, I am

Cordially,

Ralph McGill
Convenor

P.S. It was the opinion of the group in Atlanta that no publicity should be given the selection of the committee and the meeting until it had been concluded and some sort of statement adopted. I will ask you, therefore, not to give any public notice of the committee or the meeting.

COMMITTEE ON WHITE SOUTHERNERS ON COLLABORATION
WITH NEGRO COMMITTEE

EX OFFICIO:

Officers

Ralph McGill, Atlanta, Georgia, Chairman
Rt. Rev. Charles Clingman, Louisville, Kentucky, Vice-Chairman
Miss Josephine Wilkins, Atlanta, Georgia, Secretary

The Committee which invited Southerners to the conference April 8 who also signed the statement:

C. H. Gillman
M. Ashby Jones
Ryland Knight
David Marx
Arthur J. Moore
Stuart R. Oglesby
Gerald P. O'Hara
J. McDowell Richards
John Moore Walker
Goodrich C. White

- - - - -

Theodore F. Adams, Richmond, Virginia
Jessie Daniel Ames, Atlanta, Georgia
Rabbi Stanley Brav, Vicksburg, Mississippi
Wright Bryan, Atlanta, Georgia
O. C. Carmichael, Nashville, Tennessee
William E. Cole, Knoxville, Tennessee
Donald Comer, Avondale Mills, Sylacauga, Alabama
Virginius Dabney, Richmond, Virginia
Mrs. Andrew Dale, Nashville, Tennessee
Rt. Rev. E. P. Dandridge, Nashville, Tennessee
Hon. Colgate W. Darden, Richmond, Virginia
Mrs. George E. Davis, Orangeburg, South Carolina
J. C. Dixon, Macon, Georgia
Mark Ethridge, Louisville, Kentucky
R. L. Foreman, Jr., Atlanta, Georgia
Charles I. Francis, Houston, Texas
Mrs. Nathaniel Gist Gee, Greenwood, South Carolina
William G. Gehri, Memphis, Tennessee
Mrs. Henry Havens, Jacksonville, Florida
Waights G. Henry, Sr., Anniston, Alabama
R. B. Herbert, Columbia, South Carolina
A. D. Huddleston, Alcoa, Tennessee
J. B. Ivey, Charlotte, North Carolina
Miss Annie Tait Jenkins, Atlanta, Georgia
Bishop Paul Kern, Nashville, Tennessee
Lloyd R. Killam, Atlanta, Georgia
Miss Kathleen Mallory, Birmingham, Alabama
E. A. McDowell, Louisville, Kentucky
Loye W. Miller, Knoxville, Tennessee
Mrs. J. W. Mills, Beaumont, Texas
Alfred Mynders, Chattanooga, Tennessee
N. C. Newbold, Raleigh, North Carolina
Mrs. Donald Oberdorfer, Atlanta, Georgia
Howard W. Odum, Chapel Hill, North Carolina
Philip Shulhafer, Atlanta, Georgia
Bishop A. Frank Smith, Houston, Texas
Judge J. Morgan Stevens, Jackson, Mississippi
Mrs. M. E. Tilly, Atlanta, Georgia

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS OF THE
COLLABORATION COMMITTEE AS A WHOLE

Richmond Meeting, June 16, 1943

This is a day of great differences, strong feelings, and epochal conflicts throughout the world. Yet the world's greatest need and hope is to find common ground for universal action and balanced harmony among all peoples. Manifestly, such a goal must be reached through cooperative approximation to the largest measure of agreement in line with the largest number of values and the largest number of people.

We face, therefore, the double crisis of standing firm for the conservation and preservation of human rights; yet to seek these ends by the way of peace and planning rather than by conflict and revolution.

In America, and particularly in the South, we face the problem of readjustments to meet the demands of present and post-war conditions with reference to the Negro and the future development of a great region of the nation. This, exclusive of the war, is the greatest crisis of the South and nation.

This is the problem of two great peoples caught up in the midst of transition between the powerful heritage of the past and the mighty pull of the future. For here is the white South, a great people often doing little things and good people often doing bad things. And here is the Negro South, caught as always between the upper and nether millstones of conflicting forces and also paying the price of extraordinary transition from level to level of cultural achievement, and needing plenty of understanding and cooperation. And here is the white South inexorably conditioned by cultural complexes, suffering terribly, too, and needing sympathy and help as few peoples have ever needed in the annals of man. And, even more important, the two, white South and black South, are part and parcel of the nation, whose people need, scarcely less than the two regional peoples, the sense of time and wisdom.

The war has sharpened the issue of Negro-white relations in the United States, and particularly in the South. A result has been increased racial tensions, fears and aggressions, and an opening up of the basic questions of racial segregation and discrimination, Negro minority rights, and democratic freedom, as they apply practically in Negro-white relations in the South. These issues are acute and threaten to become even more serious as they increasingly block, through the deeper fears aroused, common sense consideration for even elementary improvements in Negro status, and the welfare of the country as a whole.

This is a rare challenge to the leadership of the South to the white leadership to find new ways of cooperation and to justify increased confidence of the Negro leadership in the white South; to the Negro leadership, to sense the difficulties involved and to meet increasing demands, without slowing down their essential efforts.

As evidence of the promise of this leadership, two recent southern conferences on race relations, one at Durham, under the auspices of Negro leadership, and one in Atlanta, under the auspices of white leadership, have blazed new trails. As a follow-up of these and with the above problems and backgrounds in mind, we, a group of Southern whites and Negroes, representing both the Durham and Atlanta

groups, meeting as a collaboration committee at Richmond, Virginia, June 16, 1943, and following the general trend of the Atlanta group, urge the general adaptation of the Durham statement entitled "A Basis for Interracial Cooperation and Development in the South," which has had extraordinary nation-wide endorsement.

The framers of this covenant, realizing that the situation calls for both candor and wisdom, have included adequate and searching analysis of the principal issues involved, duly interpreted in their proper perspective. The problems so featured include political and civil rights, industry and labor, service occupations, education, agriculture, military service, social welfare and health.

In the area of political and civil rights the essential problems featured were those of franchise and the ballot, jury service, personal security, services in public carriers, the elimination of violence, within and without the law, the elimination of lynching, and the employment of an increasingly larger number of Negroes in the public service.

In the area of work opportunities: the increased training for all skilled, semi-skilled, and unskilled labor, and opportunity for employment; the readaptation of labor union policies both for the best interests of Negroes and labor unions; the problems of dual standards of pay; support of but guarding against discrimination in local, state, and federal procedures; special problems of service workers and standards of living.

In the area of education: equalized opportunities in all aspects but especially including institutions of higher learning, professional training and equal salaries.

In the area of agriculture: adequate opportunity for the Negro farmer, including a sound system of tenancy, adequate state and federal assistance, increased opportunity for farm ownership, fair farm wages, and the wider employment of Negro farm and home agents.

In the area of military service: along with the obligation to serve, the opportunity for full participation and advancement in the war activities and a continuing better adjustment of unsatisfactory situations.

In the area of social welfare and health: adequate provisions for safeguarding the public health, for training physicians and nurses, and for their employment. Also, the erection of low-cost housing and other facilities for improving community life.

We recognize now the importance of affirmative action, without which we shall fall far short of our hopes and possibilities. To this end we direct that the continuing committee, as appointed by the two groups now consolidated in this

larger collaboration committee, be charged with the responsibility for working out methods and practical means of approach. We urge especially that efforts be begun to prepare the post-war world for a wise and successful reception of our returning soldiers and to prepare both our soldiers and the people for attitudes and procedures adequate to carry the great load of post-war needs. In all these, we urge the public to a new sense of the meaning of these needs as they accord with our professed principles of Christianity and democracy.

Signed:

Charlotte H. Brown

Virginius Dabney

A. W. Dent

William G. Gehri

Archdeacon B. W. Harris

S. S. Morris

Josephine Wilkins

Howard W. Odum, Chairman

MEMBERS OF WHITE COLLABORATION COMMITTEE, ATLANTA CONFERENCE,
PRESENT AT COLLABORATION CONFERENCE, RICHMOND, VIRGINIA
June 16, 1943

Continuing Committee Members Marked X

NAME	ADDRESS
X Dr. Theodore F. Adams	Richmond, Virginia
X Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames	Atlanta, Georgia
Francis R. Bridges, Jr.	Tallahassee, Florida
X Dr. William E. Cole	Knoxville, Tennessee
J. F. Connors	Richmond, Virginia
X Virginius Dabney	Richmond, Virginia
Mrs. Andrew Dale	Columbia, Tennessee
Mrs. George E. Davis	Orangeburg, S. C.
Dr. Jackson Davis	Richmond, Virginia
Rev. Wm. G. Gehri	Memphis, Tennessee
Mrs. Harry M. Gershon	Atlanta, Georgia
X C. H. Gillman	Atlanta, Georgia
X Mrs. Henry Havens	Jacksonville, Florida
R. Beverly Herbert	Columbia, South Carolina
Very Rev. C. Hoffman, C.ss.R.	Richmond, Virginia
Most Rev. Peter L. Ireton	Richmond, Virginia
Dr. Theodore H. Jack	Lynchburg, Virginia
Dr. M. Ashby Jones	Atlanta, Georgia
Lloyd R. Killam	Atlanta, Georgia
Dr. Ryland Knight	Atlanta, Georgia
X Dr. Edward A. McDowell	Louisville, Kentucky
X Rt. Rev. Msgr. T. James McNamara	Savannah, Georgia
X Rev. Wm. H. Marmion	Birmingham, Alabama
Lucy R. Mason	Atlanta, Georgia
N. C. Newbold	Raleigh, North Carolina
Mrs. W. A. Newell	Washington, D. C.
X Mr. Howard W. Odum	Chapel Hill, North Carolina
E. M. Preston	Richmond, Virginia
X Philip Shulhafor	Atlanta, Georgia
Mrs. M. E. Tilly	Atlanta, Georgia
Rev. Vincent S. Waters	Richmond, Virginia
Paul D. Williams	Richmond, Virginia
Miss Josephine Wilkins	Atlanta, Georgia

Members Continuing Committee unavoidably detained
from Richmond Meeting

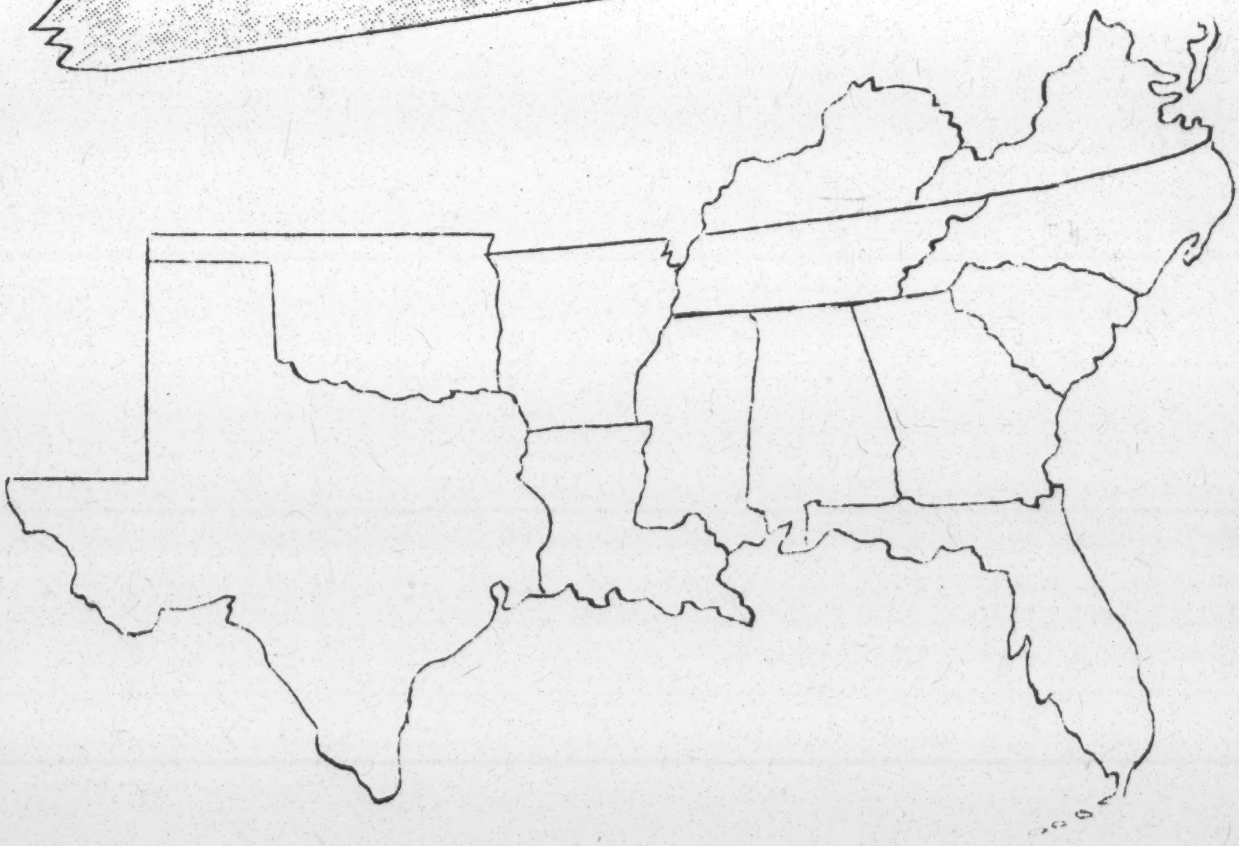
Ralph McGill	Atlanta, Georgia
Bishop Arthur J. Moore	Atlanta, Georgia
Dr. J. McDowell Richards	Decatur, Georgia

MEMBERS OF NEGRO COLLABORATION COMMITTEE, SOUTHERN CONFERENCE ON RACE RELATIONS, PRESENT AT COLLABORATION CONFERENCE, RICHMOND VIRGINIA
JUNE 16, 1943

Continuing Committee Members Marked X

X	Dr. Horace Mann Bond	Fort Valley, Georgia
	Dr. James Brawley	Atlanta, Georgia
X	Dr. Charlotte Hawkins Brown	Sedalia, North Carolina
	Louis E. Burnham	Birmingham, Alabama
	Rev. H. H. Butler	Hartsville, South Carolina
X	Dr. Rufus E. Clement	Atlanta, Georgia
	William M. Cooper	Hampton, Virginia
X	Earnest Dalpit	New Orleans, Louisiana
X	A. W. Dent	New Orleans, Louisiana
	D. J. Dixson, M.D.	Barnwell, South Carolina
	G. Hamilton Francis, M.D.	Norfolk, Virginia
X	Dr. Gordon B. Hancock	Richmond, Virginia
	Archdeacon B. W. Harris	Norfolk, Virginia
X	James E. Jackson, Jr.	Birmingham, Alabama
	Dr. Luther P. Jackson	Ettrick, Virginia
X	Dr. Charles S. Johnson	Nashville, Tennessee
X	Dr. Mordecai W. Johnson	Washington, D. C.
	R. O'Hara Lanier	Hampton, Virginia
	John R. Larkins	Raleigh, North Carolina
X	Dr. Benjamin E. Mays	Atlanta, Georgia
	Roscoe C. Mitchell	Richmond, Virginia
	Rev. S. S. Morris	Nashville, Tennessee
	L. F. Palmer	Newport News, Virginia
X	Dr. F. D. Patterson	Tuskegee, Alabama
	Dr. Ira DeA. Reid	Atlanta, University
	G. D. Rogers	Bradenton, Florida
	Lewis L. Scott	Columbia, Tennessee
	Dr. J. G. Stuart	Columbia, South Carolina
	William E. Taylor	St. Louis, Missouri
	J. E. Walker, M.D.	Memphis, Tennessee
X	Carter Wesley	Houston, Texas
	M. F. Whittaker	Orangeburg, South Carolina
X	P. B. Young	Norfolk, Virginia

WHAT KIND OF SOUTH



do YOU want?

A GROUP OF SOUTHERNERS

representing both races, many occupations, all faiths and denominations got together in 1943

and decided . . .

IT'S UP TO US, as Southerners, to join together, face up to the South's problems honestly, and work to solve them . . .

That's how the SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL WAS BORN

SRC belongs to its members. It is non-profit, non-denominational, non-political. It is Southern in its make-up and its work.

SRC is not, however, an "isolationist" movement to separate the South's problems from the Nation's. It welcomes support and understanding from all sincere people, wherever they are. But voting membership is limited to persons living in the South.

SRC members include people from all walks of life - white and Negro - city and country, men and women, church people, businessmen, educators, labor men and and plain everyday citizens.

SRC BELIEVES that the South can be prosperous and healthy, free of poverty, prejudice and fear . . .

It believes in the ideal of democracy for which this Nation was founded.

It believes - in the name of democracy, Christianity and common decency - that the Negro must have equal opportunity in the schoolroom, on the job, and at the polls . . .

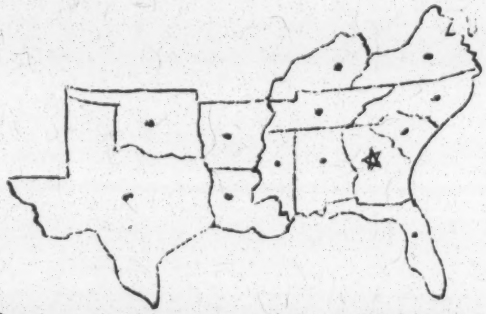
SRC BELIEVES THAT DEMOCRACY IS SAFE ONLY WHEN EVERYBODY CONTRIBUTES TO IT AND EVERYBODY SHARES IN IT.

TO ACCOMPLISH ITS AIMS

THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL WORKS THROUGH . . .

Its local groups — SRC has State Divisions and affiliated committees in eleven Southern states and smaller groups in communities over the South.

Its Regional Office



SRC's headquarters in Atlanta, Ga. guides the work of the local groups, advises private and official agencies, issues timely statements and publications. . .

A monthly bulletin — NEW SOUTH keeps members and friends of SRC informed about Southern problems and progress.

Special pamphlets — These give the facts, based on careful study of the region, in simple, illustrated form . . .

Public opinion — SRC helps to create a better climate of opinion through newspapers, radio, speakers . . .

Cooperating groups — SRC works with civic clubs, church groups, labor organizations, and other groups to bring about wholesome improvements. . .

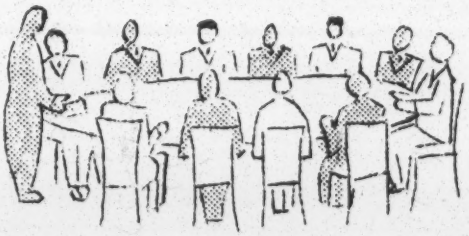
Home Town Self-Surveys — SRC helps local groups organize to collect the facts about their communities and to follow through with corrective action.

TO ACCOMPLISH ITS AIMS

THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL WORKS FOR. . .

BETTER UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN THE RACES. SRC helps lessen the violence that has plagued the South by providing a meeting ground where people of good will, white and Negro, can come together, air their common problems, achieve honest solutions . . . When trouble brews, SRC members know whom to reach and what to do . . .

EQUAL JUSTICE SRC watches the courts ... points out injustices ... works for fair police practices ... has successfully urged the hiring of Negro policemen in towns and cities throughout the South ...



EQUAL PUBLIC SERVICES. SRC works to get a square break for ALL people in

HOSPITALS AND
MEDICAL CARE

SCHOOLS

JOBS

FARMING OPPORTUNITIES
VETERANS SERVICES
HOUSING

FULL CITIZENSHIP for everyone in VOTING - JURY SERVICE
REPRESENTATION ON OFFICIAL BODIES

STATE GOVERNMENT for ALL people. SRC works for the day when out States will serve all citizens equally.

SOME ACHIEVEMENTS

OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL:

* Supplied the basic facts in successful campaigns to secure Negro policemen in Atlanta, Memphis, Nashville, Conway, S.C. and other cities . . .

* Helped smooth the path for the returning veteran by a widespread field program.

* Has encouraged and aided bi-racial committees in Southern towns and cities to make community self-surveys. These have brought striking improvements in Negro communities - most notably in Jacksonville, Florida and Greenville, S. C.

* Has worked for Negro representation on school boards, and other official bodies, elective and appointive.

* Has assisted church women in a Southwide program for better law enforcement and equal justice in the courts.

* Has successfully encouraged improved practices in the handling of racial news in Southern newspapers.

* Aroused public opinion against the Ku Klux Klan and played an active part in getting local ordinances passed curbing the activities of such terroristic groups.

* Persuaded numerous white churches throughout Georgia to be hosts to interracial meetings.

* Took the lead in getting Kentucky's Day Law amended to permit Negroes to receive medical and nursing education in formerly all white institutions.

T O D O T H E S E T H I N G S

and more, the Southern Regional Council needs YOUR support. Here are three things you can do to help:

1. Join SRC and work actively with other members in your community.

2. CONTRIBUTE to SRC's operating funds.

3. GET YOUR FRIENDS to work with you and SRC.

What They Say About The Southern Regional Council

"The SRC is unique in a number of heartening directions. It is bi-racial, non denominational and non-political. It does not indulge in tom-tom beating, parades, or lengthy pronounciamentos slanted for non-Southern consumption and approval. But it is not an isolationist effort to separate the South's problems from the nation's - - or from the nation's concern."
- Hodding Carter

"The sort of organization which makes ... progress possible and which therefore deserves the support of all Southerners."
- Richmond Times Dispatch

"The most widely respected interracial group in the South."
- Asheville Times

"Progress can surely be made if liberals, North and South, will sit down and reason together along the lines this group suggests." - New York Times

"A voice from the informed and moderate South."
- Christian Science Monitor

"Southerners directly interested in the welfare of their own section." - Chattanooga Times

8-16-64
+ Tilly + GSM

OFFICERS AND DIRECTORS OF THE COUNCIL

OFFICERS:

President: Marion A. Wright, Linville Falls, N.C.
Vice-Presidents: ✓Carter Wesley, Houston, Tex.; Gordon B. Hancock, Richmond, Va.; Alfred Mynders, Chattanooga, Tenn.; A. W. Dent, New Orleans, La.

EXECUTIVE STAFF:

Executive Director, George S. Mitchell - Secretary-Treasurer, Katherine Stoney - Director of Information, Harold C. Fleming

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Atlanta, Ga.

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Ark. Gazette
Little Rock, Ark.

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Attorney
Atlanta, Ga.

✓Charlotte H. Brown
Palmer Mem. Inst.
Sedalia, N.C.

A. T. Butler
Columbia, S.C.

Hodding Carter
Delta Democrat
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Tenn. Dir. CIO
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Okla. A & M Coll.
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Emory University
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Chas. S. Johnson ✓
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Nashville, Tenn.

Guy B. Johnson
Univ. of N.C.
Chapel Hill, N.C.

John Long
S.C.I.
Edwards, Miss.

Rabbi C. Mantinband
Hattiesburg, Miss.

Armand May
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Benjamin E. Mays
Morehouse Coll.
Atlanta, Ga.

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Baptist Seminary
Wake Forest, N.C.

Clyde A. Milner
Guilford College
Guilford, N.C.

L. D. Milton
Citizens Trust Co.
Atlanta, Ga.

Arthur W. Mitchell
Former Congressman
Petersburg, Va.

Alonzo Moron
Hampton Inst.
Hampton, Va.

N. C. Newbold
Dir. Negro Ed.
Raleigh, N.C.

Howard W. Odum
Univ. of N.C.
Chapel Hill, N.C.

E. W. Palmer
Kingsport Press
Kingsport, Tenn.

C. H. Parrish
Univ. Louisville
Louisville, Ky.

F. D. Patterson ✓
Tuskegee Inst.
Tuskegee, Ala.

Rev. E.A. Penick
Bishop of N.C.
Raleigh, N.C.

John G. Pollard
Farmer
Sommers, Va.

Glen W. Rainey
Ga. Inst. Tech.
Atlanta, Ga.

Mrs. J.N. Rayzor
Houston, Tex.

Harry Richardson
Gammon Seminary
Atlanta, Ga.

Mrs. E.U.Robinson
Church Leader
Franklin, Tenn.

Rev. L. Russell
Greenville, N.C.

Mrs. E.H.Spearman
Church Leader
Columbia, S.C.

Florence Sytz ✓
Tulane Univ.
New Orleans, La.

L. E. Thomas
Judge
Miami, Fla.

H. L. Trigg
St. Augustine's College
Raleigh, N.C.

Rev. L.J. Twomey
Loyola Univ.
New Orleans, La.

J. M. Tydings
Lincoln Found.
Louisville, Ky.

✓ Forrester Washington
A. U. School of
Social Work
Atlanta, Ga.

R. D. Wellons
Pembroke Coll.
Pembroke, N.C.

Josephine Wilkins
Athens, Ga.

Rev. J.P. Williams
Richmond, Va.

Mrs. Warren Zeuch
Vero Beach, Fla.

Paul D. Williams
Mentzer-Bush Co.
Richmond, Va.

P.B. Young
Journal & Guide
Norfolk, Va.

Rev. Dan Whitsett
Sylacauga, Ala.

CHAIRMEN OF STATE DIVISIONS AND AFFILIATES

Alabama Division, SRC
Rev. Dan Whitsett, Chrmn.
Sylacauga, Ala.

Arkansas Division, SRC
Rev. Lewis H. Deer, Chrmn.
Little Rock, Ark.

Florida Division, SRC
Mr. Davisson Dunlap, Chrmn
Jacksonville, Fla.

Kentucky Division, SRC
Mr. J. M. Tydings, Chrmn
Louisville, Ky.

Louisiana Division, SRC
Rev. L. J. Twomey, S.J.,
Acting Chrmn.
New Orleans, La.

Mississippi Division, SRC
Rev. John Long, Chrmn.
Edwards, Miss.

North Carolina Division, SRC
Rev. Leon Russell, Chrmn.
Greenville, N. C.

South Carolina Division, SRC
Mr. J. M. Dabbs, Chrmn.
Mayesville, S.C.

Tennessee Division, SRC
Mr. Alfred Mynders, Chrm
Chattanooga, Tenn.

Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation
Rev. G.E. Clary, Chrmn.
(Affiliate)

Texas Commission on Race Relations
Mrs. J. S. Crate, Chrmn.
Houston, Texas
(Affiliate)

New Orleans Committee on Race Relations
Mrs. Milton Adler, Chrmn
New Orleans, La.

Virginia Department of Interracial Cooperation
of Virginia Council of Churches
Rev. C. Emerson Smith, Director
Dr. J. M. Ellison, Chrmn.
(Independent)

S O U T H E R N R E G I O N A L C O U N C I L, I N C.

63 Auburn Avenue, NE - Atlanta, Georgia

Believing in the principles and aims of the Southern Regional Council, I would like to become: (check square)

☐ A Sustaining Member. (A main support of the Council)
Dues - $10.00

☐ A Member - (Has full membership rights and receives all publications and reports issued by SRC)
Dues- $3.00

☐ A member jointly with husband or wife. (Both have full membership rights and jointly receive a copy of SRC publications and reports.)
Joint dues - $4.00

(Note: Persons living outside the South are enrolled as Associate (non-voting)members)

☐ A Contributor to SRC's operating funds

Dues for one year are enclosed . . . $_____

Contribution in amount of . . . . . $_____

Subscription to NEW SOUTH (non-member) $_____

Total enclosed . . . $_____

NAME_____

STREET_____

CITY_____ STATE_____

OCCUPATION_____

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
710 Standard Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

January 25, 1944

In accordance with the instructions of the first organization meeting of the Southern Regional Council on November 27, the temporary Executive Committee, which was authorized at that time, met in Atlanta on Saturday January 8 and fixed the date for the full meeting of the Board for Wednesday and Thursday February 16-17. We are, therefore, calling a meeting to convene at 2:30 o'clock Wednesday afternoon in the Conference Room of the Administration Building of Atlanta University, 223 Chestnut Street, S. W., Atlanta, Georgia.

Dr. William E. Cole, whose election to the directorship of the Council was recommended at the November meeting, found it impossible to break away from his duties at the University of Tennessee and TVA. At the meeting of the Executive Committee on January 8, therefore, Dr. Guy B. Johnson, well known as professor and author from Chapel Hill and member of the Board of Trustees of Howard University, was elected Executive Director of the Council on full time. The election of Dr. Johnson has met with enthusiastic approval, in both North and South, and carries with it the enthusiastic support of Dr. Cole and the group at the TVA. Dr. Ira DeA. Reid's previous appointment as Associate Director on part time was confirmed. Miss Emily H. Clay was elected Secretary and Comptroller. All these officials have accepted and have begun their work. Provisions have been made for monies to be transferred from three or four of the contributing sources. You will be glad to know, also, that the Southern Regional Council has been duly chartered.

You will recall that the business for our February meeting includes the completion of a full list of Board members not to exceed 75, of which approximately one-third will be selected from the general fields of business, industry, labor, agriculture, and the professions of law and medicine; the further consideration of establishing 100 honorary fellowships and of beginning the selection of fellows; the further consideration of a national advisory council and its election; and the adoption of various items in the program being prepared by the Executive Directors of the Council to be presented at that time.

We feel that this is a moment of great importance and for great enthusiasm, and we hope that a full attendance may be had. Expenses of the Board will be paid by the Council. In order that accommodations may be arranged for you, please let Miss Clay know at the earliest possible moment whether or not you will be present and when you plan to arrive.

Cordially yours,

Chas. S. Johnson

CHARLES S. JOHNSON

Howard W. Odum

HOWARD W. ODUM

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
710 Standard Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

January 25, 1944

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE
BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Notice is hereby given that the charter meeting of the Board of Directors of the Southern Regional Council, Inc., will be held in the Conference Room of the Administration Building, Atlanta University, 223 Chestnut Street, S. W., Atlanta, Georgia, on Wednesday February 16, 1944, beginning at 2:30 P. M.

EMILY H. CLAY, SECRETARY

File
Outcomes:
Defense Materials

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

On October 4, 1940, the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Inc., instructed its Executive Committee "to take whatever steps are necessary to carry out the plans for the development of a council on southern regional development," which would include in its program the work of the Commission and other activities connected with the economic, educational, and social development of the South.

On January 6, 1944, after many months of work, and following the developments and instruction growing out of the conference of Southern Negroes, held in Durham, North Carolina October 20, 1942, the conference of Southern whites held in Atlanta, Georgia, April 8, 1943, and the conference of Negroes and whites held in Richmond, Virginia, June 16, 1943, the Southern Regional Council was incorporated. At the meeting of the incorporators of the Southern Regional Council held in Atlanta, Georgia, February 11, 1944, charter members of the SRC were designated: all members of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation and all active participants in one or more of the conferences leading to the formation of the Southern Regional Council.

On February 16, 1944, the Commission on Interracial Cooperation met in Atlanta at a special meeting and took the following action:

> It being made to appear to the meeting that all of the Commissions obligations and liabilities have been fully discharged, and further that the Southern Regional Council, having been duly incorporated to carry on the work with ideals and program similar to those of this corporation: It was, upon motion duly made and seconded - Resolved that the corporation transfer and convey to the Southern Regional Council, Inc. a corporation of Fulton County, Georgia, all of its property of every nature whatsoever and wherever situated, absolutely and in fee simple.
>
> On the same date charter members of the Southern Regional Council met in Atlanta, adopted by-laws, elected officers, and formulated the initial policy of the organization.

ITS PROGRAM AND METHODS

The Southern Regional Council will operate in all of the states of the South in an effort to improve the regions economic, civic, social and racial conditions.

It proposes to promote greater unity among people and agencies in all efforts for regional and racial adjustment; to attain, through research and action, progress and equal opportunity for all people; to reduce race tensions, misuderstanding, distrust; to develop and integrate leadership in the South on new levels of national, regional and racial development. These are its long time goals.

For its immediate objectives the SRC proposes to perfect its organization, to conserve and enlarge the scope of work now being done by the local and state interracial bodies; to take the preliminary steps necessary to bring about a realization of the long-time goals mentioned above, and to give immediate attention to war and postwar problems in the South.

The SRC plans to operate through several commissions in the fields of human relations, economic affairs, community welfare, public affairs, and cultural development.

The programs under these commissions will be sponsored with the aid of approximately 100 elected Fellows of the SRC, selected from the several states, and with the cooperation of local and regional religious, social and economic groups.

One of the chief purposes of the SRC will be the development of new techniques and strategies for meeting constructively the problems of the region. To achieve this end the SRC will encourage the development of action groups at local, state and regional levels; recruit and develop leadership; develop necessary research through the universities and colleges of the region; seek to remold and articulate public opinion through the radio, press, speakers and publications; cooperate with and stimulate action in the region from Federal, state and local governments; conduct special experiments and programs in an effort to effect desirable changes in the South; render such specialized services as may be necessary in this connection; render such emergency services as may be necessary; hold technical conferences, promote fuller participation in democratic processes in the South.

OFFICERS AND DIRECTORS

PRESIDENT	HOWARD W. ODUM, CHAPEL HILL, N.C.
VICE PRESIDENTS	P. B. YOUNG, NORFOLK, VIRGINIA
	HOMER P. RAINEY, AUSTIN, TEXAS
	*CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON, TEXAS
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR	GUY B. JOHNSON, ATLANTA, GEORGIA
ASSOC. EXEC. DIRECTOR	*IRA DEA. REID, ATLANTA, GEORGIA
SECRETARY-TREASURER	EMILY H. CLAY, ATLANTA, GEORGIA
BOARD OF DIRECTORS	*WILL W. ALEXANDER, CHAPEL HILL, N.C.
	MRS. JESSIE DANIEL AMES, TRYON, N.C.
	*HORACE M. BOND, FORT VALLEY, GA.
	FRANCIS R. BRIDGES, JR., TALLAHASSEE, FLA.
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	*RUFUS E. CLEMENT, ATLANTA, GEORGIA
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	ERNEST DELPIT, NEW ORLEANS, LA.
	*A. W. DENT, NEW ORLEANS, LA.
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OFFICERS AND DIRECTORS

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

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GOODRICH C. WHITE, EMORY UNIVERSITY, GA.
*MISS JOSEPHINE WILKINS, ATLANTA, GEORGIA

The Southern Regional Council is the recipient of the largest single grant ever awarded by the Ford Foundation's, "Fund for the Republic", having received as of 1956, a total of $445,000.00 "in support of the studies and activities to promote interracial improvements in the South", (See Fund for the Republic's Three Year Report, May 1956, Page 22) An additional $200,000.00 was awarded according to American Legion's "Firing Line", Feburary 1, 1958, and Florida Legislative Investigation.

Records of the American Legion's Americanism Commission, Florida Legislative Investigation Committee reports of 1959 and 1961 discloses that directors of the Southern Regional Council have, in the past, supported the subversive Southern Conference for Human Welfare and the Southern Conference Educational Fund.

(1)

From 1947 through 1957, Director of the Southern Regional Council was Dr. George S. Mitchell, former Southeastern Regional Director of the C.I.O. Political Action Committee.

The Southern Regional Council issues a monthly magazine, New South, which has featured articles by Stetson Kennedy, writer for the Communist Daily Worker, and Federated Press Communist news service.

(2)

Today the Southern Regional Council has expanded its activities into twelve (12) States. Virtually supported by the grants from the "Fund for the Republic", it has organized "Councils on Human Relations", with interracial boards and staffs in the following states: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky,

Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia

The Ford Foundations, Fund for the Republic, Inc., Two Year Report issued May 31, 1958, reveals the following facts relative to the Southern Regional Council's source of funds, and its affiliation with Councils on Human Relations in the Southern States:

September 1956 - $110,000.00 "To support the expansion of the educational work of the Council in twelve Southern States, and to assist the central office in Atlanta for the fiscal year ending Sept. 30, 1957."(Quote, Fund for Republic, May 31, 1958)

May 1957 - $200,000.00 "To support the Council's educational program in the South for the three year period beginning October 1, 1957 or such longer period as Council may determine".(Quote, Fund for Republic, May 31, 1958)

September 1957 $1,500.00 "To help defray the cost of the staff work of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations in its work in Western Arkansas". (Quote, Fund for Republic May 31, 1958)

Sept. & Nov. 1957 $1,000.00 "For work in the Little Rock Area by the Arkansas Council on Human Relations". (Quote, Fund for Republic, May 31, 1958

May 1958 $1,250.00 "For the purchase of the booklet "South Carolinians Speak", by the Southern Regional Council to be distributed by the State Councils associated with the Council". (Quote, Fund for Republic, May 31, 1958)

The Alabama Organ of the Southern Regional Council is the "Alabama Council on Human Relations", offices in the Comer Building, Birmingham, Alabama. Rev. Robert Hughes, Methodist Minister, formerly residing on 3209 Ridgley Drive, Cahaba Heights, was the Executive Director through 1960. (See Alabama Council on Human Relations for further details.)

The Southern Regional Council was represented at the Highlander Folk School Seminar, Labor Day week-end, August 30 - Sept. 7, 1957 at Monteagle, Tennessee by Fred B. Routh. Mr. Routh bears the title of Assistant Director of the Southern Regional Council. Notorious Communists, veteran Communist fellow travelers, and Negro leaders in all the recent major incidents attending integration were present at the Highlander Folk School, 25 anniversary on "the human aspects of the integration struggle."

(3)

The Highlander Folk School at Monteagle, Tennessee, was organized around 1932 by Myles Horton and Don West. (See testimony of Paul Crouch, May 6, 1949, Sub-committee of the Committee on Un-American Activities, Page 193). In his testimony, Mr. Crouch said: "I would like to mention in this connection that the Highlander Folk School at Monteagle, Tennessee, was a school organized by Myles Horton and Don West, and which Mr. James Dombrowski shortly thereafter joined".

(4) Paul Crouch, who gave the foregoing testimony concerning the Highlander Folk School, was the top Communist functionary in the South. His Communist record given to the Senate Committee by Crouch himself attests his importance.

(3) In the early period of the Highlander Folk School, Alton Lawrence was a member of its faculty. On August 13, 1938, Mr. John P. Frey, president of the Metal Trades Department of the A.F.L., testified before the Dies Committee on Un-American Activities, and named Elizabeth Hawes, Alton Lawrence and Myles Horton as persons who "attended a secret convention in North Carolina, at which time plans were made for spreading the revolutionary theories throughout the South". Mr. Frey further testified: "In connection with this I might mention that the Highlander Folk School at Monteagle, Tennessee, was mixed up in this secret convention, in which three C.I.O. organizations took a very prominent part". (See Dies Committee Hearings, Volume 1, Page 126)

Myles Horton was ejected by the United States Marshall from the witness stand and the hearing room, for disorderly conduct at the New Orleans hearings of the Senate Committee, on March 20, 1954.

Don West, who has already been mentioned as connected with the Highlander Folk School, was district director of the Communist Party of North Carolina. (See House Committee Hearing, May 6, 1949, Page 191)

In March 1954, the Senate Sub-committee on Internal Security held hearings in New Orleans on the subject of Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc., of which James Dombrowski was and is Executive Director. Among the witnesses who testified before the Senate Sub-committee on Internal Security in New Orleans was one John Butler who had formerly been a functionary of the Communist Party in Alabama.

In the course of his testimony, Mr. Butler stated that he attended a meeting of Communist Party Leaders in July of 1942, in the Thomas Jefferson Hotel in Birmingham, Alabama. Mr. Butler stated that Alton Lawrence introduced James

Dombrowski on that occasion as a Communist Party member. (See Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security Hearings, March 18, 1954, Page 45) According to Mr. Butler, this meeting of the Communist Party leaders was held in Dombrowski's own hotel room. In November, 1956 Alton Lawrence was indicted on a charge of conspiring to file a false non-Communist affidavit with the National Labor Relations Board, which non-Communist affidavit is required of trade union officials by the Taft-Hartley Act. (New York Times November 17, 1956) James Dombrowski along with Aubrey Williams, were signers of the brief amici curiae submitted to the United States Supreme Court, 1955 Term, on behalf of the Communist Party, U.S.A.

The presence of a prominent Communist Party Negro leader at the Highlander Folk School Seminar is of major significance. Through Abner W. Berry, the Communist Party established personal contacts with the Southern Leaders of the Fight for Integration. The Party, in its present-day strategy, sets the highest value on such personal contacts. It is the current strategy of penetration. Abner W. Berry is a veteran Communist Party leader with over 25 years service.

Another individual who has a long record of Communist affiliations and activity was also a prominent participant in the Labor Day week-end Conference at the Highlander Folk School, namely Pete Seeger. Pete Seeger has been prominently identified with the Communist Movement for many years,

The Reverend John B. Thompson was billed as a Seminar Director at the Highlander Folk School Labor Day week-end affair. Thompson is Dean of the Rockefeller Memorial Chapel at the University of Chicago.

From 1940 to 1942, John B. Thompson was head of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, a Communist Organization.

Aubrey Williams, Montgomery, Alabama, and the Rev. Martin Luther King were the two featured speakers at the closing session of the Highlander Folk School Seminar.

According to Abner W. Berry's account of the Highlander Folk School Seminar in the Daily Worker (Sept. 10, 1957, Page 5) Aubrey Williams spoke "prophetically" when he declared that the present situation in the South "is only a short step to general violence"and that the "stuff out of which rebellions are made is definitely being planted".

The Rev. Martin Luther King, President of the Montgomery, Alabama Improvement Association and Pastor of the Dexter Avenue Baptist Church, delivered the closing address at the Highlander Folk School Seminar.

King is the nationally acclaimed Negro leader of the integration forces in the South. Leading Communists have been writing enthusiastically about King's movement. Writing in Political Affairs, James E. Jackson (one of the top Negro leaders of the Communist Party) says:

> "It has for decades been the honorable (sic) task of Communists to set a high standard of devotion to and energetic leadership in the fight for Negro rights. Recognizing the special national character of this question, we have raised our voices among the workers when others stood mute." (Resolution presented to the 16th National Convention of the Convention of the CPUSA by James E. Jackson, chairman, Sub-committee on Negro Rights, Political Affairs, March 1957, Page 34)

Mrs. Rosa Parks was in attendance at the Highlander Folk School. It was Mrs. Parks who started the Montgomery bus boycott. Shortly prior to her dramatic defiance of the segregation ordinance, Mrs. Parks had taken a course at Highlander Folk School. Mrs. Parks promptly became a heroine to the Communists. The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, a Communist front, arragned meetings for her in New York City, including one at the home of Mr. & Mrs. Corliss Lamont.

Charles G. Gomillion, Dean of Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee, Alabama and Director Southern Regional Conference, was one of the prominent participants in the Labor Day Conference at the Highlander Folk School.

As president of the Tuskegee Civic Association, Gomillion received a considerable amount of publicity in the nations press and the summer of 1957, in connection with his leadership of a Negro boycott against the white merchants of the town of Tuskegee.

Dean Gomillion's pro-Communist connections have been significant. In testimony before the House Committee on Un-American Activities on July 21, 1947, he was identified as a current member and Secretary of the Advisory Board of the Southern Negro Youth Congress, an outright Communist organization. (See biographical data for further associations)

Others present, included Rev. David A. Brooks, Protestant Episcopal high church clergyman (Negro), speaker at the Highlander Folk School Seminar. He was a leader of the Tallahassee bus boycott which occurred during the last seven months of 1956.

Allen McSwain (Negro) was a speaker who represented the Clinton, Tennessee school incident.

Bernice Robinson, also a speaker at the Highlander Folk School Seminar, discussed the Johns Island, South Carolina, integration incident.

Conrad Browne (white) who addressed the Birmingham Council on Human Relations October 8, 1957, was present representing Koinonia Farm, an interracial colony near Americus, Georgia. This interracial community has been an incitement to prolong violence.

Ralph Helstein, President of the United Packing House Workers of America, AFL-CIO, was also a speaker. This union has been heavily infiltrated by known Communist.

OFFICERS & DIRECTORS OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL ASSOCIATED WITH SCHW AND/OR SCEF

NAME	SOU.CONF.FOR HUMAN WELFARE	SOU. CONF. EDUCATIONAL FUND, INC.	SOU. REGIONAL COUNCIL
Albert W. Dent	Director	Director	V. Pres.Director
Rufus E. Clement	"	"	Chm.Exec.Com.
Marion A. Wright	"	"	Vice Pres.
Horace M. Bond	"	---	Director
Dr. Charlotte H. Brown	"	Director	"
Louis E. Burnham	---	"	"
Clark Foreman	Past President	"	"
Chas. S. Johnson	Director	"	"
J. R. E. Lee	"	---	"
Benjamin E. Mays	"	Director	"
F. D. Patterson	"	"	"
Mrs. M. E. Tilly	"	"	"
Rufus B. Atwood	"	"	"
John M. Ellison	"	"	"
H. C. Trenholm	"	---	"
Miss Josephine Wilkins	"	---	"
C. C. Peters	"	Director	"
C. G. Gomillion	"	"	"
Paul R. Christopher	"	---	"
Aubrey Williams	Past President	Past.Pres. & Director	"

DIRECTORS OF SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

CARTER WESLEY, Publisher, Houston Informer, Houston, Texas and Vice President Southern Regional Council, member of the Committee, National Citizen's Political Action Committee.

DR. IRA DEA. REID, Associate Director, Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Ga., Member of the Committee, National Citizens Political Action Committee, Advisory Committee CORE.

MARION A. WRIGHT, Director and Vice President Southern Regional Council, Director Southern Conference for Human Welfare.

A.W. DENT, New Orleans, Louisiana, President Dillard University, Vice Pres. and Board of Directors, Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Georgia, Director Southern Conference for Human Welfare, Southern Conference Educational Fund.

Rufus E. Clement, President, Atlanta University and clergyman, Atlanta, Ga. Chairman of Executive Committee and Director Southern Regional Council, Director Southern Conference for Human Welfare, Southern Conference Educational Fund, N.A.A.C.P. Committee of 100, Southern Negro Youth Congress, National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, National Committee to abolish the Poll Tax, Civil Rights Congress, American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born. 27 Communist citations.

C. G. GOMILLION, Dean of Students, Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee, Alabama, Director Southern Regional Council, Vice Chairman, Alabama Council on Human Relations, Director Southern Conference for Human Welfare, Southern Conference Educational Fund, Participant in Labor Day Conference at Highlander Folk School, President Tuskegee Civic Association, Leader of Tuskegee boycott, Secretary of the Advisory Board, Southern Negro Youth Congress, Sponsored testimonial dinner for W.E.B. DuBois, February 23, 1951, Essex House, New York City. Prominent Communist who co-sponsored this DuBois testimonial dinner included: Herbert Apthiker, Mrs. Louise Berman, Howard Fast, Frederick V. Field, Ben Gold, W. A. Hunton, Albert E. Kahn, William L. Patterson, Melba Phillips, Joseph Selly, Howard Selsam, Mr. & Mrs. Alfred K. Stern (who recently fled behind the Iron Curtain to escape indictments for espionage), and Gene Wettfish.

BENJAMIN E. MAYS, President Morehouse College, Atlanta, Georgia, Board of Directors Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Georgia, Director Southern Conference Director Southern Conference Educational Fund, African Aid Committee, American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, American Crusade to End Lynching, Civil Rights Congress, International Labor Defense, National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, United Negro and Allied Veterans of America, W.E.B. DuBois, Testimonial Sponsoring Committee, N.A.A.C.P. Committee of 100, Recipient of 31 Communist citations.

FRED B. ROUTH, Assistant Director of Southern Regional Council 1957, represented the Southern Regional Council at the Highlander Folk School Seminar over the Labor Day week-end (August 30 - Sept. 2, 1957). Highlander Folk School, at Monteagle, Tennessee, staged its 25th anniversary seminar on "the human aspects of the integration struggle".

The Highlander Folk School at Monteagle, Tennessee, was organized around 1932 by Myles Horton and Don West. (See Testimony of Paul Crouch, May 6, 1949. Sub-committee of the Committee on Un-American Activities, Page 193)

MRS. M. E. TILLY, Jurisdictional Secretary of Christian Social Relations of the Southeastern Jurisdiction, of the Women's Society for Christian Service Methodist Church, Georgia, Director Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Ga. Member of Committee, National Citizens Political Action Committee.

CLARK FORMAN, Black Mountain, North Carolina, Board of Directors Southern Regional Council, Past President Southern Conference for Human Welfare, Director Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, Director Southern Conference Educational Fund, Member of the Committee, National Citizen's Political Action Committee.

DR. WILL W. ALEXANDER, Chapel Hill, N.C., Vice President, Julius Rosenwald Fund, North Carolina, Board of Directors Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Ga. Member of the Committee, National Citizens Political Action Committee.

HORACE M. BOND, Lincoln University, Pennsylvania, Board of Directors, Southern Regional Council, Director Southern Conference for Human Welfare, National Negro Congress.

DR. CHARLOTTE HAWKINS BROWN, Sedalia, N. C., Board of Directors, Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Georgia, Board Member, Southern Conference for Human Welfare, Director Southern Conference Educational Fund.

JOHN M. ELLISON, President Virginia Union University, Richmond, Virginia, Director Southern Regional Council, Director Southern Conference for Human Welfare, Southern Conference Educational Fund, National Negro Congress.

DR. GEORGE S. MITCHELL, Director Southern Regional Council from 1947 to 1958, Former Southwestern Regional Director of C.I.O. Political Action Committee.

H. C. TRENHOLM, President Alabama State College for Negroes, Montgomery Director Southern Regional Council, Director Southern Conference for Human Welfare.

*MISS JOSEPHINE WILKINS, Atlanta, Georgia, Director Southern Regional Council, Director Southern Conference for Human Welfare.

C. C. PETERS, President Paine College, Augusta, Georgia, Director Southern Regional Council, Director Southern Conference for Human Welfare, Director Southern Conference Educational Fund.

FREDERICK D. PATTERSON, President Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee, Alabama, Director Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Georgia, Director National Negro Congress, Director Southern Conference for Human Welfare, Director Southern Conference Education Fund.

RUFUS B. ATWOOD, President Kentucky State College, Frankfort, Kentucky, Director Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Georgia, Director Southern Conference for Human Welfare, Southern Conference Educational Fund, National Negro Congress.

LOUIS E. BURNHAM, Birmingham, Alabama, Director Southern Regional Council, Leader in Southern Negro Youth Congress, Secretary of the Association of Young Writers and Artists. Instructor in the Jefferson School of Social Science, Board of Directors Southern Conference Educational Fund.

CHARLES S. JOHNSON, President Fist University, Nashville, Tennessee, Director The Southern Regional Council, Director Southern Conference for Human Welfare, Director Southern Conference Educational Fund.

J.R.E. LEE, President Florida A & M University, Director Southern Regional Council, Director Southern Conference for Human Welfare.

LESLIE W. DUNBAR replaced Harold C. Fleming as Executive Director, Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Georgia, May, 1961.

Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council was the principal speaker at a meeting held at Miles College, Birmingham, May 9, 1961

Reverend C. H. Oliver, Chairman of the Alabama Council on Human Relations, was in charge of the meeting. The meeting was titled "Second Annual Cultural Meeting for Elementary Teachers". The theme for discussion being "Educating Children in an Anxious World".

Reverend Oliver is regular in attendance at the meetings of the Shuttlesworth and Martin Luther King groups of which Shuttlesworth is President, Eddie Gardner, Mt. Olive Baptist Church, First Vice President, and Reverend Abraham Woods, Pastor of the First Metropolitan Baptist Church, second Vice President.

At a meeting, May 1, 1961 at the Bethel Church in Ensley, Rev. Oliver reported "The Southern Regional Council, in Atlanta sends word that:

Mary Frances Early, a music teacher, had been approved for graduate study in music this summer - - she will be the first Negro to attend summer school at said university.

William D. Jones, an instructor at Abram's High School in Bessemer had received a Federal scholarship to study French. He is the first Negro from this area to receive one of these scholarships.

Three Negroes were accepted for the fall term at Georgia Tech."

Each Communist affiliation above referred to is properly shown by sworn testimony to be an act or association on the part of the individuals referred to that furthered the Communist aims in this country. This is not to infer, and there is no assumption that any of the individuals or organizations listed is Communist because of his or their Communist affiliations, unless the Communist Party itself is listed as one of his affiliations. It is however, absolute proof that the various individuals listed have knowingly aided the Communist cause in this country in the total number of times and ways listed as his Communist affiliations.

There seems to be little excuse for any reasonably well-informed citizen to continue association with these organizations, unless said association is knowingly intended.

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

The Alabama Organ of the Southern Regional Council is the Alabama Council on Human Relations, with offices in the Comer Building, Birmingham, Alabama. The Birmingham Chapter of the Alabama Council on Human Relations was organized in 1956.

Since its inception meetings have been held in various places including the Chamber of Comm. Building, Negro Miles College and prior to November 4, 1957, meetings were held at the Negro Y.M.C.A., 326 South 18th Street, Birmingham, Ala.

Executive Director of the Alabama Council on Human Relations was Reverend Robert E. Hughes. Hughes is a Methodist Minister in the North American Conference. Hughes formerly lived at 3209 Ridgley Drive, Cahaba Heights, Birmingham, Alabama. Hughes was born in Gadsden, Alabama - educated in Gadsden Public Schools, University of Alabama and Emory University, Atlanta, Georgia.

Rev. Hughes lived in Birmingham before he left to study languages necessary for his assignment in Africa. Rev. Hughes was assigned this post after the publicity received from his having been jailed in Bessemer, Alabama for contempt by the Grand Jury investigating his activities, September 2, 1960. Hughes refused to answer questions pertaining to the Council on Human Relations.

Mr. John Hall Jones, former professor at Howard College was President of the Alabama Council on Human Relations during 1956.

The Birmingham News of January 17, 1957 quotes Reverend Alfred W. Hobart, Minister of the Unitarian Church, Birmingham, Alabama, as President.

The Birmingham News of January 17, 1957, Page 2 lists the following directors: (Quote) "The Greater Birmingham Council is a part of a statewide organization. Its Board of Directors is composed of Perry Daugherty, Dr. Roger Hanson, Robert Johnson, Dr. Beryl McClasky, William Mitch, Rev. J. L. Ware, Rev. J. C. Wilson, Mrs. H. C. Bryant, Peter Cowin, Justine Barker, Dr. Fredrick Kraus, Dr. Locke White, Mrs. James Battle, Dr. John Hall Jones, John Martin, Mrs. R. M. Howard, Emory Jackson and Arthur Shores.

The Alabama Council on Human Relations met February 14, 1957 at Stillman College, a Negro Presbyterian Institution in Tuscaloosa, Alabama and elected the following officers:

Chairman:	Dr. Duncan Hunter, Pastor of the First Methodist Church, Alexander City, Alabama.
Vice Chrmn:	C. G. Gomillion, Dean of Students, Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee, Alabama (See Bibliography Southern Regional Council for affiliations)
Secretary:	William Irby, Sylacauga, Alabama
Treasurer:	J. E. Brooks, Alabama State Teachers College, Montgomery, Alabama.

On October 8, 1957 at a meeting held at the Negro Y.M.C.A., 328 South 18th Street, Birmingham, Alabama, Conrad Browne, Head of the infamous and illegally operated interracial Kiononia Farms located in Americus, Georgia, was the principal speaker. During the speech he made in part the following statement; "Some people accuse us of being Communist . . . Well, I guess we are -".

On April 5, 1957, A Grand Jury in Sumter County, Georgia charged in a 20 page presentment that Koionia Farm "May be a front for the Communist Party". Summarizing its 7 day inquiry, the Grand Jury uncovered evidence the 1,100 acre interracial establishment had "close friends among known Communists and has entertained known Communists."

Mr. Conrad Browne, Director of Kiononia Farms attended the Highlander Folk School Seminar, Labor Day week-end, August 20 - Sept. 2, 1957 along with Aubrey Williams, Montgomery, Alabama publisher, Rev. Martin Luther King, Montgomery, Ala. minister, Mr. Fred B. Routh Assistant Director of the Southern Regional Council, Abner W. Berry, prominent Communist Party Negro, Pete Seeger, who has a long record of Communist affiliations and Rev. John B. Thompson, Seminar Director. Few clergymen have better claims to qualifications as veteran Communist fellow travelers than Rev. John B. Thompson, Dean of the Rockefeller Memorial Chapel at the University of Chicago.

Aubrey Williams, editor and publisher of the "Southern Farm and Home", Montgomery, Alabama which has a circulation of 800,000. Aubrey Williams with Martin Luther King were principal speakers at the Highland Folk School Seminar.

Aubrey Williams is a Past President of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, President Southern Conference Educational Fund and signer of the amici curiae on behalf of the Communist Party, at the October 1955 Term of the U. S. Supreme Court.

Reverend Martin Luther King, former President of the Montgomery Alabama Improvement Association and former pastor of the Dexter Avenue Baptist Church, delivered the closing address at the Highlander Folk School Seminar. Leading Communists, Benjamin J. Davis, Herbert Apthiker and James E. Jackson write enthusiastically about King's movement.

Charles G. Gomillion, Director Southern Regional Conference, Vice Chairman Alabama Council on Human Relations, Dean of Tuskegee Institute, leader of the Tuskegee boycott, was one of the prominent participants in the Labor Day Conference at Highlander Folk School. (See Bibliography Southern Regional Council)

Another interesting member of the Council on Human Relations is:

Claude Williams, R.F.D. Helena, Alabama. The American Mercury magazine, issue of February, 1954 features an article by Dr. J. B. Matthews, "Reverend Claude Williams, a Communist Party member under the name "John Galey".

Williams record on file before the U.S. House of Representatives Committee on Un-American Activities is composed of seven single space type-written pages. His record places him as one of the most radical and revolutionary figures in the history of the Communist Party, U.S.A.

Claude Williams record - From the House Un-American Activities Committee - - Claude Williams left-wing radical record dates back to the early 1930's. In the early 30's he was minister of the First Presbyterian Church of Paris, Arkansas. During his ministry at this church, he carried a continuous campaign of agitation among farmers and workmen urging them to militant action by revolutionary means against our system of free enterprise. Finally, his congregation could no longer stomach his radicalism, particularly his advocacy of violent overthrow of our social, economic, and political systems, and expelled him from the Church.

In 1947 the Rev. Williams in company with six other American clergymen, visited Communist Russia-dominated Yugoslavia. Members of this group included Dr. Guy Emery Shiperland, Dr. William Howard Melish, individuals who like Rev. Williams have long records of support of Communist-front organizations. After returning from this trip, these despicable supposedly "Men of God" issued a report containing high praise of conditions in that Russian satellite, stating among other things, "that religious freedom exists in Yugoslavia". This in spite of the fact that irrefutable evidence from highly authoritative sources gives the lie to this report in toto.

Rev. Williams has been prominently connected with the Peoples Institute of Applied Religion, Inc., and organization cited by the United State's Attorney General as subversive and Communist, and identified in testimony before the U.S. House of Representatives Committee on Un-American Activities as one of the most vicious Communist groups in the United States. In this testimony Williams was named as Director of the Institute and its location was given as 4105½ - 3rd Avenue South, Birmingham, Alabama.

The Peoples Institute of Applied Religion has for its avowed objective the destruction of Catholic and Protestant religions. In a speech in New York on December 29, 1945 at the National Convention of the Institute, Rev. Williams said:

"Catholic church religion came into being to buttress the decaying Roman Empire. It proclaimed the divine rights of kings. It prospered and protected lords and ladies. It oppressed and persecuted serfs and chattels. Today this church religion is controlled by a closely-knit politico economic leadership. This heirarchy has economic investments in virtually every country".

"Protestant church religion came into being to enchance the rise of capitalism. It proclaimed the divine right of property. It defied (sic) the kings of finance, the lords of commerce and the captains of industry. Today this church religion is directed by remote control from the Chamber of Commerce, the National Association of Manufacturers and the offices of cartel imperialists. With these it has economic investments in the capitalist exploits of the whole world".

"The Peoples Institute of Applied Religion, therefore, goes beyond church religion of all kinds, it goes back to the class struggle basis of true religion. It defines, reclaims, and acts upon the democratic dynamic of our Judaeo-Christian Heritage".

In addition to the foregoing, the following are more of Williams "left-wing Red" activities:

1. According to the Daily Worker of March 5, 1941, he was one of the signers of a statement sent to the President in defense of the Communist Party.

2. Former Director of Commonwealth College, Mena, Arkansas, an institute cited by the Attorney General as Communist.

3. Editorial advisor of "The Protestant's" publication cited by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities as "a magazine which has faithfully propagated the Communist Party line under guise of a religious journal".

4. In 1950 Williams was one of the sponsors of Mid-Century Conference for Peace, a conference cited by the House-Un-American Activities Committee as a sounding board for Communist propaganda.

5. Signed letter to U.S. Attorney General Biddle defending Harry Bridges, notorious West Coast Communist.

6. Member of Civil Rights Congress and National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, both of which are on the subversive list of the U.S. Attorney General.

7. Has participated in meetings of the National Negro Congress, an organization cited as subversive by the U.S. Attorney General.

Numerous other examples of the Communist tinge of Claude Williams could be cited but space does not permit. Need we say that this man presently living in our midst, and active in the Birmingham Chapter of Alabama Council on Human Relations is a dangerous, dedicated agent of Moscow, Russia.

Mrs. Clifford Durr, Montgomery, Alabama, member Alabama Council on Human Relations, Vice President Southern Conference for Human Welfare, Director Southerr Conference Educational Fund, member and vice chairman, National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax, Virginia, Member of the Committee, National Citizen's Political Action Committee, major Communist-front organizations in the U.S.A., (House Un-American Activities Report.)

Reverend C. Herbert Oliver, Co-Chairman, Alabama Council on Human Relations, Dr. Albert C. Wynne, professor Stillman College, Tuscaloosa, Alabama, and Earl Andrews are in regular attendance at the meetings.

The Alabama Council on Human Relations is divided into five (5) districts throughout the State of Alabama with two co-chairmen for each district, one white and one Negro.

The Council distributes the New South, a small magazine published (eleven issues annually) by the Southern Regional Council, 5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Atlanta Georgia. The New South features articles on integration with special emphasis on areas hit by racial strife such as, Little Rock, Tallahassee, Birmingham and Montgomery.

Typical of these writings are:

"Birmingham Blues" from New Republic, May 30, 1960. "Jacksonville Experience is another Costly Lesson" by William K. Williams, Executive Director Florida Council on Human Relations.

"The South Says it Will Come" - Editorial May, 1960.

"Band Together for Genuine Unity" - Colbert S. Cartwright.

The basic theme of the publication is integration of the races. Graphic accounts of the freedom-rides, sit-ins, kneel-ins, and other racial disturbances are featured articles.

The Alabama Council on Human Relations, is a clandestine organization. The meetings are held in secret and membership lists are not available to anyone.

The Birmingham Police Department investigated a meeting held at the Negro Y.M.C.A., 326 South 18th Street, Birmingham, Alabama. There were approximately thirty persons present, equally divided between whites and Negroes.

Due to the hurried exit of some of the members present, it was difficult to identify everyone present. A partial list is avialable, however.

The Alabama Council on Human Relations is a Tax Exempt Organization, having qualified with the Internal Revenue Service, United States Treasury Department. The Alabama Council on Human Relations will not divulge its source of income, however, photostatic copies of their financial report indicates the main source of revenue to be the Southern Regional Council.

Reverend C. H. Oliver, Co-chairman of the Alabama Council on Human Relations is also active in Reverend Shuttlesworth and Martin Luther King's groups, who hold regular meetings throughout Birmingham.

Reverend Oliver was chairman and in charge of a meeting held, May 9, 1961 at Miles College, Birmingham, Alabama. The principal speaker being, Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar of the Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Georgia.

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar was appointed Executive Director of the Southern Regional Conference, Atlanta, Georgia May 1961, replacing Mr. Harold C. Fleming.

The meeting was titled "Second Annual Cultural Meeting for Elementary Teachers". The theme for discussion was "Educating Children in an Anxious World."

The Alabama Council on Human Relations, Comer Building, Birmingham, Alabama, has a new Executive Director. The Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Georgia employed the new director to replace the notorious Reverend Robert E. Hughes; and, to direct the activities of the Alabama Council on Human Relations, commencing August 1, 1961.

Reverend Norman C. Jimerson, Baptist Minister, who resides at 1905 Saulter Road, Homewood, Alabama, is the new Executive Director of the Alabama Council on Human Relations.

Reverend Jimerson was formerly employed as a chaplain, Hopewell Prison, Hopewell, Virginia.

This report makes no accusation that every member of any of the aforementioned organizations is a Communist, nor is any accusation made that every such person is a deliberate subversive. However, every such person is either knowingly or unknowingly lending aid to the subversive thrust of the Communist Party.

An analysis of the entire list of members affiliated with these organizations shows several things:

(1) It follows the usual pattern of personnel in Communist-front-organizations - - so many trusted Communist Party lieutenants, so many veteran fellow travelers, so many gullibles picked up for the first time and used for a front for purposes which they do not fully comprehend.

(2) It serves as an excellent illustration of the well-known principle of the interlocking directorate which is common in the party's front organizations.

On May 28, 1942 the Attorney General issued an order for the deportation of Harry Bridges. Two things stand out in the text of the Attorney General's order:

(1) A finding of fact concerning the subversive character of the Communist Party.

(2) An observation concerning the nature and purpose of Communist front organizations.

Concerning the Communist Party, the Attorney General found the following:

"That the Communist Party of the U.S.A., from the time of its inception in 1919 to the present time, is an organization that believes in, advises, advocates and teaches the overthrow by force and violence of the Government of the United States."

Concerning Communist-front organizations, the Attorney General made the following observation:

"Testimony on "front organizations" showed that they were represented to the public for some legitimate objective, but actually used by the Communist Party to carry on its activities, pending the time when the Communist believe they can seize power through revolution".

The foregoing statements of the Attorney General are amply substantiated by the overwhelming mass of evidence which bears upon them. These statements say categorically that the Communist Party is a subversive organization which aims at the violent overthrow of the United States Government, and that Communist-front organizations are one of the instrumentalities used by the Communist Party for this ultimate purpose.

Each Communist affiliation above referred to is properly shown by sworn testimony to be an act or association on the part of the individuals referred to that furthered the Communist aims in this country. This is not to infer, and there is no assumption that any of the individuals listed, is a Communist because of his Communist affiliations, unless a Communist Party itself is listed as one of his affiliations. It is, however, absolute proof that the various individuals listed have knowingly or unknowingly aided the Communist cause in this, in the total number of times and ways listed as his Communist affiliations.

There seems to be little excuse for any reasonably well-informed citizen to continue association with these organizations, unless said association is knowingly intended.

A NEW POLITICAL CLIMATE FOR THE SOUTH

Broad progressive movements in the South show that forces are at work toward that unity of all patriotic Southerners who see racial harmony as the key to progress and effectiveness in the war.

By Rob F. Hall
Birmingham, Ala.

In his 'Brothers Under the Skin,' Carey McWilliams does not soft-pedal the seriousness of the attacks on the Negro people, the increasing bitterness of anti-Negro discrimination, and the danger to national unity resulting from the intolerable conditions under which the Negro people live, work and fight. But Mr. McWilliams emphasizes that in the course of this war for survival against Hitlerism, there has developed a climate favorable for far-reaching improvements in racial relations.

Even the South has been affected by this climate and out of it has come the recently organized Southern Regional Council, Inc., with headquarters in Atlanta, consisting of some hundred leading Southern white and Negro citizens. The council is dedicated to the proposition that 'the Negro in the United States and in every region is entitled to and should have every guarantee of equal opportunity that every other citizen of the United States has within the framework of the American democratic system of government.' The founders established the council so that there will be 'actual realistic accomplishments rather than mere words.'

Dr. Charles S. Johnson of Fiske University and Dr. Howard W. Odum of the University of North Carolina are co-chairman, and Dr. Guy B. Johnson, also of North Carolina has been made full-time executive director. Dr. Ira Reid, a well-known Negro leader of Atlanta University is associate director. Despite the prominence of academic names in the roster of officers, the movement is not confined to the Southern campus. The initiators and supporters of the Southern Regional Council include white industrialists, Negro business men and outstanding men and women of both races from the fields of church, labor, social work, government agencies and civic organizations.

The council has its beginning in a meeting of some 80 Southern Negro leaders in Durham, N. C., in October, 1942. The 'Durham Statement' issued as a result of the deliberations of that conference was notable both in the primacy it gave to the war effort and its demands on the 'first loyalty' of the Negro people, and for its frank and forthright posing of the demands of the Negro people in the South.

The Durham conference demands included.

1. Political and civil rights. This emphasized the right of suffrage and the right of 'personal security against abuses of police power by white officers of the law.' The touchy question of treatment of Negroes in public carriers was met with the demand that 'where segregation is mandatory by law...that these provisions be equal in kind and quality.'

2. Industry and labor. This pointed up the demand for the enforcement of the Fair Employment Practices Committee policies.
3. Service occupations. In this plank the degraded position of the domestic and other service workers was treated as an important question affecting hundreds of thousands of Negroes.
4. Education. The conference urged equalization of educational opportunities, including equalization of salaries. Where states cannot afford the requirements of this program, federal aid was called for.
5. Agriculture. Safeguards for the tenant and aids to the promotion of home and land ownership were emphasized.
6. Military service. The conference insisted upon the opportunity of full participation in all branches of military service and of advancement according to ability.
7. Social welfare and health. A drastic expansion of health facilities for the Negro people was advocated, including slum clearance and low-cost housing.

Following the publication of the Durham program there was widespread comment in the columns of the more responsible section of the Southern press. The Atlanta Constitution, whose editor is Ralph McGill said, 'It will be unfortunate if the South does not discuss calmly and intelligently the basis for interracial cooperation advanced recently by a group of Southern Negroes.' And partly due to the initiative of Mr. McGill, about 300 influential white Southerners gathered at Atlanta in April, 1943.

In their public document, now known as the Atlanta Statement, the white Southerners opened with an acknowledgement to the Durham group. 'Their statement,' said the whites, 'is so frank and courageous, so free from any suggestion of threat and ultimatum, and at the same time shows such good will, that we gladly agree to cooperate.'

The Atlanta conference did not draw up a detailed program. It implied agreement with the Durham planks but addressed itself primarily to 'the widespread and inexcusable discrimination in the administration of these laws.'

Continuing, the Atlanta conference said, 'The white Southerner has an obligation to interest himself in the legitimate aspirations of the Negro.

'This means correcting the discrimination between the races in the allocation of school funds; in the number and quality of schools; and in the salaries of teachers...It is recognized that there is often practical discrimination by some peace officers and in some courts in the treatment of Negro prisoners and in the abrogation of their civil rights...False arrests, brutal beatings and other evils must be stopped.'

In the economic sphere, the Negro must have equal pay for equal work. 'If we cannot plan for a well-trained, well-employed and prosperous Negro population, the economic future of the South is hopeless,' the atlanta Statement declared.

The statement then emphasized the necessity of eliminating 'the poison of racial antagonism' which unless checked 'will ultimately disturb and threaten the stability of the nation.'

The story then moves more rapidly. The Atlanta Conference designated a committee of whites, including Dr. Odum, Virginius Dabney, editor of The Richmond Times-Dispatch, and Josephine

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Wilkins of the Georgia League of Women Voters, to meet with a committee of Negroes, to work out plans for collaboration.

The collaboration committee met in Richmond two months later. Their document was not as explicit as either the Durham or the Atlanta statements, but indicated a genuine desire to work together on the basis of an 'adaptation' of the Durham and Atlanta platforms. The collaboration committee itemized the most important of the Durham planks, including the franchise, personal security, employment, and equalized opportunity for education and professional training.

The thinking of Dr. Odum and certain other leaders seems to be in the negative. By training and background, Dr. Odum is inclined to rely on a small and select group and to distrust the average citizen, at least in the mass. The fact that foundations have underwritten the budget of the council for the coming year is in this sense both a strength and a weakness--a weakness in that the council will not need the financial support of the average citizen and may tend to ignore him, thus depriving itself of that strength, inspiration and effectiveness which comes from the participation of the rank and file.

The hesitancy of Dr. Odum and some of the other leaders has an explanation. It lies in their conviction that the Southern Regional Council may fight for improved race relation (sic) and improved conditions for the Negro people but must not under any circumstances raise a finger against segregation in the South.

When leaders of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare approached Dr. Odum and proposed a merger of their organization with the SRC, they were told politely but firmly that they were not wanted. The SCHW had opposed segregation, they were told, and their participation in SRC would perhaps commit the latter organization in the minds of the public to this position.

It would be easy to dismiss the Southern Regional Council as lagging behind the times, or as some think, hopelessly conservative. But actually, the issue is not so simple.

Those who really understand the character of this war of national survival recognize that the war crisis has made it possible to achieve complete equality for the Negro people in this period. Further, that the complete integration of the Negro people into American life, eliminating the cancerous institution of white supremacy from our social body, is vital to victory in the war and to the national unity of the post-war period. Thus the goal of abolishing segregation is a realistic and practical goal and all moves toward improving race relations will be most successful if they acknowledge this goal.

Unfortunately, this fact is not understood or accepted by a large and--at the present--dominant section of Southern liberal opinion. Even the Negro conferees at Durham, while expressing opposition to compulsory segregation, deliberately limited their program to demands which did not trespass on the hallowed precincts of Jim Crow. They declared.

'We are fundamentally opposed to the principle and practice of compulsory segregation...however we regard it as both sensible

(continued on Page 9)

A New Political Climate in the South

(Continued from Page 3)

and timely to address ourselves now to the current problems of racial discrimination and neglect.'

The use of the word 'however' is most unfortunate, because it poses the fight on current problems as something in opposition to the fight against segregation. It was on the basis of this paragraph that Roscoe Dunjee, fighting editor of The Black Dispatch of Oklahoma City, jade his scathing criticism of the Durham conference.

Actually the Durham conferees should have said 'We are fundamentally opposed to compulsory segregation...and precisely because of that we are addressing ourselves to the current problems.'

The logic of this formulation is demonstrated when one considers that the fight for complete equality and for the abolition of segregation requires at this stage a militant unrelenting fight for the very platform of the Durham-Atlanta conference, for the franchise, for the elimination of police brutality, and for jobs for Negroes. It is in the course of such struggles that larger and larger sections of Southern whites will learn to know their Negro fellow citizens better and to see the utter unreasonableness of segregation and Jim Crow. They will learn how Jim Crow laws are degrading and humiliating to whites as well as Negroes. The educational process will be advanced.

No one at the Atlanta conference opposed tinkering with the basic Jim Crow structure of the South more vigorously than did Editor Virginius Dabney of The Richmond Times-Dispatch. But a few weeks ago, Mr. Dabney published a two column editorial urging the elimination of segregation in busses, street cars and railway trains in the state of Virginia. The response to this proposal by the people of Virginia was overwhelmingly favoralbe, Mr. Dabney reported subsequently. The fight for Negro rights in the South will unquestionably follow this pattern.

This assumes, of course, sincerity and good faith on the part of the leaders of the movement. Perhaps certain members of the Southern Regional Council do not at this time desire to eliminate segregation. There is room in the South for an organization with the limited program of merely achieving the unprejudiced administration of law to the Negro people. But the minimum essential is that the organization and its members shall energetically pursue this program.

In a recent issue of The Black Dispatch, M. S. Stuart, a columnist refrains from criticizing the SRC. But he issues a polite warning:

'Southern white friends of the race have been counselling patience and promising gradual improvement. Practical level-headed Negro leaders, North and South, have been inclined to subscribe to that theory. But many now are beginning to question whether or not the policy of these white friends is too darn gradual...They want concrete evidence of improvement, however small, to offset the contention that these Southern programs are only sugar-coated opiates to keep the Negro contented during the war. They would like grounds for hoping that at least some of the Negro babies born this year

will not be too old to enjoy any of the fruits of this gradualness when, if ever, it ripens.'

The SRC, even if it does not adopt as a part of its program the elimination of segregation, can still make a tremendous contribution to Southern unity and thus to the Southern role in the war effort. But it does have an obligation to speak out without delay for the cardinal points of its program, for the abolition of the poll tax, against the white primary and for the right to vote for the Negro people; for the support of FEPC and for jobs for Negroes; for expansion now of educational health and housing facilities for Negroes.

If it will do this, and at the same time, organize the great mass of Southern white opinion behind this program, we can rest assured that the time of complete integration of the Negro people into Southern and American life will not be far off.

There is, we repeat, room in the South for a movement which does not include the elimination of segregation. But there ought to be room in the Southern Regional Council for men and women, Negro and white, who take the position that only the complete elimination of segregation will achieve genuine racial harmony, if they cooperate in the immediate program of the council.

Southerners can be confident that despite the error of Dr. Odum is (sic) rejecting the overtures of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, the SRC is headed in the direction of that broader unity of all patriotic Southerners who know that racial harmony is the keystone of Southern progress and Southern effectiveness in the war. The Southern Regional Council therefore deserves the unremitting co-operation and support of all Southern people."

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Daily Worker - Page 6 - December 1, 1954

James Jackson's 40th Birthday:
Hero Son of the Negro People

By S. D. Rock

"This is the 40th birthday of James E. Jackson, Jr. It also marks roughly three-and-a-half years that this stalwart Marxist leader, Southern regional secretary of the Communist Party and member of its national committee, has lived the life of a political refugee, separated from his family, hunted by the vengeful, fascist-minded political police of the FBI.

Both these facts deserve widespread recognition and commemoration in the ranks of Communists, working-class militants and the Negro people.

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As the Masses gird themselves for more decisive battles against the small handful of ruling class advocates of fascism and genocidal war, their ranks were weakened by the absence of Jim Jackson. For he symbolized and embodies these qualities and skills of leadership most sorely needed now.

Proud son of the Negro people, Jim Jackson's indelible contributions to their struggles began when, as a student in the jimcrow public schools of his native Richmond, Va., he turned his exceptional mind beyond the classroom to find the answers to the very segregation of which he and his fellow pupils were the victims; to the daily indignities and abuses which his people suffered at the hands of the 'white supremacist' lords of the town; to the miserable wages of the factory 'hands' in the tobacco plants, the plodding domestic workers and the servants in the big hotels; to the insufferable hovels and firetraps which the Negro workers of Richmond inhabited--and still inhabit.

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Since those early days, there are few basic struggles of the Negro nation and people in the South, or of the Southern workers and poor farmers, Negro and white which have not borne to some degree the imprint of his direct participation or his guidance of the class-conscious forces waithin them.

As the drive to break the Wall Street-Dixiecrat stranglehold on the political life of the South (and consequently the nation) takes shape in an ever more energetic and demanding movement for the full franchise, for Negro and popular representation, it is appropriate to recall that Jim Jackson and a small band of young Southerners launched the first anti-polltax week in Birmingham, Ala., in 1940. This observance soon flowered into a national campaign which reduced the number of polltax states from eight to five and stimulated voter registration movements among the Negro masses in every Southern state.

And when, in 1946, the first concerted effort of this generation was made to register Negroes to vote in Mississippi ('paradise of the Ku Klux Klans); bitter-end defender of feudal oligarchy; current spawner of the misnamed 'Citizens.Councils' aimed at terrorizing Negro children and parents into forfeiting their constitutional right to equal and integrated education,

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Jim Jackson was there as an officer of the Southern Negro Youth Congress, spearheading the movement, rallying his fellow-Negro veterans to take advantage of their poll-tax exemption and vote.

In the eyes of the big-planter clique that rules Mississippi on behalf of finance capital, the advocacy of Negro voting in 'their' state was strictly 'illegal' in 1946. Jim Jackson had to find ingenious methods to get his message over to the Negro veterans. Regular-sized leaflets would be too bulky; but thousands of vets found in their hands little slips of paper, slightly bigger than a calling card and inscribed with the legend:

Negro Veterans
You who laid old Hitler low,
Don't be scared of old Bilbo;
Just like Hitler's friend Tojo,
Bilbo, too, has got to go!
Register and Vote!
Join the S. N. Y. C.!

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There was at least as much truth as poetry in Jim Jackson's 'calling card.' The exposure of the corrupt practices, fraud and intimidation which Bilbo used to keep Negroes from voting against him in 1946 led to a movement to deny him the seat he had held in the Senate by identical methods term after term. The movement developed mass proportions and was stopped only by Bilbo's belated death early in 1947.

It was said in Mississippi that 'The Man,' as he was called, died of natural causes, aggravated by an overdose of Negro militancy stimulated by Jim Jackson.

As an inspirer and organizer of countless struggles of the Negro youth and people against lynching, against the murderous brutality of the police agents of the trusts and planters; for jobs and upgrading, for schools, recreational facilities and cultural development, Jim Jackson maintains today a preferred place in the hearts of the Negro masses all over the South.

Further, for a period of 15 years he took part in every important general movement for advancement which involved Negro and white labor and progressive forces of the South.

In addition to serving as a founder, vice president and principal organizer of the Southern Negro Youth Congress, he participated in the formation and building of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, the Southern Regional Council, and many other movements which in any important way challenged the states que (sic) quo of Negro oppression and Southern social backwardness.

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Jim Jackson's constructive role in these movements stands as an effective refutation of the imperialist lie that the Communists join popular mass organizations to 'use' them for some ulterior motives. Throughout the South there are numerous leaders who could testify--and some day they will--that Jim Jackson's contributions to the organizations in which they shared with him the labor 'in the heat of the day' were always positive, helpful, and principled, whatever their differences on the fundamental questions of class struggle and the basic organization of society.

For Communists, Jim Jackson's mastery--though practice (sic) --of the united front tactic provides a model of great importance in carrying into life the objectives of the Party program. A primary characteristic of his style of work has been his persistent skill in developing mass struggles around the issues and through the organizational forms and methods closest and most congenial to the masses--all the while striving to raise a given campaign, project, or movement to higher levels of social consciousness and fighting capacity, all the while furthering the unity and initiative of Negro and white workers and the leadership of the Negro workers in the Negro liberation movement.

Continued on page 4 - Daily Worker, December 2, 1954

Jackson, a Leader in
Labor, Negro Struggle

Following is the concluding article on the occasion of the 40th birthday of James E. Jackson, Jr., Southern regional secretary of the Communist Party and member of its national committee, who has lived the life of a political refugee:

* * *

By S. D. Rock

Jim Jackson combines with a deep involvement in the crucial struggles of the Negro people during his entire mature life, a rich experience as an organizer of labor and builder of the trade union meovement.

When the leaders of the Southern Negro Youth Congress undertook to organize the desperately exploited Negro tobacco stemmers and laborers of the Larus Brothers and E xport Leaf plants in Richmond in 1937-38, Jackson was the principal leader of the organizing drive and historic strike (first in the history of the tobacco industry) which followed.

The success which he and other youthful organizers had in rallying the workers to organized resistance to $5-a-week pay envolopes, the spiteful abuse and lustful advances of 'straw boss' foremen, 'dressing rooms' in which women changed clothes behind barrel staves involoped by foul tobacco-leaf fumes; their success in mobilizing the support of all groups and classes in the Negro community in the form of money and food to maintain the strikers' kitchen; their success in organizing a supporting parade of white workers down Main Street through the heart of town--all this threw fear and panic into the bosses and resulted in Jim Jackson's being jailed on a trumped-up charge.

But eventually the strike was won and the victory of the Richmond tobacco workers, who joined the new CIO movement, led to the further organization of tobacco workers in Virginia and North Carolina and provided an important exmaple and stimulus for the entire Southern organizing drive of the late Thirties.

*

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Not only the tobacco workers, but the longshoremen of Louisiana and Texas, textile workers of the Carolinas, shipbuilders in Mobile, steel workers and miners in Birmingham and Bessemer, dan testify to Jim Jackson's contributions to their struggles for better wages and working conditions and for trade union democracy.

And in Detroit literally thousands of Communist and progressive auto workers recall his inexhaustible energy, great tactical skill and his fight for principle when, as leader of the Communist workers at the huge auto plants, he helped guide the building and development of a left and progressive workers' coalition against speedup wage-cuts, layoffs, and discrimination in 1947-48 and 1949.

Thus, the merging of experiences in the main stream of the Negro liberation movement and in various crucial struggles of the labor movement over a period of 20-odd years have molded a leader of rare qualities. The people must recall him to their service in the strenuous days ahead.

*

Most important, the two main ingredients that go to make up the revolutionary 'charge' in Jim Jackson--the fight for Negro freedom and for labor's rights--have been tempered to an unusually fine degree in the fire of Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist science.

At the time of the Smith Act indictments against the 17 leaders of the Communist Party, Jackson had begun to arrest our attention with his important contributions to our theory. His articles in Political A ffairs, his speeches at Party conventions and conferences bear the marks of a major and seasoned theoretical talent.

All the features are there which characterize the work of an outstanding Marxist scholar: (1) a concrete and thorough examination of economic and social reality and the experience of the masses as the basis for political and theoretical conclusions and generalizations; (2) the abhorrence of dogma and the shunning of cliches, however hallowed by time and extravagent(sic) usage; (3) a bold, creative, 'pioneering' approach to new and unsolved problems; (4) a confident but not mechanical recourse to the accumulated experience of the world proletariat as summarized in the classical work of Marx, Engles, Lenin and Stalin.

*

Jackson's theoretical contributions have been along two major lines. First, he has heightened the Party's understanding of the nature of the popular struggle in the South. He has constantly reminded us, as in his report to the 15th Party conventions, that '...in our trade union work and in our Negro work we cannot win the battle against opportunism, white chauvinism and reformism so long as work in these fields is characterized by a neglect and underestimation of the South.'

He proceeded in the same report to show that: 'The development of higher levels of the Negro national revolutionary struggle in the Balck Belt, and the broad mass movement for democratic rights in the South as a whole, is an indispensable prerequisite for insuring the victory of the working class and the American people over the menacing challenge of the ruling class forces of fascism

and war presently, and for working class victory over capitalism ultimately...This is a basic fundamental in the strategy for working class victory, and a special feature of the path to the triumph of Socialism in our country.'

Placing before the Party the challenge of 'the too poorly appreciated fact that the South is that region of the U. S. where the most powerful revolutionary pressures may develop,' Jackson has graphically described and analyzed the three main components of the people's struggles in the South, namely: '(1) the special struggles of the workers, Negro and white; ~~and~~ (2) the special struggles of the poor farmers, Negro and white; and (3) the struggle of the Negro nation for liberation and of the Negro people everywhere for equal rights.'

And he points out that, 'Above all, up from the backward South, there is growing in consciousness a potentially powerful democratic and revolutionary force, the oppressed and imprisoned Negro nation, which is fighting and will fight, on a scale as yet unimagined for its liberation from the imperialist bondage of Wall Street-Dixiecrat slavemasters.'

*

In applying the tools of Marxism-Leninism to that force (the struggle for freedom of the imprisoned Negro nation)--in outlining its present status and perspectives for the future, its relations with the labor movement, the agrarian masses and the Negro national minorities South and North, the relation- (Continued on Page 8)

Jackson

(Continued from Page 5)

ships and struggles of the classes within it, its alliance with the liberatory (sic) struggles in colonial lands and with the world peace movement headed by the socialist USSR--it is in this field of investigation that we find Jackson's second major area of contribution to our theoretical work.

*

Clearly the need and the possibility of returning Jim Jackson and other imprisoned and missing working class leaders to the front line of struggle is greater than ever before.

The Negro liberation movement is at a new height and, as the object of the increasingly ferocious attacks of the Dixiecrats and their bourgeois masters, it faces a rapidly sharpening crisis. Which road to take toward extended reformist collaboration with the Big Business would-be enslavers of the colonial world and the consequent short circuiting of the mass currents which led to the Supreme Court decision of last May 17. Or toward more determined and effective collaboration with an awakening labor movement and with the anti-imperialist, pro-peace forces of the world--the only sure road to 'Freedom by '63' and to complete liberation in our time.

*

Jim Jackson's experience, wisdom and energy are needed at the center of the Negro people's movement as this fateful decision takes shape before us.

Ben Davis' great political leadership is needed, the organizing genius of Henry Winston, the full, unhampered contributions of Pettis Perry, Claudia Jones and all the Negro victims of Smith Act

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persecution are needed as never before in the maturing, centuries-old struggle for freedom.

And at their side in this great battle, as in the battle for true working class policies in the labor movement, and for a powerful people's coalition for peace and democracy, must stand their comrades and colleagues in leadership of the Communist Party--Wm. Z. Foster, Gene Dennis, Gus Hall, John Gates, Bob Thompson, and all the others.

The rich ties of Jim Jackson with the popular and labor movements of our land are shaped in one degree or another by all the leaders of the Communist Party. It is precisely these ties, developed over years of participation in the American class struggle which is the warrant of their leadership of our Party. And precisely these ties, however they manifest themselves, are our warrant to go to the American people with unprecedented vigor with the deman for amnesty for political prisoners.

The possibilities for success in this struggle are growing. The repugnance of the masses for McCarthyism deepens from day to day. It must embrace the fascist menace in all its manifestations, and primarily its anti-Communist core.

We must use the occasion of Jim Jackson's 40th birthday to remind ourselves and the democratic masses that the popular movement will not achieve its goals in the fight for peace, the battle for constitutional liberty, working class advance or Negro freedom unless Communists--and in the first instance the leaders of the Communist Party--exercise the full rights of citizenship in that movement and in the nation. //

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Atlanta Constitution Dec. 13, 1944

Regional Council Recommendations

Members from all points of the south attended last week in Atlanta a meeting of the Southern Regional Council, which sponsors better race relations.

Enemies of better race relations consistently seek to present such meetings as secret, mysterious gatherings in which social equality is advocated. Nothing could be farther from the truth. The meetings are serious ones, always finding an aggressive, yet common-sense basis for discussion and agreement.

As illustrating that fact, the meeting of last week may be presented. A program basis of seven main points was adopted. No fair-minded, thoughtful person can quarrel with them. Indeed, only one of them conceivably would be opposed by a person with ultra-conservative views. Briefly, the points covered employment on the basis of ability, of Negro policemen and firemen, a practice already in effect in many southern cities where they work only in Negro areas and patrol only Negro districts; equalization of educational opportunities; increased publicly-financed medical and dental care to both races and enforcement of the law calling for equal accomodations on all public transportation facilities. Another called for an abolition of the white primary, where it exists. Arkansas already has done so, and in Texas the supreme court has ruled out such a primary. Other states are planning abandonment.

None of these "points" calls for, or intimates, any step toward so-called "social equality." Indeed, the "points" recognize legal segregation and ask only for what the law requires—equal facilities.

Positive aggressive, yet conservative and non-radical, the program merits the attention of every southerner interested in the future of the south and its bi-racial problem.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

the conscience of the South

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director, Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Ga.

THE Southern Regional Council, which began its existence as a formally organized body in February 1944, is the product of many factors but primarily it is the outgrowth of two parent movements. One of these was the Commission on Interracial Cooperation. The other was the Durham - Atlanta - Richmond series of conferences.

In 1919, during the dark days of racial conflict and Ku-Kluxism which followed World War I, the Commission on Interracial Cooperation was born. It represented a new idea in race relations, the idea that white people and Negroes should come together and strive to reach "a meeting of minds" on their mutual problems. This idea spread until there were scores of interracial committees operating in the South and elsewhere.

Idea of Council Is Born

In 1939 the commission leaders, feeling that the educational program which it started had become thoroughly established and recognizing the need for new blood and new ideas, began to explore the possibility of broadening the scope of the organization and improving its technics. In October 1940 the commission instructed its executive committee to "take whatever steps are necessary to carry out the plans for the formation of a council on southern regional development," which would include in its program "the work of the commission and other activities connected with the economic, educational and social development of the South."

Accordingly, an evaluative study of the commission was made and a plan for expansion was drawn up. In the meantime, the Durham-Atlanta-Richmond conferences matured to a similar purpose.

On Oct. 20, 1942, a group of Southern Negro leaders met at Durham, N. C., and participated in what has become known as the Durham Conference. This conference was an outstanding event in the history of the South. It was a product of the rising tide of racial friction and it was also in a sense a product of both the successes and the failures of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation. These Negro leaders expressed their purpose as follows:

"We are proposing to set forth in certain Articles of Cooperation just what the Negro wants and is expecting of the postwar South and nation. Instead of letting the demagogues guess what we want, we are proposing to make our wants and aspirations a matter of record, so clear that he who runs may read. We are hoping in this way to challenge the constructive cooperation of that element of the white South who express themselves as desirous of a new deal for the Negroes of the South."

On April 8, 1943, a group of southern white leaders met in Atlanta to consider the statement which had been issued by the Durham Conference. They agreed that ". . . the need is for a positive program arrived at in an atmosphere of understanding, cooperation and mutual respect."

Resolution Is Passed

The third conference was held June 16, 1943, in Richmond when a collaboration committee, composed of representatives from the Durham and Atlanta conferences, met to work out further details. A continuing committee of white and Negro delegates came together in Atlanta on Aug. 4, 1943, to draw up specific plans for implementing the Durham statement. They passed a resolution urging the South ". . . to pool its efforts and set up a strong, unified Southern Regional Council constituted of representatives of both races and of private and public groups . . . ."

The Southern Regional Council was chartered on Jan. 6, 1944, by the state of Georgia as a corporation "for the improvement of economic, civic and racial conditions in the South . . . to attain through research and action programs the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the region . . . ." It represents the forward-looking conscience and efforts of liberal Southerners to give democracy a chance in the South. It is bi-racial but is not exclusively a "race relations" organization.

The Southern Regional Council is a membership corporation. Membership is open to any person who endorses the purposes of the organization and pays dues of $1 a year. Voting members reside in the council's area which includes the states of Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia. Persons living elsewhere may become associate members.

At the annual meetings, the members determine program and policy and elect new members and directors. The board of directors, composed of 60 members plus officers, holds two regular meetings each year. The board has an executive committee which meets bimonthly and five standing committees. The executive staff is elected by the board and is directly responsible to it.

The council believes that sound information, honest discussion and cooperation, rather than agitation, are the best methods for promoting social progress.

Functions of the Council

Its functions are: (1) research and survey to find the facts and to determine the possibilities of constructive action; (2) educational work through its own publications and through the press, radio, exhibits, conferences and personal contacts; (3) cooperation with other agencies which have liberal and humanitarian aims; (4) consultative services to private or public agencies, and (5) formulation of constructive plans and proposals for "the South that could be."

all. wrk interpret research consultation

"Federal-State Relations in Education"

A critical evaluation by 11 educators of the views contained in the report of two educational commissions on the matter of federal aid to education

C. L. CRAWFORD
Superintendent, Council Bluffs, Iowa

Some of the assumptions put forth in "Federal-State Relations in Education," a report issued jointly by the Educational Policies Commission of the National Education Association and the American Association of School Administrators and the Problems and Policies Committee of the American Council on Education, are open to serious question.

To grant federal aid without restrictions as to its use would tend only to entrench and nourish the thousands of small uneconomical and poorly taught and administered school districts now in existence in many states.

The release of federal funds to the various states without restrictions or guidance as to expenditure would also tend to strengthen politically those state departments of public instruction which in too many cases still are on a politically elective basis. Department heads in those states might be inclined to distribute nonregulated federal grants in such manner as would pay off most satisfactorily at the polls.

Even where state departments and state boards are nonpolitical and intellectually honest, is it fair to put them on the spot by making the funds "available for use in schools which the state itself recognizes as eligible to be supported from public funds"? To do so immediately opens them to pressures and prejudices which would not follow if federal funds were earmarked for public school programs only. To earmark funds, however, would be the first probable step in federal control.

If federal aid is to come, let it be for capital outlay costs. Here, federal control would be less dangerous and far-reaching. Let our local and state governments continue to support all operating costs and thus retain their inviolable right to self-determination in public education.

Our states can support their own programs. As a prominent business man recently said: "We have to expect to pay more local taxes. If we don't pay more in local taxes, the federal government taxes it away from us anyway, so it will cost us little to contribute more for the support of our local schools and keep them from becoming involved in federal control."

W. F. CREDLE
Director of Schoolhouse Planning
State Department of Public Instruction
Raleigh, N. C.

"Federal-State Relations in Education" is a well-written pamphlet but is wholly unconvincing if it is an attempt to maintain the thesis that we can have federal aid without federal control.

While one must admit that the principles of organization and administration advocated by the authors of this bulletin "are now clearly established" in the opinions of most school administrators, there may be a minority of school officials that would not wholly agree with the seven listed essentials in this respect. Indeed, while federal control is decried throughout the statement of the Educational Policies Commission and the policies committee, the decrial is conditioned upon the states' conforming to a rather uniform pattern. The Federal Education Commission would be charged with the responsibility for setting up these uniform policies. This board of laymen, in addition to including members who have had experience on state and local boards of education, would almost certainly include members who would be sympathetic to the policies and procedures followed by the Federal Works Agency.

This noneducational agency has disavowed any need of advice or recommendations with regard to school facilities from the Federal Security Agency in which the U. S. Office of Education is located. There is undoubtedly a growing feeling in America that persons other than those trained in educational administration are the ones best prepared to determine the quality and quantity of education.

It is admittedly the states of the South that are in the greatest need of federal aid. It is unreasonable to believe that federal aid will be granted to these states unless there is full assurance that there would be no discrimination against minority groups. Sectarian schools would constitute another problem which would affect all of the states.

I frankly admit that federal aid to education may be necessary in the South; however, it is a cruel necessity and we do not fool ourselves by saying that there will not be federal control. It is ridiculous to think that the federal government will give away $300,000,000 a year without some kinds of control; and once we have some kinds we are almost certain to have all kinds. The lamp of experience casts not a single ray in any other direction.

THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION
MONDAY, NOVEMBER 25, 1946
CLARK HOWELL, President and Publisher
H. H. TROTTI, Vice President and Business Manager

EDITORIAL PAGES
RALPH McGILL, Editor
RALPH T. JONES, Associate Editor
JACK TARVER, Associate Editor

The Ledger on an 'Empty Honor'

We are pleased to note that more than a few Georgians share our opinion that Gov. Arnall should decline the "Jefferson Award" which the Southern Conference of Human Welfare has announced, with considerable fanfare, will be bestowed upon him Saturday in New Orleans.

We are not surprised, of course, that long-time critics of the Governor, as the Savannah Mornings News, have seized upon it as the basis for their own editorial expressions of distrust of the Southern Conference of Human Welfare. But we are gratified at the number of papers, like the temperate Valdosta Daily Times, which have reprinted it, without comment, in their own editorial columns.

One of the best evaluations of the "Jefferson Award" was carried, under the title "Empty Honor," by the Columbus Ledger, which has been, like The Constitution, a friend and supporter of Gov. Arnall.

Said the Ledger:

"We would not go quite so far as The Atlanta Constitution which urges Gov. Ellis Arnall to decline the so-called 'Jefferson Award' of the Southern Conference of Human Welfare, but we do wonder if such an 'honor' has any very real meaning.

"The Constitution says the Southern conference isn't a 'trustworthy organization,' and goes on to suggest that it is merely trying to 'cash in' on Gov. Arnall's national reputation by tendering this award.

"To a considerable extent we share this feeling. At one time we were dues-paying members of the Southern Conference; perhaps we are still carried on its rosters. Some of its moving spirits are close personal friends who won't like this piece at all, but the fact remains that in the last year or two it has espoused some extremist views, particularly with respect of racial relationships, which are simply too radical for our taste.

"In some respects it has performed magnificently. It has been a powerful force in bringing about poll-tax repeal and other electoral reforms. It is a dependable foe of the Ku Kluxers, but—in the same breath it is a dependable friend of such organizations as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, which we have lately come to regard as almost as outrageous on one extreme as the Kluxers are on the other.

"In short, we rather think that the developing policy of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare has itself become warped to the point where a vaunted concept of 'tolerance' itself connotes intolerance of any moderate, middle-of-the-road viewpoint, and it does tend to attack and despise those who are unwilling to go all the way to the left.

"We are not willing to go all the way left, and we do not believe Ellis Arnall is willing.

"Perhaps it would do no real damage to Ellis Arnall's stature for him to accept this 'Jefferson Award'—whatever that term means—but we don't think it would help him any, and we definitely don't think he needs it!

"History, in due time, will evaluate Ellis Arnall in true perspective, and certainly we hope that the end of his tenure as Governor does not mean the end of his usefulness in the public life of a State which needs him sorely.

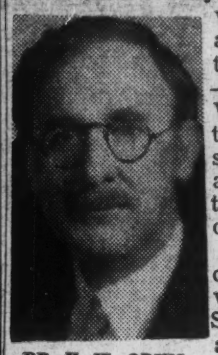
"He has made a secure reputation, not only among Georgians, but among Americans as a whole, and for the moment it seems to us that he might very well rest upon his laurels, without embellishment by extremists who just might be wanting to ride his coat-tails."

THE ATLANTA JOURNAL

November 13, 1945

Needn't Worry About South, Odum Intimates

If you're one of those who ponder worriedly about Southern progress, here's a cheering statement on the subject from a man who has become an authority on things Southern—Dr. Howard W. Odum, author and professor of sociology at the University of North Carolina.



DR. H. W. ODUM

"People frequently ask me whether the South has shown any progress in the last ten years," Dr. Odum said here Tuesday. "My answer to that is very definitely 'Yes.' This progress is revealed in our improved conservation of resources, in the wiser use of resources, in the balancing of agriculture, in our new industrial development and in our better race relations."

Dr. Odum is in Atlanta to preside over a two-day meeting of the Southern Regional Council, of which he is president. The council was organized in February, 1944, and has as its objectives the economic development of the South and the improvement of race relations.

"Another question often asked of me," the sociologist said, "is this: 'Is the South really on its way to new enrichment of its culture and economy?" Again my answer is yes. The South is now, as never before, a richer, more integrated part of the nation."

The Southern Regional Council believes that the equality and balance of regions is the most important problem in America today, Dr. Odum explained.

For a Greater South

ELECTION of PAUL D. WILLIAMS, Richmond businessman, to the presidency of the Southern Regional Council, with headquarters in Atlanta, will be hailed by all who know MR. WILLIAMS as a forward step for that important agency.

The Southern Regional Council has been headed since its inception by DR. HOWARD W. ODUM, the nationally known member of the University of North Carolina faculty. It was organized during the war as a permanent agency designed to evoke and develop the full potentialities of the Southern region. DR. ODUM has given liberally of his time and his ability to the upbuilding of the council, which now has a staff in Atlanta.

MR. WILLIAMS, who is vice-president of a textbook publishing concern, will bring to the council's affairs the business approach, but, as all who know him are aware, he will likewise infuse the organization with his own particular brand of high idealism. As the first secretary of the Catholic Committee of the South, he has organized a series of annual South-wide meetings under the sponsorship of that body, which have been planned on a broad basis to promote understanding between all races and faiths. The committee has tendered an award each year to the Southerner, whether Catholic, Protestant or Jewish, who, in its opinion, has made a distinguished contribution to Southern advancement. Only a few weeks ago MR. WILLIAMS was the recipient in New York of one of the two 1945 JAMES J. HOEY awards for the promotion of interracial justice.

The South should be grateful to DR. ODUM for his untiring and effective work in putting the Southern Regional Council on a stable basis, and to PAUL WILLIAMS for his willingness to succeed DR. ODUM in this vitally important enterprise.

Richmond Times-Dispatch
11/18/45.

CITIZEN OF THE YEAR

Jefferson Memorial Award Awaits Arnall

By PETER EDSON, NEA Washington Correspondent

WASHINGTON, Nov. 16.—At a conference in New Orleans sometime this winter, a new Thomas Jefferson Memorial Award to the South's most distinguished citizen of the year will be presented to 39-year-old retiring Governor Ellis Gibbs Arnall of Georgia.

The plan is to have the award presented by Alabama's newly elected governor, Big Jim Folsom. Participating in the ceremony will be Dr. Clark Foreman's Southern Conference for Human Welfare and similar organizations heading up the liberal reform movement in the South.

GOVERNOR ELLIS ARNALL
Center of Interest

There will be some old professional Southerners inclined to sneer at this whole business, not liking the donors, their motives or their fitnes to say that Ellis Arnall is cast in the image of Thomas Jefferson. Be that as it may, the center of interest here is on the man Arnall—his ideas, his program, and what makes him tick.

The election of rabble-rousing Eugene Talmadge as the next Governor of Georgia has been taken by some to mean the end of Arnall reforms in Georgia. Arnall's accomplishments include a new State Constitution, repeal of the poll tax, lowering of the voting-age limit to 18 years, setting up of commissions to run the state's business free from political interference. But since Arnall's appointees fill all these state commissions and can't be removed by Talmadge, the Arnall influence isn't exactly dead.

First of Three Books

A Georgia governor cannot be re-elected to succeed himself, so long before the recent election Arnall mapped out for his own immediate future a program to make a lot of speeches and spread his ideas all over the country. Also, he wrote a book just published. It's called "The Shore Dimly Seen." The title comes from the little-known second stanza of "The Star-Spangled Banner," and this book is to be the first of three with titles from the same source.

"The Shore Dimly Seen" gives the big idea of what it's all about. What the author hopes he sees is a land of the free and a home for the brave—South and West as well as North and East. But it's of the South that Arnall principally writes. And when a Southerner lets go about what's wrong with the South, Northerners have only to listen:

Arnall sees the South as a great paradox. Grinding poverty in the midst of great natural wealth. There are, he says, many Souths.

He sees the industralization of the South in the next 20 years as a certainty. But he doesn't want it to become a mechanized slum, like so many manufacturing towns of the North.

To achieve this Southern manufacture of its own raw materials, Arnall says over and over again that freight-rate discriminations against the South—and the West—must be given up by the dominant railroads of the North and East. That's his blind spot.

He wants more federal funds for Southern highways, education and health, because he says the South can't meet its own bills for these things till it becomes more prosperous. Georgia alone, he says, needs $15 million a year with which to build schools and pay teachers.

Cotton and corn are declared to be the greatest robbers of the Southeast, half the nation's 150 million eroded acres being in that area. The only thing that can save the land is more diversified farming. Arnall thinks that can come only by more regional—not state—development in more Tennessee Valley Authorities.

See No Threat

Arnall isn't afraid of communism in the South. The thing that scares him is fascism—industrial dictation to the South by the North.

He admits the South has had its own share of demagogues. He divides them into three classes—charlatans, seekers-after-power, politicians who go wrong and sometimes end up stopping assassins' bullets.

Arnall says the South itself can't agree on what to do about the Negro, as witnessed by the varying opinions of John Rankin, Clark Foreman and Richmond editor Virginous Dabney. Arnall's own view is that the Negro's problem is largely an economic one. It's part of the general poverty of the section. But he believes the Negro in the South is in far less danger than in the North, where he lives in black ghettos.

The bill of rights which Arnall proposes for the Negro includes: (1) Equal protection under the law; (2) The rights of citizenship and the right to vote if he si literate; (3) Greater educational opportunity, not limited to vocational training but including higher education for doctors, lawyers, engineers, teachers; (4) Facilities equal to those of the whites for the Negro where segregation exists.

Finally, Arnall the liberal says that the Negro's fundamental economic problems cannot be solved by legislation such as that proposing a permanent Fair Employment Practices Committee.

SOUTHEASTERN JURISDICTION
Woman's Society of Christian Service
The Methodist Church
MRS. W. H. RATLIFF, PRESIDENT
SHERARD, MISSISSIPPI

May 15, 1947

Dear Co-Worker:

You will be delighted to know we are invited to Orlando, Florida for the 1948 Jurisdictional Meeting. The dates will be March 2,3,4- with executive meeting on March 1st.

Official hotels will be the Angiebilt, the San Juan and the Fort Gatlin, but for official delegates only. The hotels can promise only enough rooms for our delegated body, speakers, guests from Division, etc. So please bear this in mind when making your reservations. There are probably many tourist homes, etc., where others can stay but the hotel rooms must be reserved for delegates- and some of us may be three in a room, though not more than three.

Mrs. N. A. Pattishall, 627 Park Lake Avenue will be the local chairman of all our arrangements.

Program plans, speakers, and other information will be sent as soon as plans are complete.

We greet, officially, our new presidents. Mrs. Stewart Colley, Grantville, of the North Georgia Conference, and Mrs. R. M. White, 5026 Sylvan Road, Richmond, of the Virginia Conference. We welcome you into this great sisterhood of service.

Many conferences followed the Jurisdictional plan of an offering at the Communion Service for the hungry children of Europe. Please send me the amounts sent- I want this record.

We are all looking forward to our School of Missions ar Junaluska July 15-23, 1947. Much time and thought have gone into the plans for these days we will spend together. We hope you will find this School a profitable one.

Bishop Arthur Moore and Mr. John Stiles have worked with us to make the arrangements for the Resource people at Junaluska. We hope to have two Orientals, Two Negroes, two Indians. As we work toward one world in Church and State we believe these Resource persons can help guide us toward a solution of some of our Jurisdictional problems.

Learning to live together, "with liberty and justice for all", has been one of the difficult lessons for all peoples since time began.

The Southern Regional Council is doing some very fine work in this field of meeting the changes of our day and age as we learn to live together. If possible, I would like for every Conference to make a contribution to the work they are doing. Twenty-five dollars from each Conference would be a tremendous help, and the material you would receive would keep your group informed about these problems. Address the Southern Regional Council, Wesley Memorial Building, Atlanta, Ga.

With sincere appreciation,

Cora R Ratliff
Mrs. W. H. Ratliff

B'nai B'rith
ATLANTA SPOKESMAN
THE VOICE OF GATE CITY LODGE

Vol. II | December, 1947 | No. 9

CLIMAXING A GREAT B'NAI B'RITH YEAR!

Are Our Civil Rights In Danger?

A PANEL DISCUSSION

EUGENE C. COOK
Courageous Attorney General of Georgia who directed the successful suit against The Klan and The Columbians. He will relate the problem to the South and The Georgia Scene.

MRS. M. E. TILLY
Member of President Truman's Committee on Civil Rights and leading Southern church woman. She will discuss and interpret the history-making report just issued by The President's committee.

ARNOLD FORSTER
National Director of Fact-Finding of the ADL. One of the country's foremost authorities on the totalitarian enemies of domocracy, he will discuss the problem from the national viewpoint.

MODERATOR: HERMAN HEYMAN

MONDAY, DECEMBER 1, 1947, AT EIGHT-FIFTEEN AT THE PROGRESSIVE CLUB

GIVE TO SOS—

CLOTHING—For men, women and children; coats, hats, caps, dresses, skirts, gloves, sweaters, jackets and trousers, shirts, underwear, shoes, (tied in pairs), socks and stockings.'

FOODSTUFFS—Canned fish, kosher meats, fruits, vegetables, etc., butter, oils fats (in tins), chocolates or hard candy. cocoa, coffee, tea, dehydrated foods, dried beans, peas, rice, malted milk powder, milk, condensed, powdered evaporates, sugar, sugar substitutes.

LAYETTES—Baby dresses, skirts, baby castile soap, buntings, diapers, belly bands, nipples, receiving blankets, socks and stockings.

MEDICAL SUPPLIES—Absorbent cotton, adhesive tape, aspirin, iodine, bandages, vitamins.

HOUSEHOLD SUPPLIES—Blankets, pillow cases, sheets, towels, wash cloths.

COMFORT ITEMS—Candles, cleansing tissue, combs, cosmetics, hair pins, bobby pins, handkerchiefs, note paper, envelopes, pencils, crayons, sewing materials, shaving articles, soap, toothbrushes, toothpaste, toys.

BOOKS—Books non-fiction in European and English languages. Medical texts, journals published after 1937. Religious books and articles.

Coming Events . . .

The Latke season is upon us! Latkes—crisp, golden, sizzling—will be served to BB Women at their business meeting on Sunday, Dcember 7th, at 2 p. m.

* * * *

Have you attended the sessions of the Adult Institute of Jewish Studies? The sessions on December 16th will be devoted to a consideration of Anti-Semitism in America. The morning session will be at 10:30 a. m. at the Mayfair Club and the evening group meets at 8:15 p. m. at th A. A. Center. Our ubiquitous president, Alex Miller serves as professor on those two occasions.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

H. H. FLEMING

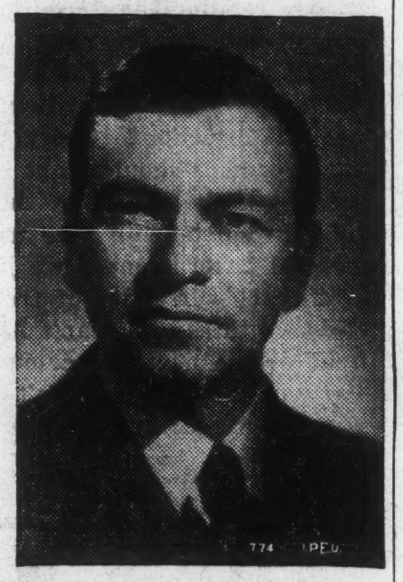
The Statesman

A Recorder of Georgia Governmental Affairs—Municipal, County and State

Published in the Interest of ALL the People

8 36 HAPEVILLE, GA., THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 19, 1948 Copy 5c

TALMADGE SAYS:



The state administration's program of hypocrisy and lying is on full steam. We receive virtually all of the weekly newspapers from over the state in exchange for The Statesman. In a great many of them, letters are published from the Acting Governor, pledging roads in all sections of the county.

I have recently returned from Southeast Georgia. In one of the Acting Governor's many home counties, he has promised 107 miles of paved roads and has procured the registration of 1,100 negroes in an effort to carry this particular county.

Hollow Promises Last week, one of the members of the House of Representatives, who voted against the white primary bill and against the county unit system, announced for re-election with great fan fare. Included in his announcement for re-election was a letter from Acting Governor Thompson, pledging paved roads in various sections of the county, and some of them pledged were not even a part of the highway system.

All of us in Georgia want good roads. We who live on rural roads are particularly interested in them. We will never get good roads as long as the road program is conducted out of the governor's office and is handled in connection with a political campaign.

THE Pittsburgh Courier
AMERICA'S BLACKEST WEEKLY
Published by THE PITTSBURGH COURIER PUBLISHING CO., Inc.
Main Office: 2628 Centre Avenue at Francis Street, Pittsburgh 19, Pa.
Telephone: MAyflower 1401
SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 14, 1948

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Hartsfield told Robinson "We are proud of the brilliant record you

"The Christian Principles of Race Integrity"

Delivered by Rev. Blake Craft, Pastor East End Methodist Church, Decatur, Ga., on Radio Station WATL, *Sunday, February* 8, 1948. *Beginning Sunday, February* 22, *the East End Hour will be on Radio Station* WEAS, 1010 *on your dial, in Decatur, from* 8:45 *to* 9 *A. M. every Sunday. These programs are made possible by the contributions of those interested.*

Today is observed as "Race Relations Sunday" by some of the leading religious denominations. The purpose of this is twofold: First, to preach on this question, and second, to give white Church members an opportunity to make a financial contribution to the Cause of the Negro Christian Education.

Anyone who lives in these critical days is well aware that the question of Race Relations is one that is most acute. This situation is further aggravated because of the restlessness among the Negro race and their impatience to abide their time before they can reach their goal, the agitation and interference by outside influences, the prejudices of the so-called Negro hater and the blind fanaticism of the so-called Negro lover, and these being inflamed by the willingness of a few Southern politicians to sell the birthright of the Southern people for the sake of a little bowl of political pottage.

While the situation is delicate, one must meet it honestly and courageously, I hasten to discuss with you briefly two things:

I. The Attitude:

1. Christ did not come to live and to die upon Calvary, to destroy anything that God ordered in the program and processes of the creation of man. He came to do the will of His father. God made some of His people black and others white. He knew what He was doing, and what He did was well done. What His purposes were, we do not know and cannot question. I am convinced that since He made the Negro black, it is His will that he remain black; and since He made others white, He intended for them to remain white. This is strongly indicated in the words of the prophet Jeremiah in the long ago when he asked, "Can the Ethiopian change his skin, or the leopard his spots?"

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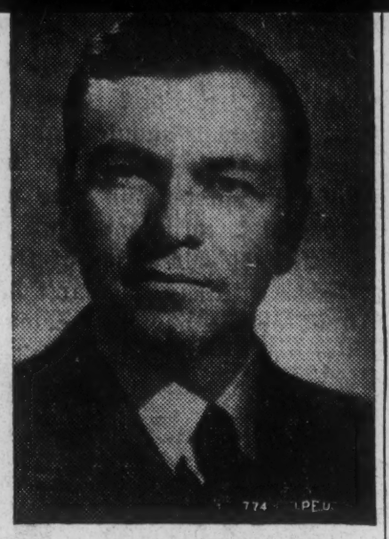

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All of us in Georgia want good roads. We who live on rural roads are particularly interested in them. We will never get good roads as long as the road program is conducted out of the governor's office and is handled in connection with a political campaign.

Thompson has already pledged more roads than could be built in ten years. These road building pledges remind me of a rotten apple on a tree. You will note that before the apple gets ripe it falls to the earth of its own weight. Thus, it will be with Thompson's road building pledges. The people over the state are already laughing about it. It is falling to the earth of its own accord. Never in the history of any state administration have we seen roads in such a condition that schools in all sections of the state have had to be closed. The man who is responsible for scrapping the rural road program is seeking election on the basis of building roads.

I wonder what he must think of the people of Georgia. Does he think the people are so docile, so easy to practice fraud upon and deceive, that he can take their tax money and lure them with promises he never hopes to keep? Is Mr. Thompson so vain that he thinks even his closest associates would accept his word on anything? Has there ever been a man in the history of Georgia politics, who in the course of 18 months, has been on both sides of every major issue?

New Day Dawns Thompson may not know it, but after the next election, a highway department will be set up in Georgia that will construct roads on the basis of need rather than political expediency. The people of this state will no longer tolerate the expenditure of highway money as though it came out of the governor's personal pocketbook, who with a great gesture, will promise a road and say: "See what I am giving you."

No governor ever gives the people of Georgia anything. It is the people who do the giving. They sweat to pay the taxes. They are the ones who suffer hardships. The chief executive is a servant of the people, not their benefactor. He is the one who draws the taxpayer's money, works in an air-conditioned office, drives a state-owned automobile, and lives in a luxurious mansion.

Pork Barrel In addition to the road promises, you see more and more state job holders. A campaign is beginning. These state job holders do little or no work and in many instances their sole labor for their check is making their endorsement on the back thereof. You see them in the lobby of the best hotels spreading rumors, looking wise, and smoking big cigars.

Thompson hopes to gain his election by three ways:

1. By the negro block vote.

2. By the expenditure of thirty-odd million dollars, over and above the appropriation bill, in any way that he sees fit.

3. By road promises that he never intends to keep.

The people of Georgia will not thus be deceived. The issues are clear and the die is cast. Thompson will be defeated by the most overwhelming majority of any man who ever occupied the governor's office.

—HERMAN E. TALMADGE.

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Hartsfield told Robinson "We are proud of the brilliant record you are making in baseball and as an example for young people."

Robinson was elated over the homecoming. Numerous adults and children sought his autograph during the fete.

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While the situation is delicate, one must meet it honestly and courageously, I hasten to discuss with you briefly two things:

(1) First, what is the Christian and right attitude toward the relation of the white and black races? ; and,

(2) What is the responsibility of the white people who call themselves Christian toward the Negro race?

I. The Attitude:

1. Christ did not come to live and to die upon Calvary, to destroy anything that God ordered in the program and processes of the creation of man. He came to do the will of His father. God made some of His people black and others white. He knew what He was doing, and what He did was well done. What His purposes were, we do not know and cannot question. I am convinced that since He made the Negro black, it is His will that he remain black; and since He made others white, He intended for them to remain white. This is strongly indicated in the words of the prophet Jeremiah in the long ago when he asked, "Can the Ethiopian change his skin, or the leopard his spots?"

Bishop Candler often remarked that there were two creatures God Almighty never made—a mule and a yellow Negro. He was saying in a modern world what the old prophet was saying in the long ago, that "the preservation of ra-

(Continued on Page 4, Col. 1)

Dignitaries Welcome Jackie Robinson

In the center column just above you will see a photographic reproduction of a clipping from "The Pittsburgh Courier," a negro newspaper printed in Pennsylvania and circulated throughout the entire United States.

This clipping tells of a meeting held in the Atlanta City Auditorium Sunday evening, February 1, 1948. The first we had heard of the meeting was when a friend at the newstand called attention of a Statesman' reporter to the article in the Pittsburg paper.

TOO HOT TO HANDLE!

It is certainly strange that both the Atlanta papers with their wide news gathering facilities did not know of it or chose to "ignore" it because of possible political implications.

According to eyewitnesses interviewed by a representative of this newspaper, the meeting was packed with political and social significance.

Two negro basketball games were scheduled to take place in the main auditorium. As an added drawing card, Jackie Robinson, negro ball player for the Brooklyn Dodgers, was chosen to serve as referee.

Robinson, you recall, was the first negro to play in major league baseball on an "integrated" basis, and for that reason is quite famous among the negro population.

"Integrated" ball for the uninitiated is where you have a negro player on first base, a white man on second and so on.

DODGERS SUCCUMB

For a long time negro political leaders in the North had sought to force big league teams to adopt a system of "integration." The Brooklyn Dodgers finally succumbed to these demands and chose as their first negro player Jackie Robinson, who was born in Cairo, Ga.

The negro press has built Jackie up into somewhat of a hero and studiously report his every movement.

So for Jackie Robinson, the meeting in the City Auditorium was quite a home coming. Hundreds of negroes and a sprinkling of whites packed Atlanta's giant civic building to do him honor and watch him referee the basketball games.

ACTING GOVERNOR ARRIVES

Eyewitnesses tell us that Acting Governor Thompson arrived backstage at approximately 8:20 p. m. in company with his executive secretary, Phil Landrum, of Gainesville, Ga.

Thompson, it is said, spied Austin T. Walden, negro political leader and attorney for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and made his way over to where Walden was standing backstage and grasped the negro's hand firmly in his right and stroked the back of his hand with his left, all the time pumping quite vigorously, and exclaiming:

"Colonel, I'm glad to see you. It's been some time since we've had a good chat. Come over here, Phil," said the acting governor, motioning to his chief lieutenant, "I want you to meet Mr. Walden. He's an Atlanta attorney and an old friend of mine."

The acquaintance duly made and preliminary introductions over with, Acting Governor Thompson, Executive Secretary Phil Landrum, Mayor William B. Hartsfield, of Atlanta; Austin T. Walden, Jackie Robinson and other negro leaders made their way to seats on the Atlanta City Auditorium stage amid cheers of the practically all-negro audience assembled there.

PRAISED AS "GENTLEMAN"

Several speakers praised Robinson. Georgia's Acting Governor Thompson spoke of his achievement in a short talk, saying, among other things, "We are proud of Jackie Robinson here in Georgia, not only as a baseball player, but as a gentleman."

Executive Secretary Phil Landrum pulled perhaps the greatest boner of the evening, according to the Atlanta Daily World, which reported the meeting. Phil asked Jackie:

"Jackie, are you going to play second base for the Dodgers next year?"

"I don't see how I can," retorted Jackie, "with Ed Stanky on it."

You see, Jackie Robinson plays first base for the Dodgers.

Congressman Gives Views On Truman Plans

President Should Know By Now How Southerners Feel About 10-Point Legislative Proposal.

"The South must counsel among themselves upon a future course of action," Congressman Stephen Pace told members of the House of Representatives and a packed gallery last week, when the Third District Representative requested and received unanimous consent to speak "out of order."

Following is a partial text of Mr. Pace's address, as recorded in the Congressional Record of last week:

"We have all seen it coming, but we have been hesitant to act because there remained the hope that party ties and established practices would restrain our leaders to stay within the bounds of reason and be guided by the ordi-

(Continued on Page 4, Col. 6)

Loyalty Investigation Materials

In Defense of American Activities

Walter Gellhorn

THE HOUSE COMMITTEE on Un-American Activities is the direct descendant and inheritor of the tradition of the similarly named committee first formed ten years ago under the chairmanship of Martin Dies. Its creator, the House of Representatives, has authorized it to investigate "un-American propaganda activities," "subversive" and "un-American" propaganda, and propaganda which "attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution."

The Committee itself has never undertaken to define these terms or to catalogue activities which it might deem to be un-American. In one of its recent reports, however, the Committee asserted power "to explore and expose activities by un-American individuals and organizations which, while sometimes being legal, are nonetheless inimical to our American concepts and our American future. . . ." Obviously, this says little more than that the Committee regards as "un-American" any activities or opinions with which it violently disagrees. It is not altogether surprising, therefore, that men who have dared object to the Committee or its methods have on that account been characterized by it as suspect, that opposition to the Spanish government of Generalissimo Franco has been investigated as though it were an un-American activity, and that recognition of "the existence of a God and the all-important fact that the rights of man are derived from God" has been advanced as a test of "Americanism."

The Committee's more ambitious exposés, such as its recent disclosure that Hollywood is a hotbed of Communism, have been well publicized. Persons who are interested in the matter will have been

•Professor of law and member of the Faculty of Political Science at Columbia University, WALTER GELLHORN serves on the board of directors of the American Civil Liberties Union.

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able to form an opinion as to whether the Committee's exertions in these instances have significantly advanced the cause of democracy. Somewhat unfortunately, the newspaper interest in the Hollywood inquiry has obscured other aspects of the Committee's work. Public attention has been largely focused on a single issue, whether a person should be compelled to answer an inquiry into his Communist partisanship. That issue is one concerning which reasonable men of good will sharply disagree. It will not be discussed here. The present article does not deal with the recent exclamatory expeditions against the motion picture literati. It is chiefly concerned, rather, with the Committee's perhaps more subtly manifested interest in the country's intellectual processes. One of its most influential members, Representative Rankin of Mississippi, has promised that the Committee will soon turn its energies to rooting out "subversive" activities in American universities. It may be useful, therefore, to consider the Committee's methods and attitudes in connection with educators and scholars.

One of the Committee's latest publications may be taken as generally illustrative. Recently the Committee reported its conclusions concerning the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, formed as an organization to improve cultural and economic conditions in the South. The Conference, the Committee maintained, is in fact "perhaps the most deviously camouflaged Communist-front organization" despite its "professions, in generalities, of love for America." Characteristically enough, the Committee gave no hearing to the Conference or to any of the individuals (many of whom are eminent in their communities) who are responsible for its affairs. Instead, the Committee penetrated the organization's "disguise" by processes of which the following are examples:

1. In 1934 the now president of the Southern Conference wrote a book on international commerce. In this book, the Committee advises us, the author ventured "certain mild criticisms of Soviet policy," but "he has not recently expressed any such strictures toward either the Soviet Government or the American Communists." Moreover, in his book he quoted several Communist writers and, after recounting some of the radical economic theorizings of the

1840's, stated that out of this welter of ideas "Karl Marx arose as the great philosopher for the laboring man." Those who read the book (rather than the Committee's description of it) will find that the author quoted Marx and the other Communist dogmatists merely to demonstrate that their predictions about an international socialist economy had not come to pass and were not likely to do so. But quote them he did.

From the Committee's reactions to the book in question we may deduce that, to be among the saved,

a) It is highly desirable not to write a book at all; or

b) If one does write a book venturing "criticisms of Soviet policy," one should write a succession of books containing similar criticisms, lest it be thought that failure to repeat one's criticisms implies a change of heart; and

c) Even when it is pertinent to describe a Communist thesis in order to refute it, one should carefully avoid quoting an authoritative Communist spokesman lest one be deemed himself a Communist propagandist; and

d) One should carefully avoid acknowledging that Karl Marx has had a somewhat significant influence upon proletarian thought; and

e) Perhaps, especially, one should not write a book and subsequently become interested in social reform.

2. The secretary of the Southern Conference, who had studied at Union Theological Seminary, in 1936 wrote a book on "aspects of social Christianity in the last three decades of the nineteenth century." Among the Christian social reformers of that period was the late George Herron, and he was accordingly discussed along with many others in the same general category. Herron passed through several stages of conflict with the prevailing attitudes of his co-religionists and contemporaries. Toward the close of his life he be-

came a Marxist and a philosophical revolutionist. This development in Professor Herron's thinking was duly described by the author. The Committee report blandly asserted that the author had defended Herron's "views on violence." Nothing in the book supports the assertion. The author was scrupulously expository.

From this we learn that, to be immune against attack as a Communist sympathizer,

a) It is best not to write a scholarly book about persons whose opinions have not been endorsed by the Committee;

b) If, notwithstanding this advice, one does write such a book, it must be written as a positive attack rather than as an objective description.

3. A former secretary of the Southern Conference, a well-known university professor, had in 1938 written a book about the debased sharecropper and tenant farmer economy of certain portions of the South. The Committee noted that in the year following its publication the volume had been favorably reviewed by a Communist functionary. This of course rendered it unnecessary for the Committee to examine the content of the book. It may be said in passing that the book was most warmly praised by all the reviewers whose opinions appeared in the respectably capitalist press. This circumstance was overlooked by the Committee.

From this we learn that, to avoid being cast into the outer darkness,

a) One should not write books calling attention to certain shortcomings of the South; or

b) One's publisher should not let one's book fall into the hands of a Communist book reviewer unless the Communist has first promised to denounce it.

4. The former chairman and now honorary president of the Southern Conference is President Frank P. Graham of the University of North Carolina. Dr. Graham is of course not a Communist;

even the Committee admits as much. But, according to the Committee, he is "one of those liberals who show a predilection for affiliation to various Communist-inspired front organizations." Dr. Graham's achievements as university administrator and public servant, including his recent work as the American representative on the United Nation's committee to conciliate the Dutch and Indonesians, are so well-known that refutation of the Committee's attack is superfluous. Consider, however, the implications of the Committee's comment upon Dr. Graham. He has, in times past, allegedly associated with groups or been active in causes for which the Committee has distaste. Through this association he has acquired, derivatively, a taint. His energetic interest in another organization therefore gives rise in the Committee's mind to the belief that it, too, is tainted. This conclusion rests on the hypothesis that the tainted individual (in this instance Dr. Graham) would not be interested in an untainted group or, alternatively, that the previously pure group has become tainted by virtue of being exposed to the unpure persons (like Dr. Graham) who have joined it. By a parity of reasoning we must, of course, count as "Communist-fronts" the North Carolina Historical and Literary Society, which Dr. Graham has faithfully served as president, and also, no doubt, Phi Beta Kappa and the President's Committee on Civil Rights, since he has been an active member of both.

The absurdity of thus establishing "guilt by association" does not diminish its danger to the intellectual life of America. For example, American scientists are already fearful that possible denunciation on political grounds may prevent the normal internationalism of scientific inquiry. Their concern is not without cause, for one of the Committee's investigators has let it be known that membership in international organizations and correspondence with foreign scientists have aroused the Committee's suspicions.

If American intellectuals in general are to be adjudged guilty of un-Americanism because in the Committee's eyes they have associated with the wrong people, the safe course to pursue in a perilous world is to associate with people of whom the Committee approves. If American scholarly writers are to be politically categorized on the basis of the Committee's un-scholarly reading of their books, they

must be careful to write as the Committee pleases, to choose their subjects cautiously, to affirm their personal "Americanism" and to declare their anti-communism no matter how irrelevant it may be to the topic under discussion. Above all, they must repress ideas and attitudes not in conformity with prevailing opinions, which might on that account be deemed by the Committee to be "inimical to our American concepts and our American future." For American scholars and educators must be mindful that if the Committee denounces them, no matter how mistakenly and no matter how disastrous the personal consequences, there is no redress. There is no action for damages against the Committee members; they enjoy and rely upon Congressional immunity from suit. Even if the denunciation be based on erroneous information calculatingly furnished by one of the Committee's witnesses, an injured person would be remediless as against the Committee's informant. Nor can one demand that the Committee grant a hearing, in which one can refute slanders and exhibit the truth. The resolution which created the Committee gave it discretion to devise its own procedures; and, exercising that discretion, the Committee has not customarily conducted its inquiries with nice regard for fairness or regularity.

The Committee is now solidly entrenched as one of the standing committees of the House of Representatives. Its discontinuance by resolution of that body is, at least for the time being, beyond the range of political probability. Are there then no ways to diminish this Committee's threat to freedom of the mind? Can the courts do what Congress will not do, abolish the Committee? Or, if the Committee is not ended, can judges effectively control its procedure, in order to protect witnesses and others against abusive treatment?

The courts themselves will soon pass on these questions. The authority of the Committee has been challenged in suitable proceedings by persons who are convinced of the illegality of the Committee's actions and of the impropriety of a legislative inquisition into political attitudes. Speculation concerning the outcome of the now pending litigation is probably fruitless. Yet, one or two general observations may appropriately be made.

We Americans are committed, as the prime article of our political faith, to the institution of the elected legislature. The legislature is

the basic mechanism of popular government where large numbers of citizens must express their will concerning many and varied issues. They can do so most feasibly through representatives rather than directly. Democracy becomes a mere slogan, rather than a working principle, if the legislature does not possess real authority to choose among policies or to emphasize one above another, to stimulate or criticize executive activity or method, to focus public attention upon and to debate the merits of current issues.

If a legislature is to do these things, if it is to cope wisely with governmental problems, it must be adequately informed. Its power to investigate is one of the main elements of a legislature's effectiveness, one of the chief barriers against an impotence which would quickly discredit democratic processes. In the history of our national legislature literally hundreds of investigating committees have ably performed their function of informing Congress and the country about matters of public moment. The energetic explorations of these committees have vitalized the legislative process. The freedom with which they have pursued their inquiries has often conflicted with the desire of individuals to be let alone. But the clash between public necessity and private preference has become an increasingly familiar one in our complex society. It has generally been resolved in favor of permitting democratic government to function forcefully.

There is sound ground to believe that the House Committee on Un-American Activities obstructs rather than advances the people's welfare. Its reports are calculated to confuse rather than enlighten, distort as well as reveal facts. The device of the investigating committee, like other instruments of democracy, is susceptible of being abused. Even so, it is doubtful that the courts should intervene. In the long run it is probably best that Congress itself be the judge of what inquiries are necessary, and that it determine the general methods by which they should be pursued. It is difficult to forecast what information of legislative value will be developed through a Congressional investigation. If courts undertake to make the forecast, they may unwittingly prevent another branch of the government from discharging its functions.

There is danger, moreover, in relying on the courts as the sole guardians of our liberties. The protection of the courts, if it is avail-

able at all, can be invoked only by those who, having challenged a legislative committee's powers, subject themselves to contempt proceedings. One can scarcely anticipate that every abused witness will seek refuge in the sheltering arms of the judiciary. To do so he must be willing to bear the financial burdens of litigation and, possibly even more important in some cases, the humiliation of being a defendant in a criminal proceeding. Before resisting an improperly inquisitive committee, a witness will also be given pause by realization that unless a court agrees with his appraisal of the committee, he may find himself in jail, a convicted criminal. All in all, it is improbable that courts can effectively police legislative committees: first, because a committee's abuses would have to be extreme before a court would take cognizance of them; and, second, because the present methods of challenging a committee's behavior subject the challenger to grave risks which will deter litigation by all but the most courageous. It is likely, too, that sporadic judicial control over the conduct of legislative committees might collaterally have a highly undesirable consequence. The public might be led to suppose that whatever behavior the courts had not interdicted was behavior of which the courts affirmatively approved.

If more honorable methods are to be imposed on the House Committee on Un-American Activities, they should be imposed by the House itself. Here there is no question of power. The House can direct its agent to conduct itself in a way which befits the dignity of the national legislature of the world's greatest democracy. It can do so by adopting a resolution, such as the one offered by Congresswoman Douglas, which will permit a witness to have the assistance of counsel; to make an oral or written statement which is relevant to matters about which he has been interrogated; to cross-examine a person (whether a Committee member or another witness) who has used the Committee's proceedings to attack his character or reputation; and to offer a reasonably limited denial, defense or explanation.

These proposed requirements are not technical; they are not calculated to change a legislative investigation into the counterpart of a judicial trial. Indeed, most legislative committees (unlike the House Committee on Un-American Activities) regularly permit witnesses to make prepared statements before they are questioned. For if wit-

nesses in an inquiry can do no more than respond to specific questions, they may be prevented from testifying in a fully rounded fashion. One of the values of public hearings in legislative investigations is the resulting airing of information and opinions, including those of persons who are under investigation; this value has of course been largely lost by the House Committee, because of its insistent refusal in many cases to hear at all from persons it desires to attack, or its disinclination, when it does summon those persons as witnesses, to allow them the privilege of making a statement. Justice Frankfurter, before becoming a member of the Supreme Court, expressed belief that opportunity to cross-examine was an "essential decency" when a person was under investigation. And Judge Ferdinand Pecora, who was counsel to the Senate Committee on Banking and Currency when in the early thirties it so fruitfully exposed irresponsible banking practices and the methods of securities manipulation, recently remarked that

> . . . the Investigating Committee should not indulge in hearsay or opinion evidence—for then anybody in the world can be smeared through the worst kind of character assassination from which no one could be immune, without an opportunity to face his accuser. I exposed . . . not by smear or through the opinions of others, but by force of their own testimony and activities. Unlike the present Committee, I did not call A. first to ask him if B. was an ethical banker. I called B. and questioned him. . . .

There is, in sum, nothing impractical about a fair procedure in legislative investigations. The House ought to impose one upon a committee which, after a decade of irresponsible behavior, earned the judgment of the American Civil Liberties Union that "Nothing in recent years has been as un-American as the conduct of the hearings of the Congressional Committees on un-Americanism."

More important than any procedural reform, however, is conscious opposition to the Committee's bullying. The dominant pressures in the country today are toward an uncritical conformity, and toward a fearful unwillingness to preserve the civil rights of unpopular groups. The Committee implies that those who oppose it are Communists or tools of the Communists. And thus it intimidates many who ought to be most eager in their defense of the realm of ideas. It is more comfortable, and certainly safer, to worry about

attacks on democracy in foreign countries than to be sensitive about non-democratic trends in our own. But if our American democracy is to continue in a state of health, dissident opinion must not be stifled here.

It bears repeating that many of the institutions we regard as basic, and many of the concepts we view as unassailably American, were in the beginning advocated by "radicals." Our greatest presidents were without exception non-conformists—Washington, who overthrew the existing government by force and violence; Jefferson, a sodden subverter of national institutions, and a foreign agent (of the French), to boot; Jackson, the rouser of the rabble; Lincoln, who destroyed the vested property rights of the South; Wilson, the wild-eyed college professor; and Roosevelt, the traitor to his class.

The Interstate Commerce Commission, workmen's compensation legislation, the income tax, the Social Security Act, the Securities and Exchange Commission, the Tennessee Valley Authority, and meat rationing have one element in common. Each one of them was opposed at the outset on the ground that it was "communistic." Twenty-eight years ago, five members of the Socialist Party, elected to the New York State Legislature, were denied the seats to which the voters had sent them because the Socialist Party's "doctrines are un-American and opposed to organized government." Today the Socialist leader, Norman Thomas, has acquired almost the status of an Elder Statesman of the Republic. At the turn of the century, Governor John Peter Altgeld of Illinois was execrated as an anarchist. Just the other day, the one hundredth anniversary of his birth was marked by a memorial meeting in which Altgeld was eulogized by a Supreme Court justice, a Cardinal of the Roman Catholic Church, the Republican governor of Illinois, and the Democratic mayor of Chicago.

American history is a history of men who refused to be cowed; who, though at first widely viewed as sinners, came in time to be regarded as saints; who, moved by idealism, declined to accept prevailing patterns as unchangeable, but insisted instead that eagerness to correct imperfections was consistent with devotion to American institutions. It would be ridiculous to suggest that the "radicalism" of today always becomes the orthodoxy of tomorrow. Many "fool

ideas" are fool ideas; and time proves many "crackpots" to be everything they are cracked up to be. But certainly our history makes plain the lesson that the throttling of new ideas at birth is not the way to assure national progress.

Thanks in good part to the Committee, it has today become overly easy to confuse reform with subversion, to ascribe Americanism only to those who are vocally identified with majority opinions. By facilely labeling as Communist whatever may be merely unconventional, the Committee and the groups from which it draws its chief support have moved with increasing boldness toward thought control. Those who believe that attempted restrictions on freedom of the mind and spirit are the most striking un-Americanisms must have the courage to say so now, before the attempts are wholly successful. With Emerson they must ask,

> For what avail
> the plough or sail,
> or land or life,
> if freedom fail?

A

27 out of 52 are SRC members

SRC p. 64

New REBEL YELL *in Dixie*

By HODDING CARTER

The good fight for effective democracy grows in the sweet magnolia country. This is the roll of those who battle the South's determined opponents of progress

A STRONG flame, brighter and infinitely more cleansing than the fiery cross of the Klan, is burning throughout the South today. Increasingly there are hands to feed it, and voices to proclaim its meaning. The hands are not clenched in hate as are the demagogue's, nor are the voices as shrill and blatant; but the flame of purposeful liberalism is lighting up dark and tragic corners of a harried region.

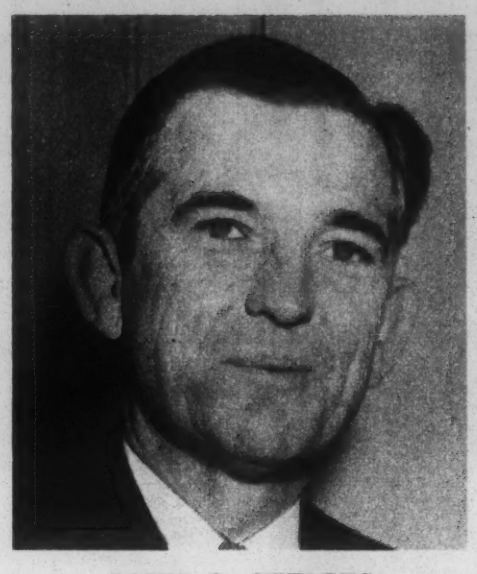
Liberalism, progressiveness, vision. These are abused words, too loosely used, often too narrowly defined. The Southern liberal fits into no mold. He is rarely a theorist. He is not bound to an ideology that excludes the dissenter, nor does he recite a manifesto as if it were a prayer. He is as often condemned by the distant left as by the near-by right. He has a deep-rooted, provincial love for his homeland. His objectives are usually what are termed limited ones, and he may differ even from his fellows in his proposals for attaining them. But he shares a common determination to make democracy work and thrive through individual and concerted effort on the battle line itself and not from a distant ivory tower.

You don't hear too much about him. He is an educator, an editor, a churchman, a representative of organized labor, a writer, a political leader, a business or professional man, a farmer. Usually he would be embarrassed if you praised him for his courage, or labeled him a liberal. Even when he organizes, his organization is loosely knit, and he may be unaware that his neighbor shares his own convictions.

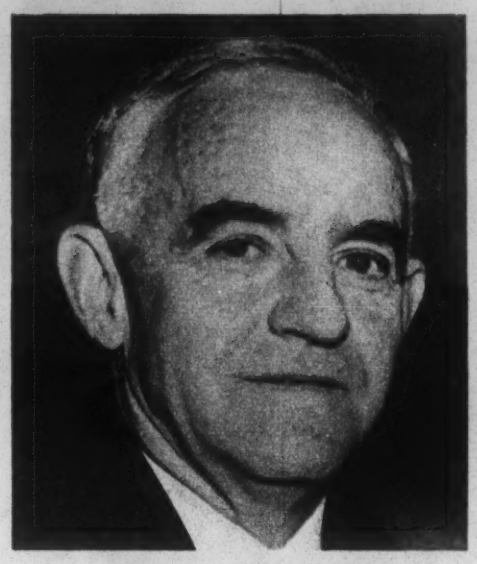
As Harry Ashmore, the brilliant young editor of the Arkansas Gazette, puts it: "I figure there are thousands in the region, men of good will who are

ILLUSTRATED BY ROBERT J. LEE

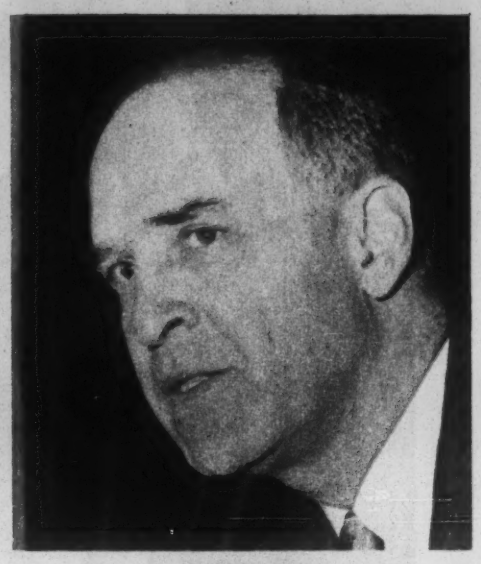
W. KERR SCOTT
Governor



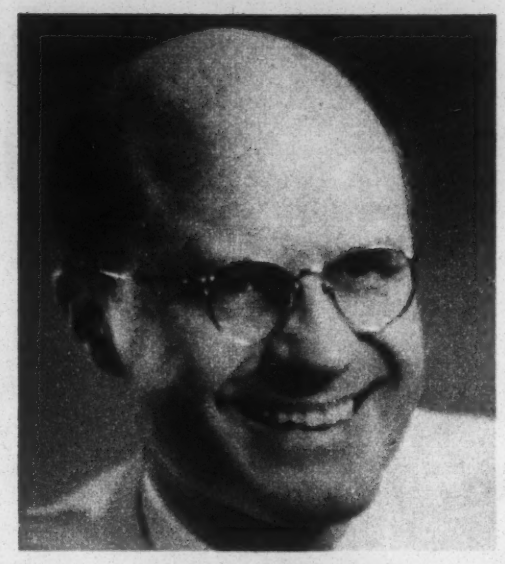
JOHN C. STENNIS
U.S. Senator



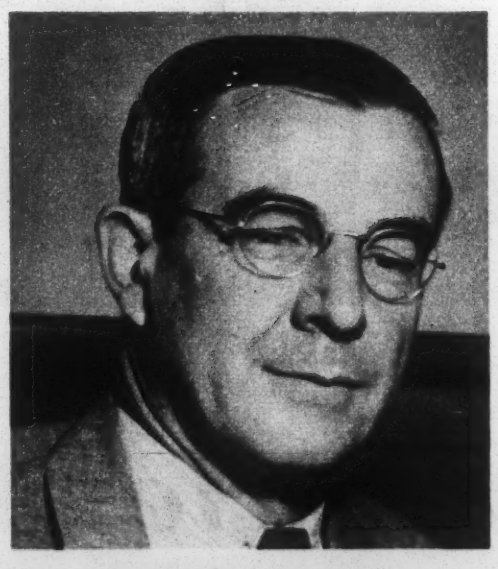
FRANK GRAHAM
U.S. Senator and Educator



LISTER HILL
U.S. Senator



GEORGE McLEAN
Editor



VIRGINIUS DABNEY
Editor

really getting the job done where it counts, and the hell of it is that us so-called experts on the South don't even know who they are." But there are multiple thousands who know who Harry Ashmore is, and of the conscientious, day-in-day-out job he and many others do on the editorial page and from the platform to put the South's problems, achievements and unreached goals in perspective.

And certainly this much is true. No other region in the nation is producing today so many and such effective spokesmen for social and economic progress and for a new evaluation of human relationships as is the South. And nowhere else do such men of good will work against as difficult and complex a background.

It is a mistake to assume that liberalism is a new force in the South. Jeffersonian democracy stemmed from Virginia; the blunt fighting spirit of Andrew Jackson found its great support among the yeoman farmers and frontiersmen of the South and the Southwest. Populism raged like a forest fire across the post-Reconstruction South before it died beneath the counterblast of an evil, deliberately kindled racism.

The Southern Bourbon held largely an uneasy sway before Reconstruction; and if hopeless men turned to other men of relative substance during and after that bitter period, it was in great part because the leaders were articulate and determined, possessed of so recent a background of military command, and above all were exemplars of a vanished stability. Nor was the later rule of the ultraconservative and reactionary unchallenged. Most of the Southern demagogues emerged from the turbulence and unrest of men yearning for political and material change and a warmer place in the sun; and it was as tragic as it was shameful that they and their adversaries alike capitalized upon racial animosities and fears to hold or to wrest away power.

Demagogues Backed Reforms

Of all the great Southern demagogues, only Huey Long did not resort to the theme of white supremacy, the easy, incendiary theme; but what is lost sight of is that the majority of the notorious race-baiters also advocated and sometimes accomplished sweeping benefits for the Southern masses. By far the greater number of Southerners in the New Deal Congresses supported the vast social programs that were their hallmarks; a Bilbo sought agrarian reform, a Long met, though at fearful cost, the road and school and hospital needs of his state; a Rankin bulldozed the TVA through the House of Representatives.

But they wrongly capitalized upon or ignored, almost without exception, the South's ancient, portentous problem in human relationships: the contradictory, enforced status of inferiority of the Negro in a professed democracy. This problem still haunts the South; but today, men of good will and courage are making headway against the forces of neglect, incitement and fear.

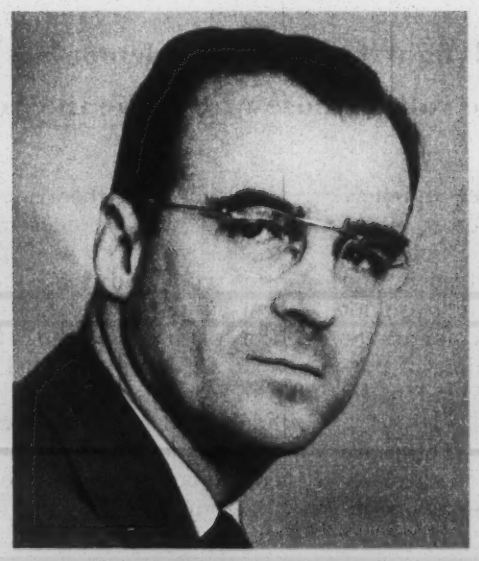
I have said that their objectives may be described as limited ones. But they are living and working with realities and not with abstractions. Man's antipathy for the dissimilar, for reason of race, religion, culture or even nationality, is not Southern in origin. It has dogged every civilization and every century of recorded history, and is present today in every part of the world.

In the South, the expressions of antipathies are more acute than elsewhere for a number of somber reasons that are generally overlooked by the advocates of sudden, federally imposed change. The Negro came as a savage chattel in chains. Representing two thirds of the wealth of the South at the time of the Civil War, he was freed through war's violence and destruction, without recompense. Almost immediately afterward, he achieved, without experience or education, a political codominance over his masters; and that dominance was ended only by devious and sometimes bloody means.

Because of the pressure of his numbers—diminishing relatively now but still one fourth of the South's total population and in some areas a majority of the population—he was considered a political, social and economic threat to the dominant group. And because of the darkly illogical north European and Anglo-Saxon aversion to interracial commingling, except on one-sided and prescribed terms, he has been set apart by law, by custom and by environment. As a result of this shared, unhappy past, he has endured a discrimination almost as long-lasting and cruel as that which

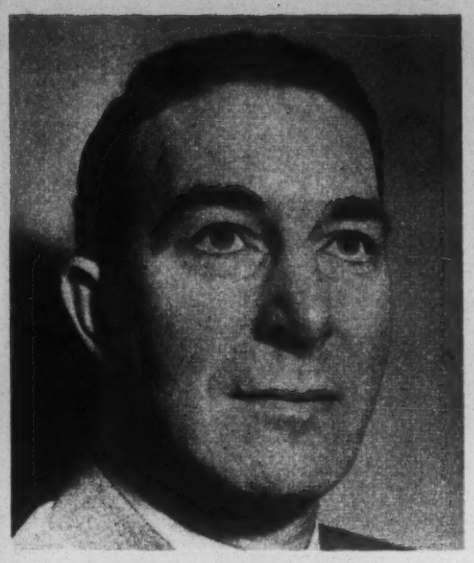
RALPH McGILL
Editor

HARRY S. ASHMORE
Editor



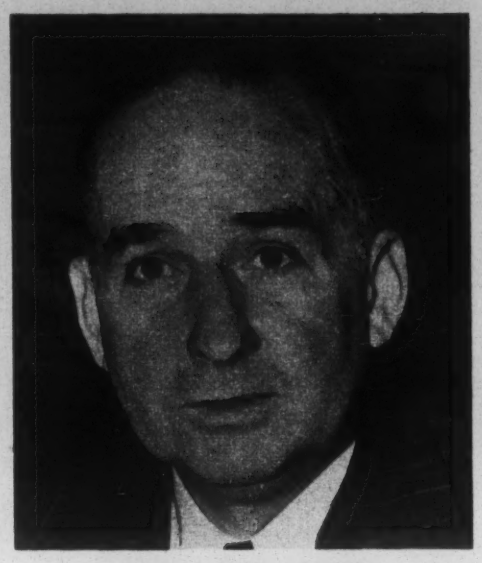
CHARLES DOBBINS
Editor

THE REV. HAROLD PURCELL
Churchman



ESTES KEFAUVER
U.S. Senator

SIDNEY McMATH
Governor



MARK ETHRIDGE
Publisher

LUCY RANDOLPH MASON
Labor Leader

the resisting American Indian has known.

The Southern liberal is aware of this past. He works within its receding restrictions, if for no other reason than that there is as yet no other way for him to work effectively. A suspect among the defiant reactionaries at home, who brand him a Communist, a "Nigger lover" and a Yankee tool, he is no less a target for the militant, all-or-nothing crusaders who wage their war at a distance.

If I may be personal about so personal a matter as mail, I can be sure that if I advocate or praise the local attainment of such objectives as equal hospital facilities, equal pay and facilities in the separate school systems or the inclusion of a Negro juror on a trial jury, I will get equally condemnatory letters from opposed correspondents whose only common ground is a dislike for what I have said. The proponent of immediate ending of segregation—a favorite phrase is "at the point of the bayonet"—will denounce me for endorsing the *status quo*. The yearner for the good old days will whiplash me for endangering it.

This continuous experience is shared by the scores of fellow Southern rebels with whom I have swapped stories. Yet the concrete objectives we espouse are those which are most desired—according to so eminent a student as Gunnar Myrdal—by the Southern Negro, and the least objected to by the resisting white and therefore the most readily obtainable.

Putting first things first, we work for equality in the courts, school facilities, job opportunity and the right to vote. Northern critics of both races attack us for leaving the issue of mass segregation alone, for being unconcerned about that nebulous thing called social equality, for questioning the over-all wisdom of the present civil-rights program or for discouraging the idea that assimilation is the only way out.

So much for the background. What is being done against its reality and who is doing it?

I would say that the greatest common contribution the Southern liberals are making is their unending public and outspoken effort to change the climate of traditional Southern opinion. This business of speaking out against social injustices and in favor of orderly change is not as easy as it might seem.

Many Listeners Are Hostile

The forum may be a university classroom—and since almost all higher education in the South is provided by state universities, academic freedom is something less than absolute. The spokesman may be a union organizer—and the South is not yet adjusted to organized labor and uniform pay scales. A minister may bespeak applied Christianity—and much of the South still makes mental reservations about the brotherhood of man. An office seeker may advocate economic and political justice—but the race-baiter's voice is vindictive and effective still. A newspaper editor reveals shamefully unfair dealings—and the community which supports him may take violent, even personal exception.

Yet in every town and city in the South, there are men and women who are swimming against an old and less turbulent tide, and making headway. But because they are rarely dramatic, and even more rarely seek distant applause, the faraway zealot is unimpressed.

I received a letter recently from a Pennsylvanian, whom I do not know and who had subscribed to my newspaper about a year ago probably out of curiosity. He wrote that he had been reading the newspaper closely every day and regretted that he had not discovered one editorial denouncing intolerance.

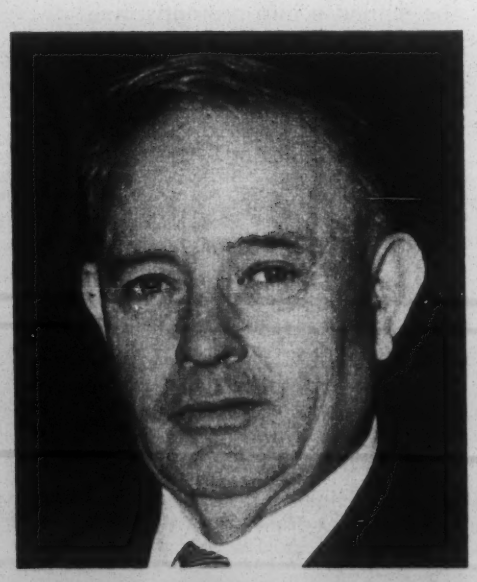
During this period of such unexpectedly close scrutiny, my newspaper had set forth goals or recorded achievements not entirely alien to tolerance. We had campaigned for the inclusion of Negroes on the police force. We had published a series of illustrated articles on the woeful state of Negro school facilities in the county and the principally Negro slums in the town. We had vigorously endorsed the construction of two swimming pools, equal in size and cost, and had seen the proposal approved (with the help of some 400 Negro votes) and construction begun. We had chronicled the county's approval of a low-cost hospital, with identical white and Negro wings, the construction of one new Negro grammar school in our town and the authorization for another.

Among other things, we had editorialized against the States' Righters

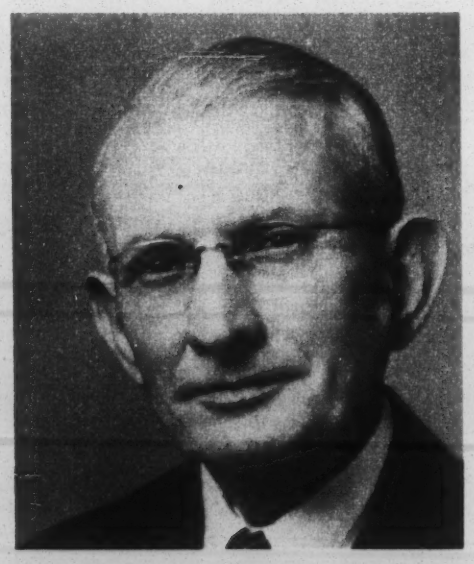
(CONTINUED ON PAGE 63)

C. H. GILLMAN
Labor Leader

DR. HOWARD W. ODUM
Educator



BISHOP ARTHUR J. MOORE
Churchman



N. C. NEWBOLD
Educator

FLORENCE SYTZ
Educator

HOMER RAINEY
Educator

bility of finding food and clothing is often left to the children themselves.

To many kids, homes are just places to sleep every night, and I've seen some pretty poor excuses for "homes" too. I never believed that 12 people could live in one small unheated room until I saw, with my own eyes, twelve Chinese living that way. It was then that I realized why many children in China were sent away by their parents to join either the Communist or the Nationalist armies (it doesn't really make any difference to them) just for the daily rice rations and warm-padded khaki uniforms.

In Siam I saw large families living aboard filthy broken-down river barges. Near Haifa, on the road to Israel, the more fortunate Arab refugees I passed carried moldy home-sewn tents with them, while the less fortunate slept out in the open.

On the desert near Cairo, I saw a family of eight huddling together inside their home, made of two rusty oil drums with a worn-out canvas tarpaulin thrown across the top. In a badly bombed-out section of Berlin a little girl took me to her home—an old German tank which had red geraniums growing out of the broken gun turret! And thousands of kids in Germany feel fortunate to live in the dark, cold cells of old air-raid bunkers!

Now I understand why these young people are not able to learn to think straight—they are never given the opportunity to learn to do so. And it's no wonder they are so easily led astray by high-pressure military and political groups who give them rosy pictures of their idea of a "peaceful world."

To most of you it might have been discouraging continually to meet children who are surrounded by poor living conditions, illiteracy, prejudice and hatreds, and by grownups who have neither the time nor the inclination to teach them right from wrong. But in traveling through five war zones, the bombed-out countries of Europe and the Far East, and even behind the Iron Curtain, I found young people who might well be embittered and dissatisfied but who seldom complain and truly have hopes for a better world when they grow up.

In Greece, where civil wars have been going on ever since the kids can remember, I met a sixteen-year-old boy at Athens College who said to me, "We young people in Greece are quite used to fights, riots and shootings, but if there is another world war, we do hope that no bombs are ever dropped on America." I admired his protective attitude in wanting to shield our Americans from the horrors of war which are so familiar to the Greeks, and asked him why he felt this way.

"Because," he said, "my classmates and I would like to visit New York City someday, and we don't want it blown to pieces before we get there!"

After five months of traveling I finally landed at La Guardia Field, and was glad to be back. On my trip I had had two cameras stolen, which I had to smile about and say, "Well, someone got enough money for a few meals." A crate containing several thousand dollars' worth of toys meant for French orphans had been looted right in the customs house at Le Havre . . . again I had to keep my patience and maintain a "good will" attitude.

In spite of these difficulties, I bear no ill feelings toward any of the grownups who were responsible for the more discouraging incidents of my trip. Also I can only feel sorry for the selfish adults who are responsible for much of the disorganized and confusing lives of the less fortunate kids in the world. I'm sure that when these "sad characters" were young, they were—as all kids are—kind, generous, trusting and able to laugh once in a while.

But as the years go by, it seems that bad breaks and disillusionment often change people and make them selfish and embittered. It is too bad that there is no way of stopping the birthdays of everyone in the world after they reach the age of twenty-one. If this miracle were only possible, today and forever after, you may be sure the kids in Manila would be playing with dolls and blocks instead of Daddy's revolver. THE END

NEW REBEL YELL IN DIXIE

Continued from page 15

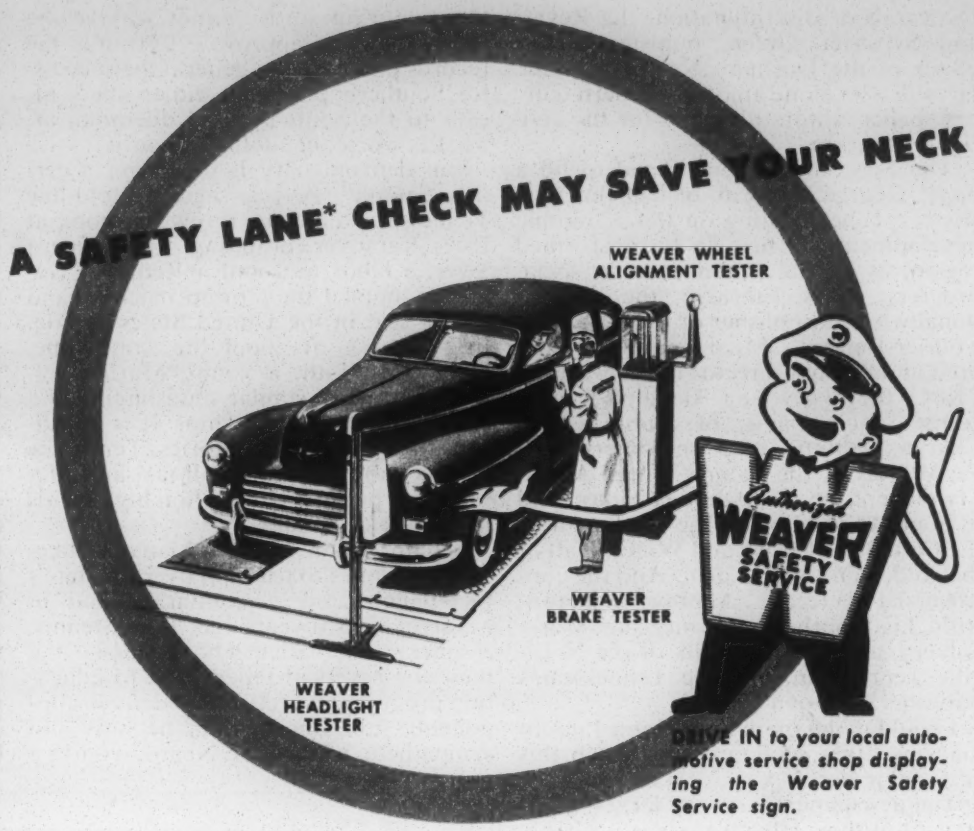
fantastic proposal to strip the federal government of virtually all its powers and economic programs, against the racial discrepancy in teachers' pay, and against the beating by a deputy of a Negro prisoner who had killed a white man. We had applauded the inclusion of a Negro on a jury panel for the first time since Reconstruction, the slum clearance and aid to education legislation in Congress, and the increase in Negro farm ownership in Mississippi. We had awarded identical cash scholarships to the outstanding seniors in the white and the Negro high schools.

But since I didn't get around to an editorial denouncing intolerance, I herewith denounce it; and I would like to send carbon copies not only to those home folks who did not like some of my opinions but also to those Northern liberals who continue to write long and castigating letters about "you cowardly Southern pseudo democrats."

I don't think that many other Southern editors get around to denouncing intolerance. They're too busy. Take Virginius Dabney, of Richmond, who won last year's Pulitzer prize for editorials; and Jonathan Daniels, of Raleigh, who speaks in North Carolina and in Washington for enlightened democracy; and Wright Bryan of the Atlanta Journal and Ralph McGill of the Atlanta Constitution who day in and day out battle the Klan, the low estate of Georgia politics, the vestiges of the lynch spirit, and the disintegration of the state's public school system.

There are Ed Meeman of the Memphis Press-Scimitar, who took on the Crump machine and saw it licked last summer; Colonel Harry Ayers, the old war horse of Anniston, Alabama, who doesn't like

Winner of the Pulitzer prize in 1946 for writing, liberal Hodding Carter is well known for his oft-expressed, straight-from-the-shoulder views on the sociological-economic troubles that plague the South. He began newspapering in 1929 on the New Orleans Item-Tribune, and in 1939 became the editor and publisher of the Delta Democrat-Times, in Greenville, Mississippi.



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Dixiecrats or discrimination; the Reverend Sylvester Green, minister turned editor of the Durham, North Carolina, Herald, who alone among Southern daily newspaper editors plumped for the civil rights program.

The list could be lengthened to fill a page: George McLean, of Tupelo, Mississippi, concentrating on the economic development of his TVA-transformed region, as a vital preliminary to social progress; Mark Ethridge, the internationally noted publisher of the Louisville Courier-Journal, Mississippi-born and bred and the first director of the wartime FEPC; the two young Alabama weekly editors, Neil Davis, of Auburn, and Charles Dobbins, of Montgomery; Edgar W. Ray of the Tampa Times, Alfred Mynders of the Chattanooga Times, and in South Carolina, George Buchanan of the Columbia Record and Wilton Hall of the Anderson Independent. And the controversial veteran, Aubrey Williams, with his Southern Farmer in Montgomery, and Nat Caldwell, of the Nashville Tennessean, and the Tennessean's publisher, Silliman Evans.

I could name many more, and I doubt that any other section could match this editorial roster.

The newspapers have the largest audience. But their effectiveness is probably matched by the work of Southern educators. The first person who generally comes to mind when North Carolina is mentioned is Senator Frank Graham, who for 19 years was president of the famed University of North Carolina until another Tarheel progressive, Governor Kerr Scott, appointed him last spring to a United States senatorial vacancy.

Fine Record as an Educator

What Frank Graham's magic formula is, no one knows. But the influence of this man extends through his students and his own activities throughout the South and beyond. Around him he gathered the ablest faculty in the South and fearless students, who have taken their place by the hundreds as younger leaders in every Southern state. He has defied every Southern taboo (he served as one of the two Southern members on the President's Committee on Civil Rights) and he has identified himself—with militant liberal organizations everywhere.

His was not the only light at the university. Among the nation's sociologists, Dr. Howard W. Odum ranks high; and he stands higher yet among men of good will, for his scholarly, factual, hopeful interpretations of the new South. The effect of the teachings of Dr. Odum and his able colleagues, Dr. Guy B. Johnson and Dr. Rupert B. Vance, is incalculable.

Here again it is difficult to single out. Educators in a different and more difficult category are President A. D. Beittel of Talladega College, Alabama, white director of a Negro institution, and a trio of patient miracle workers in the field of public education for Negroes: P. H. Easom, of Mississippi, N. C. Newbold, of North Carolina, and Ed McCuistion, of Alabama, directors of Negro education in their respective states.

The campuses of every college and university in the South contribute to the roster of teachers who are breaking down old misconceptions and fears and inertia where it will do the most good: teachers like Miss Florence Sytz, director of field work instruction of the Tulane University school of social work, James Silver of the University of Mississippi, and Bell Irwin Wiley and David Calvin Kytle of Emory University, to name four at random. Most of them survive the ridiculous charge of radicalism—a charge less often heard now—but some, like former President Homer Rainey of the University of Texas, pay a bitter penalty for academic courage.

It may be argued that editors and teachers are not representative, and that the venturing spirit cannot survive the test of political approval. Certainly the records prove that in general the successful Southern politician either shuts his eyes to the South's racial dilemma, or, what is worse, capitalizes upon it.

But demagoguery is no longer a certain Sesame. A year ago the old-line Tennessee politicians threw the book at Estes Kefauver, branding him a Negro lover, a labor tool and a Red; but Kefauver toppled the Crump machine and won a seat in the United States Senate. In Arkansas, at about the same time, Sidney McMath, a young Marine veteran, withstood similar mudslinging and captured the governorship. It is significant that after their victories, Tennessee in effect abolished the poll tax, and McMath put poll-tax elimination high on his legislative calendar.

Senator Lister Hill, of Alabama, likewise continues to triumph over his state's race-baiters and reactionaries; and in Mississippi, two years ago, John Stennis, a quiet conservative who endorsed the then controversial federal aid to education program and refused to deny his opponents' allegations that he was too sympathetic toward the Negro, won in a five-man contest that included John Rankin; and Senator Claude "Red" Pepper is a hardy Florida perennial despite his departures from the Southern norm.

COLLIER'S — "His last stroke of genius plunged five city blocks into total darkness" — NED HILTON

Such men may be exceptions still, but their numbers are growing. A Kerr Scott is elected in North Carolina, a Lyndon Johnson goes to Congress from Texas, an Ashton Williams, of Lake City, South Carolina, organizes a Truman ticket in Governor Thurmond's face. And conscientious office seekers throughout the South are discovering that a candidate who reasonably discusses societal obligations, economic stresses and the need for moral and political reorientations is no longer doomed to defeat.

One factor in the changing scene, still minimized as a force and not yet full grown in the South, is organized labor. Obviously, the unions are special pleaders and not disinterested in their own advancement. But union leadership in the South, particularly that of the C.I.O., has worked effectively to make plain the identity of economic interests of all Southern workers of both races, the stupidity of frictional contact, and the importance of the ballot.

The C.I.O. has put Southern leaders on the job, and these include intelligent and perceptive men, whose outlook is broader than their organizational activity itself. As a somewhat bewildered industrialist described them, "They're actually respectable people." And the definition fits such field directors as gentle Lucy Randolph Mason, of Virginia, Southeastern field representative of the C.I.O., and state C.I.O. directors Paul Christopher, of Tennessee, R. W. Starnes, of Louisiana, Franz Daniels, of South Carolina, William Smith, of North Carolina and C. H. Gillman, of Georgia.

Labor leadership is immature in many areas of the nation; but it is avoiding some of the old mistakes in this homogenous region where economic imbalances lie at the root of nearly every evil.

There exists another force for good which is potentially more powerful than any other. The South is a region of churchgoers, and the influence of religious leaders is strong. Today there is a profound emphasis, by Protestant and Catholic clergy and lay leaders, upon the ethical implications of Christianity in the field of human relations.

One of the noblest stories I know is the labor of the Reverend Harold Purcell, a Catholic priest who came to Alabama from New York in the thirties. Four years ago, Father Purcell decided that the Negroes of Montgomery needed better schools, and almost singlehanded he raised $400,000 from contributors throughout the South and the nation. His school opened 18 months ago.

But the school was neither Father Purcell's first achievement nor his last. When he first came to Montgomery he opened the tiny mission and clinic of St. Jude, for religious and welfare work among Negroes. A few years later he had begged and borrowed enough money to buy a 40-acre site for his City of St. Jude; and there he has built a social center, a clinic and a beautiful bell-towered church. Now he has asked for bids on a 158-bed $500,000 hospital for Negroes. Two thirds of the money has come from contributors. The other third will be given by the government under the Hill-Burton hospital building act. The Hill in the act's title, incidentally, is Lister Hill of Alabama.

Though not all church effort can be as spectacular, there are scores of Negro schools and colleges entirely or in part supported by Southern churches throughout the South. But the religious impact is more far-reaching than that. What the ministers are saying from their pulpits, what the organized lay groups of the churches are recognizing, what the college Y.M.C.A.s and Y.W.C.A.s are inculcating is that Christianity's basic strength lies in its concepts of man's brotherhood, man's dignity and man's responsibility for his brother. The inclusive significance of those concepts is not universally accepted, but there are hundreds of Southern church people who can tell you that they are increasingly effective.

Men Inspired by Christianity

Mrs. M. E. Tilley, of Atlanta, the other Southern member of the President's Civil Rights Committee, identifies herself simply as a churchwoman. It is applied Christianity that animates such clergymen as Methodist Bishop Arthur J. Moore, of Atlanta, Episcopalian Bishop William R. Moody, of Lexington, the Reverend Monsignor T. James McNamara, of Savannah, and the Reverend H. Brent Schaeffer, of Jackson, Mississippi, Lutheran minister and uncompromising advocate of equal rights.

For such men as these—and their hundreds of fellow workers—Christian social relations signify implemented brotherhood. And unless we believe that religion has no force whatsoever, it is undeniable that liberalism within the churches has been an inestimably strong factor in creating new attitudes of fair dealing in the South.

To some extent there is co-ordination within the various religious denominations, and the labor movement is, of course, organized. But Southern liberalism otherwise lacks a unified base except for one six-year-old organization, the Southern Regional Council, with headquarters in Atlanta.

The SRC is unique in a number of heartening directions. It is biracial, nondenominational and nonpolitical. It does not indulge in tom-tom beating, parades, or lengthy pronunciamentos slanted for non-Southern consumption and approval. But it is not an isolationist effort to separate the South's problems from the nation's—or from the nation's concern. And its board of directors and membership cut across both racial and occupational lines to include outstanding white and Negro leaders in every field, with state divisions in 11 Southern states.

George S. Mitchell, the SRC's executive director and a wise and forthright man, explains its principles this way:

"SRC believes that the South can be prosperous and healthy, freed of poverty, prejudice and fear. It believes, in the name of democracy, Christianity and common decency, that the Negro must have equal opportunity in the schoolroom, on the job and at the polls.

"Our objectives are equal justice; a square deal for all our people in hospitals and medical care, schools, jobs, farming opportunities, veterans' services and housing; and full citizenship for everyone in voting, jury service and representation on official bodies."

That's an ambitious, long-range program. It won't be attained this year or next, and the SRC membership knows it. Meanwhile, the SRC hacks away. It has supplied basic facts for successful campaigns to secure Negro policemen in Atlanta, Memphis, Nashville, Conway, South Carolina, and other towns and cities. (Some 65 Southern communities now have Negro policemen.) It has at various times urged upon each Southern governor a positive program to assure civil rights for all Southerners, and has been amazingly successful in getting salutary facts about health, housing, edu-

Next Week

AN ENCOURAGING MESSAGE FROM John W. Snyder

SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY

cation, voting and law enforcement into the Southern press.

It has been influential in having local ordinances passed curbing the activities of the Klan; has persuaded a number of white churches to be hosts to interracial meetings, and served as technical consultant for the Jacksonville, Florida, Self-Survey, which achieved some 70 specific improvements in the Negro community. It helped form the Negro community centers in such cities as Macon and Savannah, and was instrumental in having Kentucky's Day law amended to allow Negroes to receive medical and nursing education in institutions formerly open only to white students.

The SRC is widely respected in the South. And, in the opinion of the New York Times, "Progress can surely be made if liberals, North and South, will sit down and reason together along the lines this group suggests."

So there they are—Southern newspapermen, church people, educators and business, professional and labor leaders—who are credited so little for what is actually a great deal. They are animated by a love of the region in which they live, and a conviction of its worth and essential decency and promise. In this they differ from many liberals elsewhere whose approach to the South and its problems is a mixture of contempt, mockery, punitive threat and unrealistic demands. In less complex areas, their purposes and achievements may seem elementary and small. But they know better. They may not agree with the rest of the country, or even among themselves, about every proposal for greater social justice. But justice is their common goal.

I am reminded by what the late William Alexander Percy, the Southern poet, philanthropist and man of gentle and courageous spirit, once told me:

"You can't do anything on the grand scale. But you can work for your fellow citizens in your own town. It isn't national leaders we need so much as men of good will in each of the little towns of America. Try to keep Greenville a decent place by being a correct citizen yourself; for it's the total of all the Greenvilles that can make the kind of country we want or don't want." THE END

QUEEN SIZE

Continued from page 25

a little, afraid that she might remember about the date and be embarrassed.

"But, Mac," she would say, "why didn't you say something, remind me, or something?" And she would stand there with a hurt frown on her face, with a shadow of sorrow in her fine eyes. "I feel awful about it, Mac. Forgetting all about the date, I mean, and then this thing this afternoon, and I can't—"

He cramped the jeep out of its parking space, straightened it with one mighty hand, while his huge foot bore down hard on the accelerator. Well, maybe she would not remember at all, and that would be best.

IT WAS about half past two, and already three or four people were gathering in the shop, when Adam Bent arrived. With him was a publisher's man named Smith, whom Ernestine knew. But she had eyes only for Adam.

He was middle-sized, slender and tanned deeply from the sun of foreign lands. He wore a linen coat, a yellow shirt and flannel trousers and, knotted about his strong bare throat, a foulard scarf of great splendor. He smiled into Ernestine's eyes, and his hand was strong and steady in her own. "Miss Moore," he said, "I am delighted." His eyes said that he was more than delighted.

The three of them stood aside from the customers. Smith said, "Ernestine has done a magnificent job of pushing your books. Terrific."

Adam's eyes swept slowly and appreciatively up to Ernestine's face. "And you have read them yourself, Miss Moore?"

"Ernestine," she said. "Nobody calls me anything else."

"A pleasure," said Adam Bent.

Ernestine said, "I've read them all. Every one. I think I like this last one best." She paused there, savoring the title, recalling the stirring events packaged between its covers. "South to the Sun," she said. "I think I like that one best of all."

"Maybe we'd better have at this business," Smith said. "The cash customers look restive."

"Of course," Ernestine said. She led the way to the table, watched Adam Bent seat himself and take out his own pen. She said, "And now, ladies . . ."

It went on throughout the afternoon, Adam Bent patient and tireless—smiling, nodding; finding, somehow, fresh phrases of deprecation to answer each new song of praise. Ernestine hovered near him, fetching fresh copies of the books, ringing up sales, herding the customers into position. Smith perched upon a corner of the counter, smoked endlessly, watched without expression.

"He's wonderful," Ernestine said. She moved past Smith, banged the cash register with her hand. The thing trembled upon its base and obediently shot out a drawer. "Wonderful," she said again.

Smith's face was blank. Smith's voice betrayed nothing. "He loves it," he said.

Ernestine paused, change in hand, frowning. And then the frown was swiftly gone. "Oh," she said. "I see. You're kidding me."

"Mmm," Smith said, which could have meant anything. He slid down from the counter. "Right back," he said. "You want a ginger ale, too?"

He was back in five minutes, carrying three paper cups with practiced ease. He set the cups on the counter and turned his back to shield them from the eyes of the customers. From an inside pocket he got out a silver flask and poured whisky into the drinks.

Adam Bent seemed grateful for the refresher. Ernestine noticed nothing. . . .

And then, at last, it was done and the customers were gone. Ernestine tallied the count. "Eighty-seven," she said. "That's pretty good, isn't it?"

"It is magnificent," said Adam Bent. He was flexing the fingers of his right hand.

"I told you," Smith said. "In an area the size of this one—"

"You didn't tell me all," said Adam Bent. He was looking at Ernestine and smiling a little. "Juno," he said.

His tone was plain, but the allusion sped past her without contact. "Juno?"

"It's a town," Smith said. "Juneau. It's in Alaska." He came down off the counter. "Well, children?"

Ernestine stood, irresolute. She picked up a library-size, unabridged dictionary and brushed the counter beneath it absently with her free hand. Then she set it down again. "I was hoping," she said. "I mean—"

Adam Bent said, "Yes, Ernestine?"

Ernestine said, "Well, I live just over on the next street, and I thought you would like to have a beer, or a drink, or something." She paused there. "That is," she said, "if you drink."

Smith looked at the floor. Adam Bent said, "Under the circumstances, Ernestine, after a long day—" He let the

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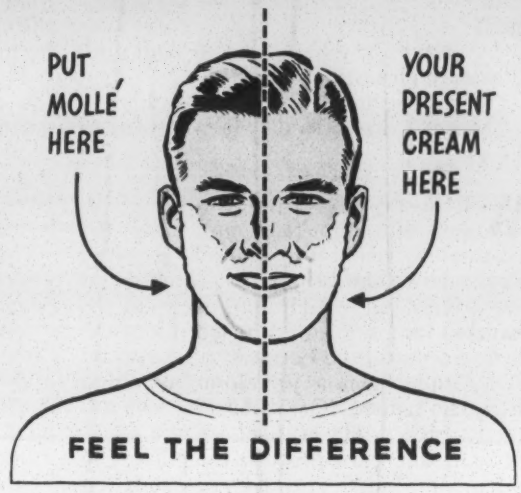

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OPEN LETTER TO PRESIDENT TRUMAN

February 9, 1950

The decision to manufacture the hydrogen bomb has thrown a shadow of horror across the homes and minds of all Americans.

After the revelation that the Soviet Union had produced an atomic explosion, the people expected our nation to move toward an international agreement through the United Nations renouncing the use of atomic weapons of warfare. This hope remained high even after the United Nations General Assembly last fall because the voices of so many of the smaller nations had been lifted in the General Assembly appealing for an international convention against atomic weapons. We have all been disappointed.

In the full belief that we speak for millions of ordinary men and women throughout our country and the world over whom this horror hangs, we insist that there can and must be an alternative path which leads to peace, rather than the path to certain global catastrophe imminent in an H-bomb race.

We urge, Mr. President, that you immediately instruct the American delegation to the United Nations to present positive proposals through appropriate channels for an agreement whereby the use of atomic weapons, whether A-bombs, H-bombs, or other machines of mass destruction will be banned.

In agreement with the Report of the American Friends Service Committee and the statements of other religious groups in our country, we believe that the United States and the Soviet Union can live in peace and that the threat of atomic war can be resolved through the settlement of differences between these two great powers.

In the light of your expressed anxiety for international atomic control, Mr. President, we further urge that you immediately take steps to initiate direct negotiations to this end between our country and the Soviet Union on the highest level so that the threat of atomic catastrophe can be lifted from the peoples of the world.

* * * * * *

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(OVER)

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OPEN LETTER TO PRESIDENT HARRY S. TRUMAN

(Signers have endorsed the statement as individuals. Organizations and affiliations are listed for the purpose of identification only.)

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Committee for Peaceful Alternatives
to the Atlantic Pact

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# # # # #

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ADL

ATLANTA REGIONAL OFFICE
11 PRYOR ST., S. W.-ATLANTA, GA.

For your information

Harold Fleming

Art Levin

Dear Art: The attached statements from the anti-Communist newsletter "Counterattack" will give you an idea about the outfit. Originally formed to combat the (McCarran) Internal Security Act it is now busy also to combat the McCarran Immigration Act. While nobody has called it out-and-out Communistic and while some of its supporters are probably just very articulate liberals we have stayed away from them and declined cooperation.

As to the specific local problem involved I would say that affiliation with this group alone would not necessarily stigmatize a person as "subversive" if he or she joined innocently. It would depend on the total record of his or her affiliations whether such a characterization is justified

Kindest regards

J.

SRC - Commendations

News of the Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Atlanta

Resolutions Adopted

The following resolutions were presented by the Resolutions Committee, under the chairmanship of Mrs. Allan V. Gray, and adopted by the Annual Meeting of the Woman's Auxiliary, May 8 and 9:

"WHEREAS, Bishop John Moore Walker has outlined the ten long-range objectives and nine specific objectives for the Diocese of Atlanta for 1951 and succeeding years,

"BE IT RESOLVED, that the Woman's Auxiliary of the Diocese of Atlanta go on record as heartily endorsing these objectives, and

"BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the Woman's Auxiliary of the Diocese of Atlanta do its utmost to to support these objectives."

"WHEREAS, The Woman's Auxiliary of the Diocese of Atlanta commends the work of the Southern Regional Council in the field of race relations, therefore,

"BE IT RESOLVED, that we urge participation in its program by all persons moved by Christian concern for the continued growth, understanding, and opportunity in this work in Georgia and in the South."

"WHEREAS, the success of the Episcopal Radio Hour series was due in large measure to the efforts of the Rt. Rev. John Moore Walker, therefore,

"BE IT RESOLVED, that the Woman's Auxiliary of the Diocese of Atlanta expresses its appreciation of his leadership."

Counterattack Jan. 5, 1951

WILLIAM SCHNEIDERMAN, Chairman of California CP.
SID STEIN, Assistant labor Sec'y of CP.
MARTHA STONE, Chairman of New Jersey CP.

These new members of the Politburo are workhorse figureheads just as the old, re-elected members are. When they function as leaders they will take orders from Stalin's secret Cominform agents in U S (who really run the party) just as all their predecessors have.

IS THIS ANOTHER COMMUNIST LOBBY? On Dec 7, 1950 the House Committee on Un-American Activities published a report entitled "The National Committee To Defeat the Mundt Bill, A Communist Lobby".

Formation of the National Committee to Repeal the McCarran Act was announced three weeks later, on Dec 26. This was just two days before opening of CP convention which called for repeal of the McCarran Act.

Now that Mundt Bill has been passed as part of the Internal Security (McCarran) Act, it is logical that CP should form a new front to fight for its repeal. And makeup of the Nat'l Committee to Repeal the McCarran Act indicates strongly that it is a successor to the Nat'l Committee To Defeat the Mundt Bill. Many initiators and sponsors of the new committee have front records...though it has also succeeded in winning support of innocent clergymen, businessmen, professors, etc.

These are names of some leaders and sponsors which have frequently appeared on Communist front lists: THOMAS MANN and EMILY GREENE BALCH, Nobel Prize winners (both signed Stockholm Peace Appeal...MANN was elected honorary co-chairman of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born on Dec 3); Rev JOHN B THOMPSON of Rockefeller Memorial Chapel, Univ of Chicago; ROBT MORSS LOVETT, former Gov of Virgin Islands; Prof RALPH BARTON PERRY of Harvard; LINUS PAULING, atomic scientist of Calif Institute of Technology; UTA HAGEN, actress; SHIRLEY GRAHAM and DASHIELL HAMMETT, writers; ARTUR SCHNABEL, pianist; Mrs WELTHY HONSINGER FISHER, chairman, World Day of Prayer Committee; Profs ROBT S LYND of Columbia U, KIRTLEY F MATHER of Harvard and KERMIT EBY of Chicago; EDITH ABBOTT of Hull House, Chicago...and Methodist Bishop FRANCIS J McCONNELL.

Committee will give its full support to Internal Security Act repeal measure introduced into Congress on Dec 22 by Rep ADOPLH SABATH (D-Ill).

The report on the Nat'l Committee To Defeat the Mundt Bill, issued by Un-American Activities Committee on Dec 7, verified earlier statements about this organization that had been made by COUNTERATTACK.

Former Congressman JERRY O'CONNELL (Montana), as lobbyist and leader of the Committee on loan from the Progressive Party, used Wash DC hq of the Nat'l Lawyers Guild as office of the front, the report stated. The Guild also paid bills for his telegrams and phone calls as Committee wheelhorse.

O'CONNELL, in carrying out Committee's work, sought and obtained aid of CP Politburo member HENRY WINSTON, of convicted Communist HARRY BRIDGES, of Communist union leader BEN GOLD and others. He also received financial aid from other Communist fronts and individual Communists.

COUNTERATTACK said this organization was a CP front more than two years ago (July 23, 1948 p 2). Again on June 3, 1949 (p 1) COUNTERATTACK described it as a Communist lobby and said that joint Senate-House Committee investigating lobbying should look into it. On July 7, 1950 (p 3) COUNTERATTACK suggested investigation of this front by the Congressional (Buchanan) Committee investigating lobbies and use of Congressional franking privilege.

Counterattack, 4/20/57

When GUNTHER's book, "Behind the Curtain", was published in 1949 it was submitted by Plain Talk Magazine to a panel of experts on the Iron Curtain countries. They reported that it abounded in gross errors and was a whitewash of Stalin Russia and its satellite govts.

These exiled liberals from the lands GUNTHER described, pulled no punches. One of them wrote bluntly in summary of the book: "In general, Mr Gunther employs the usual technique of fellow-traveling reporters".

GOVT-CHARTERED THEATRE GROUP PUTS ON PLAY BY CLIFFORD ODETS. The American Nat'l Theatre and Academy (ANTA) was chartered by Congress in 1935 to bring to American people "the best of the theatre". ANTA is now conducting a fund drive and has collected well over $200,000 to carry on its work.

On April 8 ANTA opened its production of CLIFFORD ODETS' play, "Night Music", at the ANTA playhouse in NYCity. ODETS has been identified as a CP official by MANNING JOHNSON, former Communist trade union official. Highly touted in CP press, ODETS is now teaching at the Actors Studio of the Dramatic Workshop, an organization publicized in the Daily Worker and run by stage personalities with front records.

Most ANTA productions run for two weeks. But "Night Music" ran for only one. The ANTA office, when asked why, replied that it was because there was not much demand for tickets.

This might be explained by fact that before the ANTA production opened, and while it was running, the Theatre Workshop of the CP's Jefferson School was also presenting its own staging of ODETS' "Night Music".

ODETS' Communist admirers evidently preferred to see the Jefferson School production (it is still running)...and non-Communists just didn't go for the ANTA production of ODETS' play...even though ODETS' wife, BETTY GRAYSON (who has lectured at the Jefferson School) was starred in it.

CONGRESSMAN SABATH HELPS A COMMUNIST FRONT. Rep ADOLPH J SABATH (D-Ill), chrmn of House Rules Committee, this week plugged a Communist front as a "potent force" in fighting for the principles of American democracy.

The National Committee to Repeal the McCarran Act recently wrote to Congressman SABATH and congratulated him for introducing H R 3118, which calls for repeal of the Internal Security (Mc Carran) Act of 1950. It was in his reply to this letter that SABATH praised the Committee and said that he hoped its efforts (joined with his) would be rewarded.

This is not the first time Rep SABATH has helped fronts. In 1946 he sponsored a conference of the Congress of American Women, which was then affiliated with Stalin's Women's Int'l Democratic Federation.

SABATH addressed the annual convention of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born in 1948. This front had been officially cited by the Attorney General at the time...yet SABATH spoke at its convention and defended the committee. The principal order of business at this convention was the registering of protests against deportation proceedings brought against Comintern agent GERHART EISLER and IRVING POTASH (one of the 11 convicted CP leaders), CHAS DOYLE and FERDINAND C SMITH on grounds that they were alien Communists. In 1949 he signed a letter sponsored by this committee which called on Pres TRUMAN to halt the deportation of alien Communists.

SABATH also sponsored the Nat'l Committee to Win the Peace.

The National Committee to Repeal the McCarran Act is a new front and has not been cited as Communist by the Attorney General.

But can SABATH say that this committee is not a Communist front

But this clause meant nothing. The Communist line on the conviction of the 11 CP leaders and the constitutionality of the Smith Act was spread at the meeting in spite of it. This flimsy legalistic "barrier" will not stop a single Communist front from promulgating Moscow's line in Carnegie Hall.

What is needed is the courage to make a flat refusal to any Communist front that tries to rent Carnegie Hall's facilities.

THERE'S AN ANGLE IN PRES TRUMAN - SEN DOUGLAS FIGHT that Senators might look into. Sen PAUL DOUGLAS (D-Ill) is opposing two nominees for Federal judgeships in his State made by PRES TRUMAN because the PRES, ignoring DOUGLAS' traditional prerogative, has cold-shouldered his recommendations and nominated two men selected by other Illinois politicians.

One of President's nominees opposed by DOUGLAS is JOSEPH J DRUCKER. He is a judge in the Municipal Court of Chicago (lowest court in the city) whom the President wants to jump to the Federal court.

DRUCKER's nomination was urged by his uncle, Rep ADOLPH J SABATH (D-Ill), who has shown a very soft attitude toward Communism.

SABATH supported the American Council on Soviet Relations and Int'l Labor Defense, sent a message to annual dinner of the American Russian Institute, sponsored the party's Nat'l Committee to Win the Peace and spoke at a conference of the Congress of American Women. All of these organizations have been cited as subversive or Communist by Dept of Justice.

He spoke at 1948 convention of American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born (after it had been cited as subversive) and defended this front.

SABATH wrote an article for the CP-line Chicago Star in 1946 and denounced the House Committee on Un-American Activities for its "naive declaration" that Fascism (which he opposed) and Communism were similar. When he introduced a resolution to abolish the House Committee on Un-American Activities a few years ago, the CP sent a directive to all its districts ordering them to collect half-a-million signatures in support of it.

SABATH, just a few months ago, congratulated a CP front, the Nat'l Committee to Repeal the McCarran Act, as being a "potent force" in fighting for American democratic principles. He has introduced in Congress a bill to repeal the Internal Security Act of 1950, which CP opposes and always refers to as the "McCarran Act".

NY Times reports that SABATH "is understood not only to have intervened personally for Mr DRUCKER, but to have had powerful intercessors working on his side".

It is quite possible that Judge DRUCKER does not share his uncle's views about the CP and its fronts. It would be completely wrong to bar him merely because of his relationship to Rep SABATH.

But there will soon be Federal court proceedings against Communist leaders in Illinois in Govt's crackdown on the party under the Smith Act.

Senate Judiciary Committee should consider this fact when it takes up question of confirming nominations for Federal judges in Illinois. DRUCKER may be sitting in motions affecting fronts, the bail fund, etc, if he is appointed. It would be wise to find out if Judge DRUCKER shares, or opposes, Rep SABATH's attitude toward CP and its fronts.

Yours faithfully,

August 3, 1951

Counterattack

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COMMUNISTS ARE USING OPPOSITION TO THE "McCARRAN ACTS" TO AID THEIR UNITED FRONT TACTICS. There are two acts now in force, each one of which is loosely referred to by some newspapers as the "McCarran Act".

One is the Internal Security Act of 1950 which tightened up U S security regulations generally and set up the Subversive Activities Control Board, which has the power to find that certain organizations are Communist action or front groups and order them to register with the Dept of Justice.

The other act is the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act which was passed by Congress in 1952. This act primarily concerns immigration as such (quotas, etc), but also has important security elements.

Repeal of the Internal Security Act has been a top objective of the Communist Party since the Act was passed in Sept, 1950. A Communist front, The Nat'l Committee to Repeal the McCarran Act, was set up in Dec, 1950, to direct the campaign against this anti-Communist measure.

CP has also opposed the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act and, since its passage last year, has repeatedly called for its repeal. Fronts like the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born have played an important part in the party's campaign against the immigration act.

Opposition to the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act is a perfect united front set up for the CP. Protestant, Catholic and Jewish organizations and various civic and nationality groups have expressed opposition to the "national origins" quota provisions of this act.

CP is capitalizing on this non-Communist opposition to the Immigration Act to promote its united front policy. It supports the positions of these groups in its literature and at its rallies. By doing so it hopes to win the goodwill and cooperation of the members of these organizations. This is in line with Moscow's present policy of having Communists unite with and infiltrate non-Communist groups to gain influence in them.

And now the Nat'l Committee to Repeal the McCarran Act (ie, Internal Security Act of 1950) is getting in on the anti-immigration act fight. Last month it announced that it was changing its name...adding an "s" to the last word in its title to indicate that it will now fight both "McCarran" acts. It also released an open letter to Congress and the Administration urging the repeal or a thorough revision of the immigration act.

This maneuver serves a double purpose. It not only broadens the CP's "united front" against the immigration act but it also gives the party the opportunity to transfer some of the sentiment against this act over to its campaign against the Internal Security Act. Anyone who joins this front to fight the immigration act is now automatically going on record as opposing the Internal Security Act, too.

Dr FRANK AYDELOTTE of the Institute for Advanced Studies; Dr JOHN A MACKAY, Pres of Princeton Theological Seminary; Prof ARTHUR L SMITH JR of Union Theological Seminary and Rev JOHN PAUL JONES, chairman of the NY Civil Liberties Union, were some of the signers of this committee's open letter.

When will these clergymen and educators wake up to the manner in which they are being used? They have a perfect right to express opposition to both acts if they are opposed to them. But there is no excuse for their helping the Communist Party and its united front tactics by doing so through a Communist front.

Faithfully yours,

May 22, 1953

Counterattack

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THE EVENING HERALD

ROCK HILL, S. C. TUESDAY AFTERNOON, JANUARY 22, 1952

PA
Keep

Georgia Ku Klux Klan Makes Bid To Organize In Chester

Fiery Speech Is Delivered By Secretary

By LLOYD GULLEDGE

CHESTER — An effort to organize a Ku Klux Klan in this section was made last night at a meeting held at the intersection of Chester by-pass and Highway 9 just outside of Chester.

C. H. Klein executive secretary association of Georgia Klan, delivered a fiery 30-minute speech at the conclusion of which he made an appeal for applications for new members.

Speaking from the rear of an open truck and flanked by two hooded Klansmen, Klein attacked the "new deal, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and its president Walter White, President Truman, Communism, non-segregation, Jewish infiltration into American life, and the policies of the United Nations."

About 500 of the 1,000 people who showed up for the meeting at 7:30 remained to hear Klein deliver his speech on a vacant lot in the shadow of a large burning cross. It was about 8:30 when the speech began and fully half of the people had dispersed.

Six hooded men were present. They dug a hole in the earth and erected a large wooden cross wrapped with inflammable material. This they lighted just before the speaking began and kept burning throughout the program.

"White Supremacy"

"The KKK," Klein said, "will fight to preserve white supremacy, to preserve white womanhood and to uphold the kind of

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"White Supremacy"

"The KKK," Klein said, "will fight to preserve white supremacy, to preserve white womanhood and to uphold the kind of democracy given us by our forefathers."

He scored Americans for displaying the United Nations flag, which he called a "spidery mongrel rag." Why honor this flag while communistic Russia is still a member of this organization?" he asked.

In talking of the Negroes and Jews, Klein said "We don't hate the 'niggers and Jews,' we just

Turn To Page 4

KKK MEET NEAR CHESTER — Three hooded Klansmen stand watch over a cross that was burned during the meeting of the Ku Klux Klan held near Chester last night. In the shadows of the burning cross, C. H. Klein, executive secretary, association of Georgia Klan, shown in the bottom picture, made a fiery 30-minute speech scoring the New Deal, President Truman, Communism, etc. A picture of part of the crowd is on page 4. (Herald Photos.)

POLICE DEPT.
ATLANTA GA
80881
1 19 52

ATLANTA POLICE DEPARTMENT
BUREAU OF IDENTIFICATION
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

Herbert T. Jenkins,
Chief of Police

By B. M. Jeabrow

80281

The following is the record of APD No. _____ and FBI No. _____

CONTRIBUTOR OF FINGERPRINTS	NAME AND NUMBER	ARRESTED OR RECEIVED	CHARGE	DISPOSITION
FultonCo.P. of C Atlanta, Ga.	Charles H. Klein #279589	7-27-51	Felony (Sec. 26-2304 Dynamiting House)	67207, 1-25-52 Mistrial
FD Atlanta, Ga.	Charles Henry Klein, #80881	1-19-52	DC in room with Woman	

* represents notations unsupported by fingerprints

NOTICE: This record is furnished for official use only

Note from the "Harvard Law Review" December 1952, entitled

"State Control of Subversion: A Problem in Federalism."

As a result of several years of increasing international tension, state and municipal governments, as well as Congress, have sought to erect a legislative bulwark to guard the security of this country against subversion. The impact of these measures on civil liberties has received wide attention.[1] Little consideration, however, has been given to the problems of federalism which arise from the tendency of much of the recently enacted local legislation to overlap or be more stringent than the federal program for internal security. It is the purpose of this Note to examine the extent of state power to enact anti-subversive legislation, and to explore the possibility that some of the recent state enactments may conflict with the congressional program.

The Extent of State Power to Regulate Subversive Activity. - It is clear that certain methods of controlling subversive activity are available only to the Federal Government, the states being powerless to act in such matterr. In this category are statutes barring the immigration and naturalization of subversive aliens,[2] denying passports to members of Communist organizations,[3] and regulating the use of the mails by suspected groups.[4] Loyalty and security clearance procedures applicable to Federal Government personnel[5] are also beyond the scope of state legislation. On the other hand, it is equally clear that the states have the power to act in those areas traditionally regarded as primarily of local concern, at least in the absence of overriding congressional legislation. For example, many states now require loyalty oaths by teachers and other state employees,[6] exclude subversive groups from recognition as political parties,[7] and withhold various state benefits from persons engaging in subversive activity.[8]

A substantial part of the state attack on subversion, however, is not so narrowly confined. Since the outbreak of war in Korea, some states have enacted legislation proscribing membership in the Communist Party or "other subversive organizations;"[9] others have required the registration of all Communists.[10] The justification for these statutes, as recited in many legislative preambles, has been the threat to the individual state sovereignty resulting from the "world Communist movement."[11] As the threat of Communist aggression would appear to endanger the whole nation rather than any single state,[12] it might be thought that such local legislation encroaches upon a province exclusively entrusted to the Federal Government under its power to provide for the common defense.[13] However, the rejection of a similar contention in Gilbert v. Minnesota[14] indicates that the individual states also possess a legitimate interest in matters of national defense. In that case, the Supreme Court upheld a conviction under a Minnesota statute which prohibited "teaching or advocating .... that the citizens of this state should not aid or assist the United States in prosecuting or carrying on war with the public enemies of the United States." [15] Justice Brandeis, dissenting, argued that the state could act only under the express direction of Congress, since Congress was charged with the ultimate responsibility for the preservation of the states.[16] The majority, however, held that the statute was not unconstitutional even though the exercise of the state's police power resulted in the furtherance of a function vested in Congress.[17] Thus the concurrent power of the states to control subversive activity even in matters not peculiarly local in nature seems established.

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1. For a discussion of the state programs, see Gellhorn, The States and Subversion (1952). A classification of state laws and citations for each state (as of Jan. 1, 1951) are included in Appendices A and B, pp. 393-440. For the federal program, see Emerson and Haber, Political and Civil Rights in the United States 428 et seq. (1952.

2. Pub. L. No. 414, 82nd Cong., 2d Sess. Sec. 212 (2)(28), 313 (June 27,1952)
3. 64 Stat. 993 (1950), 50 U.S.C. Sec. 665 (Supp. 1952)
4. 64 Stat. 996 (1950), 50 U.S.C. Sec. 789 (Supp. 1952)

5. Materials relating to the federal loyalty program may be found in Emmerson and Haber, op. cit. supra note 1, at 528 et seq.

6. Gellhorn, op. cit. supra note 1, at 410 lists 27 states requiring loyalty oaths of teachers. Other states have since adopted such statutes. E.g., PA. STAT. ANN. tit. 65, sec. 214 (Supp. 1951). For statutes excluding subversive persons from state employment, see Gellhorn, op. cit. supra note 1, at 407.

7. Gellhorn, op. cit. supra note 1, at 404; Emerson and Haber, op. cit. supra note 1, at 516 - 18. See also Note, 25 Notre Dame Law. 319 (1950).

But the considerable body of present federal legislation dealing with subversive activity may raise a barrier to the methods which the states may employ in their anti-subversive programs, since judicial tolerance of concurrent authority ends when the state regulation interferes with the "accomplishment and execution of the full purposes and objectives of Congress."[18] The problem of determining the existence of such interference has been before the courts in numerous cases involving the exercise of concurrent powers by federal and state governments, particularly in the field of interstate commerce.[19] In working out a practical allocation of authority within the federal scheme of dual sovereignty, the Supreme Court has employed several tests. The Court has, on occasion, stated the test as one of finding "conflict" between the federal and state statutes.[20] The clearest example of this is where the terms of the statutes are contradictory or where compliance with one constitutes violation of the other.[21] Obviously, most cases do not present such a simple situation, and "conflict" is more normally found in the legislative policies[22] or in the administration of the statutes.[23] Another test which has been used to ascertain congressional intent is that of "coincidence of regulation,"[24] the Court having stated that "where the federal government has taken the situation in hand, coincidence is as ineffective as opposition."[25] In a recent case,[26] however, a majority of the Court pointed out that coincidence was merely one factor in determining the existence of inconsistency between federal and state legislation.[27] A third test seems to be based on the completeness with which Congress has regulated a particular subject. The language of the Court when this test is applied becomes somewhat metaphysical, with terms such as "occupation of the field" used as though the legislation covered some spatial region. In this type of case there is no apparent conflict with congressional action and the question is whether it is desirable to have the additional state restriction in an area which the Federal Government has regulated with some degree of comprehensiveness.[28]

It is evident that these tests do not afford a ready formula for deciding what the Court has described as the fundamental inquiry in each case: "does the state action conflict with national policy?"[29] Nevertheless, they offer an approach in considering to what extent state power to regulate subversive activity has been limited by congressional action.

Statutes Proscribing Membership in the Communist Party. - Several states[30] and a number of municipalities[31] have recently passed legislation directly proscribing membership in the Communist Party;[32] others have made the same result possible by establishing a judicial proceeding for declaring membership in any suspected group to be unlawful if the group is found to be a "subversive organization."[33] It may be argued that statutes of this type are invalid because they directly contravene certain language of the Internal Security Act of 1950.[34] Section 4(f) of that Act provides that "Neither the holding of office nor membership in any Communist organization by any person shall constitute per se a violation of...this section or of any other criminal statute."[35] Whether this language refers only to other federal statutes or was intended to include state legislation is left unclear.[36] The phrase is one of several modifications made in the conference bill, and no explanation was given by the conference committee for its addition.[37] It was apparently inserted in response to charges that the provisions requiring registration of "Communist-action" organizations and their membership violated the privilege against self-incrimination.[38] If the purpose was merely to avoid this constitutional objection, it would not seem necessary to construe the language to include state statutes since the federal privilege does not ordinarily extent to prosecutions by state governments.[39]

But even if the Internal Security Act does not explicitly preclude the states from making membership in the Communist Party unlawful, such statutes are still subject to the objection that they conflict with the purposes sought to be effectuated by Congress.[40] In enacting the Internal Security Act, Congress rejected proposals to outlaw the Communist Party,[41] choosing instead a policy of exposure by requiring the registration of "Communist-action" and "Communist-front" organizations.[42] By refraining from outlawing the Party, Congress may have hoped to avoid driving it underground,

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8. Pennsylvania, for instance, provides that all persons advocating the unlawful overthrow of the government shall be ineligible for public assistance. An exception is made, however, for blind persons. PA. STAT. ANN. tit. 62, sec. 2509 (Supp. 1951).

9. PA. STAT. ANN. tit. 18, sec. 3811 (Supp. 1951); IND. ANN. STAT. sec. 10-5204 (Burns Supp. 1951); MASS. ANN. LAWS c. 264, sec. 16A, 17-19 (Supp. 1951). A number of municipalities have also enacted such laws. See note 31 infra.

10. MICH, STAT, ANN. sec. 28.243 (15) (Supp. 1952); TEX. REV. CIV. STAT. ANN. art. 6889-3 (Supp. 1952).

11. E.g., Md. Laws 1949, c. 86; Mass. Acts 1951, c. 805.

12. Congress evidently took this view. See 64 STAT. 987 (1950), 50 U.S.C. sec. 781 (Supp. 1952).

13. U.S. CONST. Art. I, sec. 8.

14. 254 U.S. 325 (1920).

15. Minn. Laws 1917, c. 463.

16. 254 U.S. at 338.

17. Id. at 328-32. The Court agreed with the conclusion of the Minnesota supreme court that the state is not prohibited from making "the national purposes its own purposes to the extent of exerting its police power to prevent its own citizens from obstructing the accomplishment of such purposes." Id. at 331.

lest it avoid police surveillance and public scrutiny.[43] While such a hope may be futile,[44] state legislation proscribing arty membership is not calculated to further this objective. Furthermore, if it is important for this country to maintain a reputation for freedom, stringent restrictions on political beliefs going beyond those which Congress thought necessary might serve to embarrass the Federal Government in its conduct of foreign affairs. However, it is in any case difficult to ascribe a given intent to Congress, and it may be improper to presume that Congress would not welcome severe state sanctions against Communist organizations.[45]

A further consideration in determining whether concurrent federal and state legislation may coexist is the possibility that the enforcement of the state statute may hinder the effective operation of the federal law.[46] Although there is little prospect of significant voluntary compliance with the federal registration requirements,[47] the reluctance of Communist organizations to register may be increased if their members are thereby made subject to prosecution under state law.

Statutes Requiring Registration of Communists. - Some states[48] and municipalities, rather than outlaw Communist organizations, have followed the lead of Congress and have required the registration with local officials of all members of the Communist Party or of other organizations advocating the overthrow of any government of the United States by force and violence. The fact that these statutes would appear to duplicate rather than conflict outright with the Internal Security Act may not prevent them from being declared invalid. In Hines v. Davidowitz,[50] an attack on a state statute requiring the registration of aliens was defended on the ground that it was a necessary police regulation designed to protect its citizens from what was thought to be a potentially dangerous group. The Supreme Court, however, held the statute precluded by a subsequently enacted federal registration law. The Court's emphasis on the necessity of preventing state interference in what was essentially a national affair may be equally applicable here.[51] But in Albertson v. Millard,[52] a three-judge federal district court upheld the Michigan statute requiring the registration of all members of "communist" or "communist-front" organizations as a proper method by the state to protect itself against sabotage and revolution. The court found no congressional intent to preclude such legislation; rather the federal and the state legislation were viewed as "complementary to each other, one on the national and the other upon the local level."[54] The dissenting judge, however, noting the act's broad definition of "communist party,"[55] argued that enforcement of such legislation required a knowledge of foreign affairs not possessed by state enforcement officials and that uninformed application of the act might seriously embarrass the Federal Government in a peculiarly sensitive international area."[56] While this argument is not without force, such embarrassment does not seem so likely as in the Davidowitz case. There many of the aliens required to register were citizens of friendly nations, and to avoid friction with these nations the federal statute took special care to prevent any indignities in the registration procedure.[57] Although these considerations seem less applicable in the case of the Michigan legislation, ill-considered labelling of organizations as "Communist" by state officials might have as adverse an effect on our international reputation as declaring such groups unlawful.

A second ground relied upon by the dissent was that the registration provisions of the Internal Security Act revealed a congressional concern with the constitutional rights of individuals which was not reflected in the state legislation. The federal procedure provides for an administrative hearing for both individuals and organizations, a decision in accordance with congressionally prescribed standards, and judical review of the findings.[59] The state statute, on the other hand, offers no protection other than the right to defend a criminal prosecution for failing to register.[60] While this may be relevant in determining whether the state registration statutes stand as "an obstacle to the accomplishment and execution of the full purposes and objectives of Congress,"[61] here, too, the congressional policy of protecting the individual is not so apparent as in the Davidowitz case.

18. Hines v. Davidowitz, 312 U.S. 52, 67 (1941).
19. See Note, 60 HARV. L. REV. 262 (1946); Braden, "Umpire to the Federal System," 10 U. of Chi. L. REV. 27 (1942).
20. E.g., Sinnot v. Davenport, 22 How. 227, 243 (U.S. 1859): " ... in the application of this principle of supremacy of an act of Congress in a case where the State law is but the exercise of a reserved power, the repugnance or conflict should be direct and positive, so that the two acts could not be reconciled or consistently stand together .... "
21. E.g., Southern Ry. v. Reid, 222 U.S. 424 (1912).
22. E.g., Hill v. Florida ex rel. Watson, 325 U.S. 538 (1945)
23. E.g., Cloverleaf Butter Co. v. Patterson, 315 U.S. 148 (1942)
24. See Note, 60 HARV. L. REV. 262, 265 (1946).
25. Charlestown & W.C. Ry. v. Varnville Furniture Co., 237 U.S. 597, 604 (1915).
26. California v. Zook, 336 U.S. 724 (1949)
27. Id. at 730
28. See Note, 60 HARV. L. REV. 262, 266 (1946).
29. California v. Zook, 336 U.S. 724, 729 (1949).

The state registration requirements are also open to the objection that they impose a double burden of registration on those subject to the federal law. While coincidence of regulation has not proved fatal where the federal and state statutes are merely prohibitory in nature,[62] there may be greater reluctance to sustain legislation which requires some affirmative action, particularly where the legislation deals with the personal freedom of the individuals regulated.[63] Moreover, this double burden seems unnecessary. The state registration statutes serve no independent purpose since any information yielded by the federal registration program is readily available to state officials.[64]

Conclusion. -- In the absence of a well-defined "constitutional yardstick,"[65] it is hard to predict what disposition the Supreme Court will make of claims that recent state legislation dealing with subversive activity is in conflict with federal law. The resolution of problems of federal supremacy appears to have been made largely on an ad hoc basis. In recent years, however, the Court has been tolerant of local anti-subversive legislation under attack on other constitutional grounds,[66] and it is possible that it will likewise hesitate to find an irreconcilable conflict with federal law.

Since the conditions giving rise to the present attack on subversion show little sign of abating, continued pressure for legislative action at all levels of government is likely. Regardless of the constitutional validity of state laws which attempt to supplement the federal program, some consideration should be given to the practical consequences of the proposed legislation. For example, many states have enacted "little Smith Acts,"[67] corresponding to the Smith Act[68] adopted by Congress in 1940, which prohibits advocating the overthrow of the Government by force or violence.[69] While prosecutions under these statutes are probably not precluded by federal law, indiscriminate enforcement may hinder rather than aid federal counter-espionage work.[70] Such potential interference may make the wisdom of state action in certain areas questionable; but even where legislation by the states is found desirable, a concern for harmonious and efficient control of subversion would seem to require cooperation, particularly in the exchange of information, between state and federal enforcement officials.[71]

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30. PA. STAT. ANN. tit. 18, sec. 3811 (Supp. 1951); IND. ANN. STAT. sec. 10-5204 (Burns Supp. 1951); MASS. ANN. LAWS c. 264, sec. 16A, 17-19 (Supp. 1951).
The Massachusetts statute apparently is intended to accomplish this result. The statute prohibits membership in a subversive organization and provides a judicial proceeding for determining which organizations come within that defined group. To that extent it is similar to the statutes grouped in note 33 infra. However, the Communist Party is declared "subversive", perhaps indicating that no judicial proceeding is necessary for the Communist Party. Since the property of "subversive organizations" is to be escheated to the state, this may be unconstitutional as a bill of attainder. See Wormuth, Legislative Disqualifications as Bills of Attainder, 4 VAND. L. REV. 603 (1951); Norville, Bill of Attainder---A Rediscovered Weapon Against Discriminatory Legislation, 26 ORE. L. REV. 78 (1947).

31. For a list of cities having ordinances which "outlaw" the Communist Party, see Sutherland, Freedom and Internal Security, 64 HARV. L. REV. 383, 388 n.25 (1951).

32. The Indiana statute defines the Communist Party as including the "Communist political party as it presently exists" and any other organization advocating the overthrow of the government by force or violence. IND. ANN. STAT. sec. 10-5203 (Burns Supp. 1951). The Pennsylvania statute has a similar definition. PA. STAT. ANN. tit. 18, sec. 3811 (Supp. 1951).

33. Md. Laws 1949, c. 86, sec. 5; N.H. Laws 1951, c. 193, sec. 5. As yet, no proceeding has been commenced against the Communist Party in either state. Letter from O. Bowie Duckett, Special Assistant Attorney General of Maryland, October 3, 1952; Letter from John N. Nassikas, Assistant Attorney General of New Hampshire, September 24, 1952.

34. 65 STAT. 987 (1950), 50 U.S.C. sec. 781 et seq. (Supp. 1952).

35. 64 STAT. 992 (1950), 50 U.S.C. sec. 783(f) (Supp. 1952) (emphasis added).

36. A guide to the legislative materials concerning the Internal Security Act is given in EMERSON AND HABER, POLITICAL AND CIVIL RIGHTS IN THE UNITED STATES 595-96 (1952).

37. The phrase was first suggested during the debate in the House. 96 CONG. REC. 13761 (1950).

38. 96 CONG. REC. 13739 (1950); Sutherland, Freedom and Internal Security, 64 HARV. L. REV. 383, 407 n. 116 (1951).

39. United States v. Murdock, 284 U.S. 141 (1931). This limitation on the privilege may not be applied where the purpose of the federal inquiry is to aid state law enforcement. United States v. DiCarlo, 102 F. Supp. 597 (N.D. Ohio 1952), 66 HARV. L. REV. 186.

40. Cf. Hines v. Davidowitz, 312 U.S. 52 (1941).
41. H.R.REP. No. 2980, 81st Cong., 2d Sess. 5 (1950).
42. 64 STAT. 993 (1950), 50 U.S.C. sec. 786 (Supp. 1952).
43. See McCarran, The Internal Security Act of 1950, 12 U. OF PITT. L. REV. 481 (1951).
44. See 96 CONG. REC. 13760 (1950); N.Y. Times, June 9, 1950, p. 1, col. 4.
45. The only reason given by some members of the House committee for not outlawing the Communist Party was the belief that this action would be unconstitutional. 96 CONG. REC. 13731 (1950); H.R. REP. NO. 2980, 81st Cong., 2d Sess. 5 (1950).
46. Cf. Cloverleaf Butter Co. v Patterson, 315 U.S. 148 (1942).
47. The Communist Party has refused to register. In 1950 a proceeding to compel its registration was instituted before the Subversive Activities Control Board under sec. 13 of the Act. See EMERSON AND HABER, POLITICAL AND CIVIL RIGHTS IN THE UNITED STATES 596 (1952). A two-member panel of the Board has recommended that the full Board issue an order requiring the Communist Party to register as a "Communist-action organization". N.Y. Times, Oct. 21, 1952, p. 12, col. 2.
48. MICH. STAT. ANN. sec. 29.243 (15) (Supp. 1952); TEX REV. CIV. STAT. ANN. art. 6889-3 (Supp. 1952).
49. For a compilation of municipal ordinances, see Sutherland, Freedom and Internal Security, 64 HARV. L. REV. 383, 388 n.25 (1951). Several of these local ordinances have been held unconstitutional. See EMERSON AND HABER, op. cit. supra note 47, at 599.
50. 312 U.S. 52 (1941).
51. Id. at 63.
52. 106 F. Supp. 635 (E.D.MICH. 1952) probable jurisdiction noted, 21 U.S.L. WEEK 3128 (U.S.NOV. 10, 1952) (No. 384).
53. MICH. STAT. ANN. sec. 28.243 (15) (Supp.1952).
54. 106 F. Supp. at 641.
55. "Any organization which is substantially directed, dominated or controlled by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, or its satellites, or which in any manner advocates, or acts to further, the world communist movement." MICH. STAT. ANN. sec. 28.243(13) (Supp. 1952).
56. 106 F. Supp. at 649.
57. The federal act did not require aliens to carry registration cards as did the state law and registration was to be conducted at post offices rather than police stations. See 312 U.S. at 57, 73 (1941).
58. 64 STAT. 998 (1950), 50 U.S.C. sec. 792 (Supp. 1952).
59. 64 STAT. 1001 (1950), 50 U.S.C. sec. 793 (Supp. 1952).
60. See 106 F. Supp. at 650.
61. Hines v. Davidowitz, 312 U.S. 52, 67 (1941).
62. See Grant, The Lanza Rule of Successive Prosecutions, 32 COL. L. REV. 1309 (1932); cf. California v. Zook, 336 U.S. 724 (1949).
63. Cf. Hines v. Davidowitz, 312 U.S. 52, 68 (1941).
64. 64 STAT. 996 (1950), 50 U.S.C. sec 788(b) (Supp. 1952).
65. Hines v. Davidowitz, 312 U.S. 52, 67 (1941).
66. Adler v. Board of Educ., 342 U.S. 485 (1952); Garner v. Los Angeles, 341 U.S. 716 (1951); Gerende v. Board of Supervisors, 341 U.S. 56 (1951).
67. EMERSON AND HABER, POLITICAL AND CIVIL RIGHTS IN THE UNITED STATES 463 (1952
68. 18 U.S.C. sec. 2385 (Supp. 1952).
69. The Act also prohibits organizing or helping to organize any society of persons which advocates the overthrow of any government by force or violence. Defendants in the Dennis case were indicted under both the advocacy and the organizing provision. Dennis v. United States, 341 U.S. 494 (1951). While the circuit court found that the purpose of the Communist Party was to overthrow the Government by force and violence, this finding does not prohibit membership in the Party. See statement by the Attorney General of the United States, N.Y. Times, June 5, 1951, p.1, col. 1. Prosecutions to date under the Smith Act have been limited to a small fraction of the total membership, and some recent prosecutions have been dismissed on the ground that mere active membership in the Communist Party does not constitute a violation of the Smith Act. N.Y.Times, Sept. 24, 1952, p. 5, col. 1.
70. It is possible for an untimely arrest by state officials to disrupt federal investigations. Consider the following statement by J. Edgar Hoover: "The Federal Bureau of Investigation has operated on the premise that we should first find out who the spies are who are working against our national welfare, and then, carefully keeping them under scrutiny, ascertain their sources of information, the identity of their associates, their methods of communication, and finally actually taking over the supervision of the spy ring until the time comes to take them into custody. In other words, we have followed the practice of counterespionage, namely spying on the spies." LOWENTHAL, THE FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION 439 (1950).

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71. In some states, attorneys general are given express authority to cooperate with other enforcement agencies. E.g., MICH. STAT. ANN. sec. 28.243 (Supp. 1951). The Eastern Region of the Association of Attorneys General has asked its national Association to investigate the desirability of a uniform subversive activities statute to implement federal legislation. The resolution also suggested that a procedure be established for the reciprocal exchange of information regarding subversive activities among the states and federal agencies. Letter from John N. Nassikas, Assistant Attorney General of New Hampshire, Sept. 24, 1952.

THE WASHINGTON POST
Sunday, March 22, 1953

On Freedom to Teach, to Learn and to Think

Text of an address by Dr. George N. Shuster, president of Hunter College, at the fifth Conference on Civil Liberties held here Thursday by the National Civil Liberties Clearing House.

EVERY KIND of freedom is important because freedom is the currency in which justice is meted out to men. And what is justice? We say that is the respect which is paid by the conscience of mankind to those rights without which a human being would cease to be human. Or we may declare that justice is the area of social, economic, intellectual and religious independence which government concedes to the individual because it is the government of a civilized people.

European democracies tend to stress the second affirmation. Anglo-Saxon democracies are committed to a bill of rights. But a modern dictator is not a devotee of either principle. He denies that John Doe has any rights, and he is persuaded that the independence of the individual must be curbed, if not abrogated, in the interest of collectivist ambitions.

And when, as in our time, he has so large a part of the world in his thrall, grave doubts will arise as to whether the independence traditionally conceded to the individual in freedom-loving states is not a luxury difficult to justify in a harsh world. For do not the dictators forge mass battering rams of such tremendous impact that a free society, which unavoidably moves in several ideological directions at the same time, loses its ability to resist and to prevail in the struggle?

WHENEVER and wherever such moods are prevalent, academic freedom is likely to be endangered.

For it is, first of all, the ultimate source from which differences of allegiance and committment arise. If those who give instruction were to teach the same things, no doubt most people would tend to agree about the vast majority of things; and so, in moments when concurrence seems desirable, groups will appear which are indignant at scholarly dissent.

Why, they will say for example, should any professor question the value of free enterprise?

Nor will the right to intellectual inquiry be widely respected or well understood, if those who profess to exercise it stand on the lowest rung of the social scale.

Amongst us in the United States at the present time, teachers and scholars would surely be middle-class poor relations—if, of course, there were a middle class. And so why should they be kicking up fusses instead of sticking to the three Rs, which were good enough for great-grandfather Silas?

Finally, academic freedom is the crowning glory of a conscious culture. It takes for granted that mankind will regard with awe and esteem the brooding by the spirit over the eternal ground in which the roots of each separate soul are embedded. In times of stress, many lost sympathy with this kind of reflection.

Dr. George N. Shuster, the prominent Catholic layman who delivered this address, is a distinguished educator and crusader against intolerance. President of New York's Hunter College, largest public college for women in the world, since 1940, he also has been editor of the Catholic magazine Commonweal and has written several books on Germany and on Catholic theology. He has accepted a number of missions for the Government, the last one as Land Commissioner for Bavaria in 1950.

ALL THE MEMORABLE texts in the history of intellectual freedom reveal these things clearly. It will do no harm to cite once more the words which, according to Plato, Socrates used before he died:

"No evil can happen to a good man either in life or after death. Wherefore Socrates will not be angry with his condemners, although they meant him anything but good. He will only ask all of them to do to the sons of Socrates what Socrates has done to them."

Nothing one could now say about intellectual freedom could have the luminous pertinence of those words. Why can no harm come to a good man? Because concordance has been established between the conscience and the Good. The only wrong one could do the conscience would be to cause it to assent to evil. It is from this faith, held sacrificially and resolutely, that the greater part of what is significant and abiding in the tradition of Western thought takes its origin.

A second text slices through the ages like a knife: "Give to Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and to God the things that are God's." However secular one's awareness of this dichotomy may have become, it is expressed nakedly, elementally and permanently in this great command. The state has claims upon us all, and they are valid claims. But when it crosses the threshold of the conscience, it does wrong.

THEREFORE the first thing to say about academic freedom is that it will endure only as long as those who profess to have a right to it stand ready to pay any price for it which may be exacted. The teacher is one in whom this freedom is incarnate; and as soon as he indicates that he wishes it were not so, or that he should like to hide under some convenient bushel, there will no longer be any good reason why others should defend the heritage for him.

To be sure, silence and a measure of feigned conformity will be necessary under tyranny. Honest men may have to eat the bitter bread of exile. But compromise with evil they dare not.

If, in a nation like ours, there should exist widespread fear of criticism, and much supine acceptance of gags, it might well indicate that many had so fallen in love with security, and were so deeply entrenched behind the walls of tenure, that their sovereign interest no longer was conscience but conformity.

Let us hope that this will never by the case. I am not ready to say, as Carl Friedrich does, that the freedom to seek intellectual truth is akin to the freedom to profess a religious faith. But certainly they have both grown up in the same neighborhood. When one is imperiled, the other likewise is.

AND SO IT IS necessary to find out to precisely what academic freedom commits us in the circumstances now obtaining; and this is not at all easy.

First of all, it is not true that academic institutions place no resrictions on what may be said inside or outside the classroom. Every such institution has its code of manners and ethics, and its own way of enforcing this code. No reputable college or university employs irresponsible crackpots or purveyors of venom; and if it unwittingly does so, it finds ways and means of disposing of the nuisance quietly and effectively. That there are some exceptions to this rule, as usual proves the rule.

It is when faculty members emerge from their studies and address public opinions as a whole that the situation changes. And at present our difficulties are partly the result of the fact that during recent years many scholars, particularly in the field of the social sciences, have led dual lives. They have been members of the academic community and thereby pledged to the search for truth and its dissemination, but they have also gone into public life, have helped to form national policy, and have thereby accepted responsibilities wholly different from those incumbent upon members of a university faculty.

It is surely obvious that a public servant is accountable to the public. One cannot urge that he be immune to inquiry because he happens to be a scholar. To be sure, I think that the kind of criticism to which many who endeavor to serve the United States are now often subjected, and the barbs of which I have myself felt, will gradually dampen the ardor of men of integrity to assist their government, unless something is speedily done to insure that the discussion of such factors as loyalty will be conducted in a spirit of temperateness and fairness.

This is, however, a problem which does not concern us here and now.

(over)

WHEN GOVERNMENT takes a fateful step farther, crosses into the domain of the university in any of its branches, whether collegiate or graduate, and proceeds to look into and adjudge what is thought and taught there, a totally different situation has been created.

Note that such an inquisition has nothing to do with examinging into whether wise and acceptable social regulations are being enforced — for example, whether an institution is maintaining the standards which its charter requires, or whether admissions practices confirm with statutes designed to prevent discrimination on the basis of race or creed. These derive from the legitimate police power of the state; and though a university may not relish them, it can launch no complaint against them in justice.

But the sovereign independence of academic scholarship, in all its ramifications, in every matter affecting freedom of thought, speech and assembly within the university is so well established in sound tradition that any abrogation of that independence by government may well be as grave a violation of liberty as any with which the public can be concerned.

Certainly the great universities of the West have been immune to such invasions save during times of tyranny, even when the countries in which they are established possess no constitutional bill of rights.

SOME OF THOSE who now profess to favor an inquiry into the American university concede these things but go on to say that the detection and exposure of agents of subversion is a proper function of the Government, and that, therefore, the academic professions should welcome investigations which will ferret out such agents.

This contention has validity, beyond doubt or cavil. Agents of subversion are wholly undesirable crows, seeking to get into robins' nests on evil missions. The question merely is whether one ought to chop down the tree in order to find the crow. It seems to me personally, despite a satisfactory measure of antipathy to communism, that certain current arguments in favor of dismissing adherents of that pernicious doctrine from their posts are open to serious question.

To hold, for example, that a Communist is so strongly committed to a view of life that he has lost freedom to think freely may well be to invite the retort that a philosopher who finds all wisdom in Spinoza, or John Dewey or St. Thomas, is also committed and therefore not free.

And if one follows this reasoning far enough one will come to the conclusion, which some unfortunately already indorse, that the only free person is one who, like the nobleman in Chesterton's "Magic," believes in nothing and everything at the same time.

No, it is only if the Communist, by reason of his readiness to conspire against the Government and the people of the United States, constitutes a clear and present danger that one can safely proceed against him in the spirit of our traditions.

THEREWITH one enters the realm of the law, which is one of the primary concerns of the university, and which is both jurisprudence in the technical sense and a code of social ethics made explicit through the study of history, political science and philosophy.

And it often sorely troubles the responsible educator that, as matters now stand, the law about Communists is nebulous and inchoate. How shall he solve puzzles such as this: A teacher can be dismissed from his post for refusing to say whether he has ever been a Communist, even though it is entirely legal for him to be a Communist.

Or again, while a duly established board of inquiry cannot deprive an individual of the right to seek refuge in the Fifth Amendment, the university, as that individual's employer, is expected to do so by ousting him.

To many on the campus, regardless of their hostility to Stalin, such procedures seem indefensible. Students in particular are sorely puzzled. And it may well be that, as a result, Communists receive a greater measure of sympathy than most of us realize.

All these difficulties can be disposed of quickly if the Communist Party is declared illegal. For then the university, presented with evidence that a faculty member is guilty, can act promptly and unhesitatingly.

It has been argued that, if banned, the party would go underground. We may properly ask, "Where is it now?" At best, such a contention is based on expediency, and the answer to it is that the end never justifies the means.

Banning any political party is, however, not an action to be taken lightly. We might well follow the example of the West German Federal Republic and write into our basic law a constitutional amendment conferring on the Supreme Court authority to decide whether any political organization, normally entitled to freedom of speech and assembly, constitutes a clear and present danger and is therefore to be outlawed.

IT MAY BE that what has been said will appear too cautious and considerate. Perhaps you will permit me to say in defense of my position that as a citizen who had an almost unprecedented opportunity to observe, with horror and loathing, the rise to power in Europe of brutal totalitarian movements, I have become at once so deeply attached to American traditions of justice and liberty and so persuaded that free social institutions crumble because of erosive concessions made in the name of expediency, that there may be perhaps some slight value of experience in my conviction that the best way to safeguard the American future is to conserve with rigorous care the American past.

If the Communist problem were disposed of, difficulties would remain but they would not be of central importance. Yet it may be useful to consider two correlary situations.

First, there is the present muggy intellectual climate. During nearly two decades, from the crash of 1929 to the blockade of Berlin in 1948, the Communist "popular front" mustered a great deal of sympathy and support in this country. It was aided by developments abroad as well as at home, ranging from the Spanish Civil War to the treatment accorded minorities.

On many campuses, as in numerous other walks of life, anyone who opposed, not the good causes which the "front" allegedly supported but any political objective of world communism, speedily became a pariah. The "front" respected no one's good name, and shied away from no device of dragooning public opinion.

As a result, those who were, in one manner or other, taken in by it are now on the defensive. It is difficult and often perilous for them to admit publicly that they unwittingly contributed, in however slight a measure, to the present debacle of civilization.

On the other hand, those who were targets during the heyday of amity for the Soviet Union now sometimes take a human, all too human, delight in taunting or exposing their erstwhile tormentors. Some defend Communists out of a probably subconscious desire to rid themselves of blame. Others devote the silence of the night to thanking Heaven for Senator McCarthy.

The saddening result is that we are not learning in amity what so badly needs to be learned—that emotions, however reputable, are not substitutes for reason and knowledge in the conduct of human affairs.

SECOND, there are the lower schools with problems of their own, growing out of quite natural restrictions on the freedom of teaching which result from the fact that young children do not to any significant extent, participate in discussion and therewith in the process of inquiry.

They are, inevitably, "indoctrinated;" and because the teaching supplied by the school supplements that imparted in the home, there is always a great deal of anxious watching by parents to discern whether the public school in particular is undermining cherished family mores.

Thus, although the majority of parents desire some religious instruction for their children, they insist that it be of the variety to which they themselves subscribe. Consequently, the public school, avoiding the teaching of religion as it would the plague, nevertheless finds itself urged to sing a stanza of "America" or to read selected passages from the Bible.

Such limitations and compromises are no doubt prudent. But a totally different situation arises when the training of children for intelligent citizenship is hampered by pressure-groups anxious to suppress points of view, topics, and books which do not reflect their prejudices.

THE SORRY spectacles we are witnessing in this or that part of the land are waves moving out of the center of the great shock which is the central phenomenon of our time.

One can scarce believe that actions reported from Pasadena and elsewhere are not mere pranks executed by an imaginative jester. But they are in all truth, real, startling, and deplorable.

Nevertheless, I am sure that the American people is, insofar as the great issues of academic freedom are concerned, far better than is often thought.

I think we as a Nation have learned, in the aftermath of many turbulent tides of immigration, that Providence intended ours should be a society having many divergent and conflicting commitments, unified by a strong belief in justice for all.

That, for example, so many of us are earnestly and devotedly concerned that the Negro should at last have a chance to walk upward toward the light is surely a fair sample of the real intent of the people.

AND SO I AM CERTAIN that we have only to offer a workable program for the maintenance of academic freedom in order to secure adequate support. Such a program might perhaps be:

First, a clear recognition in the Nation's law of the fact that the Communist Party is an aggregation of conspirators and their abettors, and therefore a clear and present danger, will make it possible to deal with academic members of that party on the basis of well defined principle, rather than of popular sentiment or of legal expediency.

Second, the aberrations of "Communist Popular Front" days should be forgotten, in the confident assumption that by doing so we shall win time for more important tasks as well as for the reconciliation of Americans.

Third, I believe that Senator McCarthy is, as a public servant, entitled to do anything he can to expose what he assumes to be subversive influences. No useful purpose is served by throwing back at him the epithets he bestows on others. But I would remind you that the university has always been a forum in the presence of which the lords of the passing hour are subjected to scrutiny.

No doubt, the time has come to ask on what meat this our Caesar has fed, and to review his activities with the utmost objectivity, calm and chilly resolution, so that an authoritative report can be made to the people. I fancy that the day on which the Senator is summoned before the bar of American history and social science will be not the least revealing of his career.

FOURTH, we shall hope that the sentiment of the Nation will indicate to the Congress what a grave departure from tradition is implied in an investigation by it of what is taught and by whom, so long as legislation adequate to deal with subversives is not ignored by the university.

Fifth, that we muster every energy to repel incursions by pressure-groups into the domain of schools and colleges, and insist that only duly constituted school boards and faculties have jurisdiction.

Sixth, that we reaffirm the growing conviction that teachers cannot distance themselves with impunity from the courtesy which demands that the classroom is not a place to which young people repair in order to be subjected to narrowly prejudiced attacks on the races and creeds to which they belong.

Seventh, that we study painstakingly and disseminate as widely as possible the great texts in which the tradition of academic freedom is enshrined, so that the people may know and understand.

For my part, I have no doubt that if such a program were adopted and vigorously defended, this Nation would have a new birth of freedom and therewith an added reason for believing that, in these perilous and bitter days, it can defend the bastions of its national spirit as successfully as it is at present safeguarding the fringes of the world which God has so far spared from servility and intellectual death.

REPRINTED FROM **The Washington Post** SUNDAY, APRIL 5, 1953

A Velde Committee 'File' Dissected

WHEN Chairman Harold H. Velde (R.-Ill.) recently indicated the possibility that his House Committee on Un-American Activities might investigate alleged subversion among America's churches and churchmen, one of the first to denounce the idea was G. Bromley Oxnam, Methodist Bishop of Washington.

Soon thereafter, Rep. Donald L. Jackson, a member of the committee, came to Velde's defense in a House speech on March 17. In the course of his address, he assailed Bishop Oxnam in one of the most violent attacks on a clergyman ever made in Congress.

"Bishop Oxnam has been to the Communist front what Man O' War was to thoroughbred racing," Jackson said. He went on to describe Bishop Oxnam as a man who "served God on Sunday and the Communist front for the balance of the week."

Jackson then added: "If reprinting Bishop Oxnam's record of aid and comfort to the Communist front would serve any useful purpose, I would ask permission to insert it here, but suffice it to say that the record is available to any member who cares to request it from the (House Un-American Activities) Committee."

Two days later, Rep. Jackson declined to make public this information that he said was available. In response to a request for it, he wrote: "The detailed documentation is very voluminous and would be much too lengthy to include in a letter of this kind. However, in general, Bishop Oxnam is alleged to have been associated in the past with the following groups and organizations which have been cited as subversive and Communist." He then listed 12 agencies which were mentioned in Bishop Oxnam's file.

The Washington Post believed that reprinting the committee record would in fact serve a useful purpose, to see if it was one "of aid and comfort to the Communist front," to determine just what the "detailed documentation" and "very voluminous" record was, how accurate it was, and whether Bishop Oxnam did have associations with the cited organizations.

The newspaper obtained the committee file and submitted it to Bishop Oxnam for

Comment on Item No. 1

I did deliver an address at the Indiana State Reformatory, entitled, "International Understanding as a Basis for World Peace." It was delivered at a time, if I recall correctly, when the oil issue in Mexico was current and the question of using military force was being discussed.

The important thing in this connection is that this paragraph should not be in the files of the committee; there is no reference here to any subversive organization. Nor is there any subversive idea expressed. My statement will stand moral scrutiny and is in keeping with the best traditions of this land.

Item No. 2

A LETTERHEAD of the League for the Organization of Progress dated February 2, 1931, reflects the name of G. Bromley Oxman, president of De Pauw University, as a member of the board. The League for the Organization of Progress has never been cited as a front organization. It was an international organization founded in Paris in 1912, with headquarters in Bern, Switzerland. The American office was located at Yellow Springs, Ohio. The league has long been out of existence.

Comment on Item No. 2

The paragraph itself states that the organization was never cited as a front group. Why, then, does it appear here? Actually, the league was founded in 1912 by such men as Thomas Masaryk, later President of Czechoslovakia; Ramsay MacDonald, later British Prime Minister, and Edouard Herriot, later French Prime Minister. It was composed of scholars and political leaders, and dedicated to deepening international understanding, strengthening international cooperation and maintaining the free way of life. Its publications had a distinguished list of contributors, including Sir Gilbert Murray of Oxford, F. W. Taussig of Harvard, Quincy Wright of Chicago and Irving Fisher of Yale.

Item No. 3

A LETTERHEAD of the National Re-

was organized in 1915 and is the American section of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation. Organized under the alleged motive to reconcile people, it maintains that class war is necessary and that all must work for the reorganization of society, and replace the present system of individual capitalism by collective ownership. The public records and files of this committee contain no further reference to any affiliation of Bishop Oxnam with the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

Comment on Item No. 4

The organization is, I believe, an absolute pacifist group. I have never held the absolute pacifist view and therefore could not have belonged to such a group. I was never a member and never signed any statement put out by it. In any case, the two paragraphs are quite irrelevant, since the Fellowship is not listed as subversive and as far as I know has never been cited as such by any Government agency.

Item No. 5

A LETTERHEAD of the Committee on Militarism in Education, dated October 1, 1935, reflects the name of Bromley Oxnam as a member of its national council. Kirby Page, a member of the national council, testified before the Special Committee on Un-American Activities on June 15, 1943. He stated that the Committee on Militarism in Education was opposed to military education in civilian schools. The following is quoted from a letter of the Committee on Militarism in Education dated September 22, 1930.

". . . Militarism in education goes on, accumulating power and tradition, aided by War Department money and resources . . . by propaganda, glorified by every device of military romance in literally hundreds of American colleges, universities and high schools, building that blind, unreasoning, emotional response of military symbols which has so often swayed and deceived men in a crisis. Against this glorification of the military method and machine, the peace movement has accomplished little as yet. The spearhead of the struggle against militarism in schools and colleges has been this committee. It has waged peace with intelligence and courage, showing not only the zeal of the peace advocate but the sound methods of the social scientist. Specializing on this one issue, it occupies a unique

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Assistant Atty. General and Mrs. Thurman W. Arnold
Senator Arthur Capper
Senator Theodore F. Green
Senator Joseph F. Guffey
Senator Kenneth McKellar
Senator and Mrs. Claude D. Pepper
Van Wyck Brooks
Major George Fielding Eliot
Professor Albert Einstein
James W. Gerard
William Green
Sidney Hillman
Mr. and Mrs. Thomas W. Lamont
Thomas Mann
Frederic March
Robert A. Millikan
Philip Murray
Paul Robeson
Edward G. Robinson
Dorothy Thompson
William Allen White
Owen D. Young

November 9,1942

My dear Bishop Oxnam,

On behalf of the committee, I should like to take this opportunity to thank you for the inspiring message that you delivered, and for your cooperation in helping to make our meeting so successful.

MAYOR AND MRS.
MAURICE J. TOBIN

GOVERNOR AND MRS.
LEVERETT SALTONSTALL

—

PARTIAL LIST OF SPONSORS

Dr. and Mrs. Hugh Cabot
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Prof. and Mrs. Pitirim Sorokin
Elihu D. Stone
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In November, 1942, when Bishop Oxnam spoke at a Boston meeting sponsored by the Congress of American-Soviet Friendship, he "thought he was in good company." A letterhead of the organization at that time shows why.

Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam as a national sponsor.

Comment on Item No. 7

It is quite true that my sympathies were with the Republicans in Spain. I abhor the Franco regime just as I abhor the Stalin regime in Russia and opposed wherever I could the Hitler regime and the Mussolini regime.

I did authorize my name to be included in what I think was called the Inter-Faith Division of the American Committee for Spanish Freedom. If it was originally Communist-sponsored I did not know it, but I did subsequently resign when it be-

name of Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam as chairman of the executive board.

The Washington Daily News of April 7, 1947, contains a news item concerning the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship. In the article, the name of Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam is listed as one who had withdrawn from the organization. The date of Bishop Oxnam's withdrawal is not mentioned.

Comment on Item No. 10

On November 8, 1942, I addressed a Boston meeting known as "Salute to Our Russian Ally." Among the

Item No. 12

The Citizens Victory Committee for Harry Bridges issued an undated press release in regard to an open letter addressed to President Roosevelt by more than 300 clergymen throughout the country, urging that the deportation order against Harry Bridges be set aside. The letter, dated April 22, 1943, and signed by the Right Rev. Edward L. Parsons, states, in part: "Clearly, Mr. Bridges has aroused the animosity of an influential minority because of his successful union activities and his so-

to the Communist front would serve any useful purpose, I would ask permission to insert it here, but suffice it to say that the record is available to any member who cares to request it from the (House Un-American Activities) Committee."

Two days later, Rep. Jackson declined to make public this information that he said was available. In response to a request for it, he wrote: "The detailed documentation is very voluminous and would be much too lengthy to include in a letter of this kind. However, in general, Bishop Oxnam is alleged to have been associated in the past with the following groups and organizations which have been cited as subversive and Communist." He then listed 12 agencies which were mentioned in Bishop Oxnam's file.

The Washington Post believed that reprinting the committee record would in fact serve a useful purpose, to see if it was one "of aid and comfort to the Communist front," to determine just what the "detailed documentation" and "very voluminous" record was, how accurate it was, and whether Bishop Oxnam did have associations with the cited organizations.

The newspaper obtained the committee file and submitted it to Bishop Oxnam for his comment. His reply, printed below, reproduces the committee file in full (except for a summary condensation of one newspaper article).

In 40 years of work in the Methodist Church, Bishop Oxnam has been Bishop of Omaha, Boston, New York and now Washington. He has held, among other high clerical positions, that of president of the Federal Council of Churches. He is now one of the presidents of the World Council of Churches.

By G. Bromley Oxnam

Methodist Bishop of Washington

IN referring to my file in the House Committee on Un-American Activities, but in not disclosing it, Rep. Jackson deftly invited his colleagues and Americans in general to draw the most sinister conclusions about me. Yet at the same time he provided no evidence or data for them to examine objectively or for me to comment upon, explain or refute if I could.

Fortunately, The Washington Post has secured the dossier on me in the House Un-American Activities Committee and has given it to me for comment. What follows is the committee file, which I have divided into numbered items, and my response in setting forth the facts.

Item No. 1

THE Washington Star of February 10, 1930, carries a news item datelined Indiana State Reformatory, February 9. The article refers to a speech made by Dr. G. Bromley Oxnam, president of De Pauw University, to the inmates of the reformatory. Dr. Oxnam is reported as decrying the practice of nations in entering into secret treaties, and declaring that the slogan of "America First" must be interpreted as meaning America first in world service, and not "to be the first to go into Mexico to steal oil lands."

Comment on Item No. 1

I do not recall the exact phrasing of my remarks at the Indiana State Reformatory, but I do recall that I was there at the invitation of the inmates and that I was received with the greatest courtesy and kindness. I do recall that I did say that we must be the first in world service if we are to be worthy of our heritage, and that we must be the first to outlaw the secret diplomacy which has plunged the world into war. I recall that I said that we must be the first to outlaw the traffic in munitions and the first to cancel the debts which our boys were paying with their blood, and that we must be the first to feed the hungry and heal the sick of the world if we are to be worthy of our heritage. I recall that I said that we must be the first to do justice to our Negro citizens if we are to be worthy of our heritage. I recall that I said that we must be the first to abolish the poll tax if we are to be worthy of our heritage. I recall that I said that we must be the first to see that every child in America has the right to an education if we are to be worthy of our heritage. I recall that I said that we must be the first to see that every man has the right to a job if we are to be worthy of our heritage. I recall that I said that we must be the first to see that every farmer has the right to a market for his produce if we are to be worthy of our heritage. I recall that I said that we must be the first to see that every child in America has the right to a fair chance if we are to be worthy of our heritage. I recall that I said that we must be the first to see that every man has the right to a fair trial if we are to be worthy of our heritage. I recall that I said that we must be the first to see that every man has the right to a fair wage if we are to be worthy of our heritage. I recall that I said that we must be the first to see that every man

The Citizen 'Can Be Damaged Without Redress'

there was not any evidence that the American Civil Liberties Union was a Communist organization . . . So far as the chair is concerned . . . here is an organization that the committee has already said is not a Communist organization."

Again, on February 17, 1952, in a document issued by the House Un-American Activities Committee, the statement is made: "The American Civil Liberties Committee has never been cited as Red-dominated, or as Communist, by any official organization charged with the duty of investigating subversive activity."

Thus we have the fantastic situation of the House Un-American Activities Committee using material from another committee (the Fish Committee), apparently for purposes of discrediting me, when its official record has come to precisely the opposite conclusion about the organization in question. For purposes of denouncing me, the American Civil Liberties Committee is characterized as a Red-front organization in the files of the very committee which has twice declared that the organization is no such thing.

Item No. 14

THE letterhead of the American Committee for Spanish Freedom dated January 21, 1946, reflects the name of Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam as a sponsor.

Comment on Item No. 14

See comment under Item 7 above.

Item No. 15

A LETTERHEAD of the Methodist Federation for Social Service dated October 4, 1928, reflects the name of G. Bromley Oxnam as executive secretary, while another letterhead of the same organization dated April 12, 1946, reflects the name of G. Bromley Oxnam as a member of the executive committee.

The Bureau County Republican (otherwise unidentified) of May 18, 1939, carries a front-page story concerning the Methodist Federation for Social Services.

[The article is then quoted in full. Too long for reproduction here, its pertinent points are:

[At a meeting of the Federation in Kansas City in May, 1939, Oxnam was one of the five bishops who "endorsed the Federation's platform for the overthrow of the present capitalistic system in the United States and favored its replacement with a social planning order." Pamphlets of the Federation circulated at the meeting "declare that under the new social order, private ownership of property is to come to an end. Under their system, there are to be no capitalists. Private property . . . is to be taken over without compensation to the owners."

[Oxnam said he thoroughly endorses the Federation and the thing it stands for. He read from the masthead of the Federation's literature a statement of the Federation's purposes, declaring:

["(The Federation) rejects the method of the struggle for profit as the economic basis for society; (and) seeks to replace it with social-economic planning in order to

profit as the economic base for society and seeks to replace it with social-economic planning to develop a society without class or group discriminations and privileges."

I personally objected to this in writing to Dr. Ward. I stated that this was pledging the Federation to a particular economic program, and that I did not think it became a religious organization to be so pledged. I do not believe in identifying the Gospel with a particular economic, political or social system.

This marked the beginning of a fundamental difference of opinion, as far as I was concerned, within the organization. I opposed Dr. Ward's proposed statement at the 1932 General Conference of the Methodist Church. There was a debate and floor fight, and Dr. Ward's position failed to carry.

Later, however, it was the turn of the group with which I was associated to fail. With the comnig of Rev. Jack McMichael to the executive secretaryship of the Federation, its publications became less factual and more propagandistic. When I took up my work in the New York area in 1944, I found myself in growing disagreement with the Federation's activities. I believed that the only answer to the problem was to create an official Commission on Social Service. At a New York meeting of a chapter of the Federation, I took its bulletins and showed how irresponsible they had become. I particularly objected to the continual misrepresentation in them of John Foster Dulles, Toyohito Kagawa and Martin Niemoller. Jack McMichael and others who were present were incensed by my address.

The necessary corrections were not made, despite my arguments with McMichael about their need, and the attacks on Dulles continued. I therefore resigned from the Federation and have had no relationship with it since. I do not have the date, but I should judge it was 1947 or 1948.

The House Un-American Activities Committee file on me in this connection, it should be noted, is comprised almost entirely in the reprint of the article in the Bureau County Republican, which the committee does not identify. Actually, it is a small paper published in Princeton, Ill. Why this little paper should give its front-page story to a meeting of the Federation in Kansas City no one knows. Whether a reporter was present at the meeting or not, the reporting is so inaccurate as to reveal journalism at its lowest level. This is not reporting; it is deliberate falsification.

The statement that I "endorsed the Federation's platform for the overthrow of the present capitalistic system in the United States" is absolutely false.

Also, I categorically deny the statement that I read aloud and endorsed the masthead of the Federation's literature denouncing the profit motive. I was not in favor of this part of the Federation's program, and had opposed it, as stated above.

As for being trained by Dr. Ward and taking dictation from him, the facts are that I had done secretarial work for Dr. Ward and took the dictation of his little book, "Poverty and Wealth," which was a Sunday School textbook and not a sol-

Bishop Flayed 'United Front'

IN 1935, WHEN Bishop Oxnam was writing a newspaper column, he had occasion to comment on the all-too-popular movement of the day known as "The United Front." His column may conceivably be a more accurate representation of his views than the material gathered in his House Un-American Activities Committee file. It is reprinted below.

The United Front—A Menace

AMERICANS MUST NOT accept Communist leadership in order to avoid Fascist leadership.

Communists tell us that a Fascist dictatorship is inevitable in the United States. Hence, they urge "The United Front" to combat war and fascism. By that they mean the union of socialists, liberals, pacifists, churchmen and progressives of evry stripe, for the purpose of insuring peace and resisting fascism. Heretofore, these groups have never united. In fact, they have been convinced enemies of communism. Unfortunately, many liberals who fear fascism have been duped by the idea of the United Front. Its fundamental purpose is NOT to fight fascism.

Earl Browder, secretary of the Communist Party of the United States, has revealed its menacing objective. He writes, "The United Front is not a peace pact with the reformists. The United Front is a method of struggle against the reformists, against the social-fascists, for the possession of the masses."

THE OFFICIAL ORGAN of the Communist Party of the United States, The Communist, in its January, 1935, issue stated, "The United Front is at the present time the main road along which the masses will be prepared for the struggle for Soviet power under the leadership of the Communist Party."

Intelligent Americans will denounce the proposal and seek to reveal its essential purpose. The Communist has no other purpose in the United Front program than to disrupt the American Federation of Labor and to insinuate himself into progressive movements in order to control them. Americans who are interested in maintaining the liberties of political democracy will repudiate the United Front.

Its real purpose is Divided Ranks. It is "the main road along which the masses will be prepared for the struggle." And the struggle, to use the Communist's own words, is "the violent overthrow of the whole existing capitalistic order, for the establishment of the proletariat."

The United Front is a dangerous Gift Horse.

Comment on Item No. 18

Does anyone object to the statement that we must not flirt with Franco in order to stop Stalin? Why is this recorded? Franco was an ally of Hitler. He is a Fascist dictator. I do not care to deal with him. If we need bases in Spain, we will consider that upon its military merits; but to deal with this man is to say to the peoples of the world that our objection to dictatorship and violence is not based upon a moral principle but upon expediency.

Item No. 19

THE DAILY Worker of June 22, 1949, carries a news item datelined Boston, June 21, to the effect that Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam assailed congressional witch-hunts and said:

"Free men may well be alarmed at the action of the House Un-American Activities Committee in asking for a list of textbooks used by schools and colleges. At the very moment calm and critical minds are essential, leaders in the grip of fear become hysterical and adopt procedures destructive of democracy. More time given to constructive legislation designed to demonstrate the effectiveness of dynamic democracy, and less time to character assassination, would produce greater benefits."

Comment on Item No. 19

May I ask, again, what is the objection to this statement? Does the committee believe it is beyond criticism? Does it think itself competent to pass upon textbooks in the Nation? The paragraph quoted stands on its own feet.

Item No. 20

THE WASHINGTON Evening Star of May 26, 1950, carries a news item datelined Boston, May 26. Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam is reported as calling for joint action between Protestants and Catholics to meet the onslaught of communism.

Comment on Item No. 20

Why is this included—as criticism or commendation? Is this an attempt, after first recording hearsay and false testimony in my file, to appear balanced by presenting a commendatory item?

Item No. 21

BISHOP Oxnam addressed a letter to the Committee on Un-American Activities on May 11, 1950. In it, he stated that he never belonged to the American League Against War and Fascism. He further stated he thought it would be fundamentally unfair to say he belonged to the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship wtihout saying that his affiliation with this organization was during the war, when Russia was one of our allies.

Comment on Item No. 21

If the House committee now knows that

REP. DONALD L. JACKSON
. . . the Bishop's accuser

REP. HAROLD H. VELDE
. . . the committee chairman

Item No. 24

ORGANIZATIONS and publications mentioned herein which have been

(1) Cited by the Special Committee and/or Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities;

(2) Cited by the United States Attorney General:

American Committee for Spanish Freedom (2);

American Friends of the Chinese People (1);

American League Against War and Fascism (1) and (2);

American League for Peace and Democracy (1) and (2);

Citizens Victory Committee for Harry Bridges (1) and (2);

Congress of American-Soviet Friendship (1);

Daily Worker (1);

Medical Bureau and North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy (1);

National Council of American-Soviet Friendship (1) and (2);

National Federation for Constitutional Liberties (1) and (2);

New Masses (1) and (2);

Protestant Digest (1):

Comment on Item No. 24

This is the most inexcusable and vicious section of the entire report. This list would lead a reader to believe that I have been related to the organizations listed.

From the material presented above, I think it is clear to anyone that I had no relation with the American Friends of the

Conclusions

THE DISCLOSURE above of the committee file on me invites a few conclusions on the nature of the Un-American Activities Committee's files in general.

First of all, what is a Committee file? It is obvious that it is nothing more than a collection of newspaper clippings, letterheads, letters and excerpts of speeches, etc. Clearly it can and does include any statements, true or false, that a personal enemy or crackpot may submit.

One might naively suppose that the purpose of the file was to give a Committee member some sort of indication of the true nature of the individual in question—his leanings, activities, point of view and associations in a balanced way so some informed judgment could be reached. If my file is typical, it is certain that nothing of the sort was intended; the effort was devoted almost exclusively to present me in the worst possible light, to collect all invidious references to me without any attempt to check their accuracy, and made no reference to the essential nature of my work over years, which has been public, open and easily available.

The next question is what use is made of the file. The answer is that a "research staff" selects from the file and prepares a report which, I have discovered from personal experience, is released in full or in part to citizens who request it.

It would appear that the "research staff" would be under obligation to find out whether the material selected and broadcast is true or false. But nothing of the sort takes place. When pinned down and asked explicitly, and only then, Committee members piously assert to an inquirer that the report "carries no conclusion of this Committee" and that the Committee never vouches for the correctness of any newspaper item.

This is deceit at its most vicious. What usually happens is demonstrated by the

See comment under Item 7 above.

Item No. 15

A LETTERHEAD of the Methodist Federation for Social Service dated October 4, 1928, reflects the name of G. Bromley Oxnam as executive secretary, while another letterhead of the same organization dated April 12, 1946, reflects the name of G. Bromley Oxnam as a member of the executive committee.

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[*At a meeting of the Federation in Kansas City in May, 1939, Oxnam was one of the five bishops who "endorsed the Federation's platform for the overthrow of the present capitalistic system in the United States and favored its replacement with a social planning order." Pamphlets of the Federation circulated at the meeting "declare that under the new social order, private ownership of property is to come to an end. Under their system, there are to be no capitalists. Private property . . . is to be taken over without compensation to the owners."*

[*Oxnam said he thoroughly endorses the Federation and the thing it stands for. He read from the masthead of the Federation's literature a statement of the Federation's purposes, declaring:*

["*(The Federation) rejects the method of the struggle for profit as the economic basis for society; (and) seeks to replace it with social, economic planning in order to develop a society without class distinction and privilege."*

[*Other Federation literature praises social ownership, and lauds the Soviet Union as being the only country "that has a complete social action plan."*

[*Oxnam also paid high tribute to a leading Federation figure, Dr. Harry F. Ward, was trained by him and as a student took dictation from Dr. Ward "in the writing of some of his books known to all radical readers."*]

Comment on Item No. 15

I was never executive secretary of the Federation although I was a member and served on its executive committee for many years.

The Federation was founded in 1907, but history on it in the files of the House Un-American Committee begins only in 1928. The best answer to any criticism of the Federation up to that period, or up to 1932, for that matter, is in the work of an official commission of the General Conference of the Methodist Church, which surveyed the whole field of social service and filed a unanimous report in 1932. It gave complete endorsement to the Federation and its work.

At that time, the Federation's constitution declared that its object "shall be to deepen within the Church the sense of social obligation and opportunity, to study social problems from the Christian point of view and to promote social service in the spirit of Jesus Christ."

To be referred to in the House Committee files as an officer of the Federation in 1928 in such a way as to indicate subversive interests on my part is hardly worthy of any investigating committee.

I do not recall the exact date when the purpose of the Federation referred to in the quotation just above was changed. I believe its revision was drafted by Dr. Ward. The proposed revision included a statement declaring: "The Federation rejects the method of the struggle for

tion in them of John Foster Dulles, Toyohito Kagawa and Martin Niemoller—Jack McMichael and others who were present were incensed by my address.

The necessary corrections were not made, despite my arguments with McMichael about their need, and the attacks on Dulles continued. I therefore resigned from the Federation and have had no relationship with it since. I do not have the date, but I should judge it was 1947 or 1948.

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As for being trained by Dr. Ward and taking dictation from him, the facts are that I had done secretarial work for Dr. Ward and took the dictation of his little book, "Poverty and Wealth," which was a Sunday School textbook and not a volume "known to all radical leaders."

As for the story declaring that I favored confiscation of property, the truth is I believe in private property and find the whole idea of confiscation abhorrent.

Item No. 16

THE WASHINGTON Post of November 24, 1948, page 1, carries a news item datelined Newark, N. J., regarding a speech made by Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam before the Newark Conference of the Methodist Church. Bishop Oxnam is reported to have denounced the Committee on Un-American Activities. He is quoted as saying:

"Protestants believe that the conspirators who would destroy our freedom can be ferreted out and properly punished better by the painstaking and patriotic procedures of the Federal Bureau of Investigation than by the hearsay and un-American procedures of this committee."

Bishop Oxnam was evidently referring to a pamphlet issued by the Committee on Un-American Activities entitled "100 Things You Should Know About Communism and Religion," wherein it was reported that the Methodist Federation for Social Action, while not an official church unit, is trying to use the prestige of the Methodist Church to promote the line of the Communist Party.

Comment on Item No. 16

Is it to be assumed that an American who criticizes the Committee on Un-American Activities has become subversive? Surely the committee does not think itself sacrosanct. At that time the chairman of the committee was under indictment for criminal activities, and was later convicted of them.

The paragraph of my speech that was quoted will stand scrutiny.

I was not, as it happens, referring to

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The United Front is a dangerous Gift Horse.

the pamphlet issued by the committee, "100 Things You Should Know About Communism." The full text of my speech makes it clear that I was referring to the un-American activities of the Un-American Activities Committee, which was aping totalitarian practices in a current campaign to identify Protestant churches with communism.

Item No. 17

THE WASHINGTON Star of December 8, 1948, at page 7, carries a news item datelined Buck Hills Falls, Pa., December 8, in which Bishop Oxnam is reported as having said that the House Committee on Un-American Activities is un-American itself for attempting to pin the Communist label on some churchmen and church groups. Also, Bishop Oxnam is reported as saying that such "absurd charges" are "disguised efforts to silence men on the pulpit by threatening to call them Communist."

Comment on Item No. 17

I do not have a summary of this address before me, but whether I did or did not criticize the committee has nothing to do with subversion.

Item No. 18

THE NEW York Times of February 24, 1949, pages 1 and 3, contains a news item regarding the presentation of the annual award of The Churchman to Bishop Oxnam. It was reported that Bishop Oxnam said that the United States must not flirt with Franco to stop Stalin. Bishop Oxnam is quoted as saying: "We cannot expect the common man to believe in democratic pronouncements if we make deals with dictators, or ally ourselves with political, economic or ecclesiastical reaction."

Comment on Item No. 18

May I ask, again, what is the objection to this statement? Does the committee believe it is beyond criticism? Does it think itself competent to pass upon textbooks in the Nation? The paragraph quoted stands on its own feet.

Item No. 20

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Comment on Item No. 21

If the House committee now knows that I do not now belong to the organization, and understands the circumstances under which I did belong, why was the material quoted in Item 10 above in my file?

Item No. 22

IN ANOTHER letter dated May 16, 1950, Bishop Oxnam states that the American Civil Liberties Union is not, and has never been, a Communist organization; that the Committee on Militarism in Education was never a Communist organization; that the Fellowship of Reconciliation is an absolute pacifist organization and he never belonged to it; that he did belong to the Methodist Federation for Social Action but no longer is a member; that he did serve on the advisory committee of the Protestant Digest but resigned.

Comment on Item No. 22

No comment is necessary here.

Item No. 23

IN THE third letter he wrote to the committee, dated February 12, 1951, Bishop Oxnam stated that he was never a member of the American Friends of the Chinese People; that he was never a member of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties and never signed any statement of that organization; that he did authorize the use of his name by the American Friends for Spanish Freedom, and that he resigned from the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship following the war.

Comment on Item No. 23

These matters have been dealt with above.

and/or Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities;

(2) Cited by the United States Attorney General:

American Committee for Spanish Freedom (2);

American Friends of the Chinese People (1);

American League Against War and Fascism (1) and (2);

American League for Peace and Democracy (1) and (2);

Citizens Victory Committee for Harry Bridges (1) and (2);

Congress of American-Soviet Friendship (1);

Daily Worker (1);

Medical Bureau and North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy (1);

National Council of American-Soviet Friendship (1) and (2);

National Federation for Constitutional Liberties (1) and (2);

New Masses (1) and (2);

Protestant Digest (1):

Comment on Item No. 24

This is the most inexcusable and vicious section of the entire report. This list would lead a reader to believe that I have been related to the organizations listed.

From the material presented above, I think it is clear to anyone that I had no relation with the American Friends of the Chinese People, the American League Against War and Fascism, the American League for Peace and Democracy, Citizens Victory Committee for Harry Bridges or the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties. Of the 12 organizations listed, five I never belonged to.

Why were the Daily Worker and the New Masses listed in this compilation about me? Does the committee cite a man as subversive because the Daily Worker reports a speech he has given, or falsely includes his name in a list of petitioners? Similarly with the New Masses. I have never had any relationship with these journals, direct or indirect.

My relationship with the other organizations listed has been explained in detail above.

The Statistics

A BRIEF statistical recapitulation may be in order:

The committee report on me consists of 305 typewritten lines. Of these:

Two are introduction;

Sixteen are a summary of the organizations mentioned in the report;

One hundred twenty-eight concern organizations never listed as subversive, or quotations from journals that are not related to subversive organizations or activities;

Seventy-two are from an obscure newspaper in Princeton, Ill., the utter falsity of which might have been disclosed in half an hour's conversation had a committee investigator bothered to walk the 300 yards from the Capitol to my office;

Sixty-four are devoted to organizations which I never belonged to;

Twenty-three refer to organizations listed as Communist fronts to which I once belonged but from which I had resigned prior to the publication of the Attorney General's list of subversive organizations and concerning which I have made full explanation above.

First of all, what is a Committee file? It is obvious that it is nothing more than a collection of newspaper clippings, letterheads, letters and excerpts of speeches, etc. Clearly it can and does include any statements, true or false, that a personal enemy or crackpot may submit.

One might naively suppose that the purpose of the file was to give a Committee member some sort of indication of the true nature of the individual in question—his leanings, activities, point of view and associations in a balanced way so some informed judgment could be reached. If my file is typical, it is certain that nothing of the sort was intended; the effort was devoted almost exclusively to present me in the worst possible light, to collect all invidious references to me without any attempt to check their accuracy, and made no reference to the essential nature of my work over years, which has been public, open and easily available.

The next question is what use is made of the file. The answer is that a "research staff" selects from the file and prepares a report which, I have discovered from personal experience, is released in full or in part to citizens who request it.

It would appear that the "research staff" would be under obligation to find out whether the material selected and broadcast is true or false. But nothing of the sort takes place. When pinned down and asked explicitly, and only then, Committee members piously assert to an inquirer that the report "carries no conclusion of this Committee" and that the Committee never vouches for the correctness of any newspaper item.

This is deceit at its most vicious. What usually happens is demonstrated by the letter written last month by Rep. Jackson in response to a request for the information which he said was available about me.

He did not make the file available, but only hinted darkly at its detail and volume. He then went on to list the 12 agencies that appear in the summary of my report, including those with which I never had any relationship. He included, of course, the Daily Worker and the New Masses, where my alleged relationship was the fact that my name appeared in some news item carried by them.

The letter clearly conveys to the reader that "detailed documentation," which is "very voluminous," lies back of these reports. This letter, on the stationery of the Congress of the United States, House of Representatives, signed by a Congressman who is a member of the Committee, is patently designed to convey the conclusion that the material is an opinion of the Committee.

What does this mean, then, for the American citizen on whom the Committee has made a file? It means that he can be damaged without redress. It means that instead of the community knowing the positions he has held, the service he has rendered, the views he holds and the estimates of the people who know him, he is judged by a document that appears to be deliberately designed to discredit.

A citizen receiving such a report from the Committee understandably assumes that the material does in fact represent the judgment and conclusion of the Committee. It does not carry any statement to the contrary, or any disclaimer by the Committee on the accuracy of the newspaper reports included in the file, or any warning that some of the material may be allegation and not fact. These reports have been reprinted by private agencies and circulated as the judgment of the Committee, as I have had occasion to know in my own case.

The Committee, I suggest, is using methods that in ordinary parlance would be called blackmail.

An Editorial from The Washington Post

Sunday, April 5th, 1953

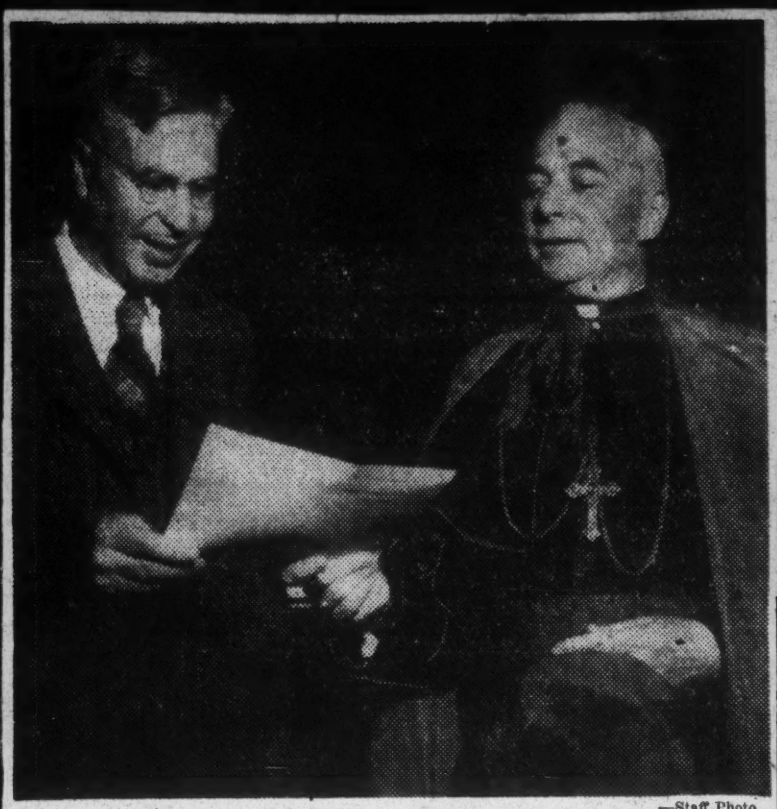
Malicious Gossip

The Washington Post **publishes today a calm, factual, detailed analysis by Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam of a dossier on himself in the files of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Bishop Oxnam's point-by-point refutation of the accusations, innuendoes and insinuations contained in the dossier, his exposure of its slovenliness and downright fraudulence, reveal a dangerous sort of evil which the House of Representatives ought not to countenance. What is a committee of Congress doing with a compilation of this sort of groundless gossip about a distinguished minister of religion?**

Read Bishop Oxnam's full statement. The committee dossier on him records entirely innocent activities as though they had some sinister implication; for example, it contains a news clipping from 1930 to the effect that he made a speech to the inmates of the Indiana State Reformatory and wrests what he said on that ancient occasion entirely out of context. It reports that he was a member of the National Committee of the American Civil Liberties Union, an honorable, respected and extremely useful organization, and then quotes a statement smearing the ACLU put out by the long-discredited Fish Commission in 1931—and this, despite a statement issued as recently as February 17, 1952, by the Un-American Activities Committee itself that the ACLU "has never been cited as Red-dominated, or as Communist by any official organization charged with the duty of investigating subversive activity."

The dossier reports public statements by Bishop Oxnam assailing "witch hunts" and criticizing the Un-American Activities Committee, as though these statements were in themselves evidence against him. It reports that the bishop expressed the view in 1949 that the United States must not "flirt with Franco to stop Stalin" or "ally ourselves with political, economic or ecclesiastical reaction." What in the world is wrong with the expression of such an opinion in a free country?

The committee apparently regards as "subversive" any opinion of which it disapproves. The dossier compiled on Bishop Oxnam is the kind of dossier compiled by the political police behind the Iron Curtain. It does not represent investigation; it represents a naked and ugly attempt at intimidation.



—Staff Photo

Dr. George S. Mitchell Receives Catholic Award

Bishop John J. Russell Gives Scroll to Ex-Richmonder

Richmond TD 4-25-53

Catholic Bishops' Group Urges Christ Be Brought to the South

RICHMOND TIMES-DISPATCH 4-25-53

Bishops of the Catholic Committee of the South (CCS) urged last night that action be taken now to bring Christ to the South and the South to Christ.

The bishops made the statement in their message at the closing session of the biannual meeting which was attended by about 500 clergy and lay leaders from 10 Southern States and the District of Columbia.

"We sincerely hope," the bishops' statement said, "that the day will come when the ideal of Christian brotherhood will displace from our Southern scene all traces of the blight of racism."

The clergymen also expressed the hope that "management and labor continue to regard the committee as an impartial spokesman for justice, lending to both groups its advice and support, by conciliation in industrial disputes and by conducting a constant program of education in the Christian principles which affect their relationship."

The Most Rev. John J. Russell, bishop of Charleston, S. C., was named episcopal chairman of the committee at last night's session at the Knights of Columbus auditorium. He succeeds the Most Rev. Gerald P. O'Hara, archbishop-bishop of Savannah-Atlanta, Ga.

Elected assistant to the episcopal chairman was the Most Rev. Vincent S. Waters, bishop of Raleigh, N. C. Re-elected were the Most Rev. L. Abel Caillouet, auxiliary bishop of New Orleans, episcopal secretary, and the Most Rev. William T. Mulloy, bishop of Covington, Ky., episcopal treasurer.

Dr. George S. Mitchell, director of the Southern Regional Council at Atlanta, told the meeting that "the economic and material basis for success of the South have been laid."

Dr. Mitchell, a former resident of Richmond, received the committee's biannual award for the person who has most "contributed to the welfare and progress of the South."

"It is tradition, inertia, timidity and often merely nostalgic recollection of rules made before the industrial age which hold us back," Dr. Mitchell said.

Told to Be Example

Pastors were told yesterday to give the example of showing others the proper attitude toward all races.

It was suggested at a race relations workshop at the Knights of Columbus Home that this could be partly accomplished by pastors welcoming members of other races to meetings or interviews, properly addressing them with titles of respect and refraining from "obnoxious nomenclature."

During a discussion on "Equal Opportunity, an Essential for Christian Family Life," it was suggested that teachers encourage trained Negro leaders to remain in the South and to break down their own prejudices, both to whites and among themselves.

The April 1953 issue of "One Methodist Voice," published by the Rev. Blake Craft of Clayton, Ga., charges that the Board of the Southern Regional Council is "honeycombed with Communist fronters." The paper then undertakes to support this charge by a series of misstatements, innuendos, and a record of alleged associations of past and present board members. The conclusion which Craft wishes to leave with the reader is stated in an editorial on page 2: "The Southern Regional Council with its Board of Directors top heavy with fellow travelers and Communist fronters is unknowingly to some of its members aiding the Russian Cause to stir up the Negro question in the South. That is what pleases the Kremlin. The Red hand of Russia reaches into Georgia."

This charge is wholly false, as are most of the "facts" offered in support of it. The object of the author clearly is to ~~harrass~~ discredit and embarrass the leadership of the North Georgia Conference of the Methodist Church, particularly, the Methodist board which administers the Wesley Mem. Bldg. where the SRC ~~has~~ rents ofc space. A full understanding of his motives and methods can be gained from his ~~background~~ personal background, the history of his relationships within the church, and his previous utterances, through "One Methodist Voice" and otherwise. However, since the sole purpose of this memorandum ~~statement~~ is ~~merely~~ to demonstrate the false and libelous nature of the publication, these personal & denominational aspects ~~matters~~ will not be discussed here.

Postal Violation

It is our belief that the publication in question was distributed ~~through the mail~~ in violation of laws governing the use of the mails. To our knowledge, it was mailed to a number of persons as second-class matter, without envelope or wrapper of any kind, the 1st page thus constituting the outside cover. The name and address of the recipient ~~being shown~~ appeared on ~~a~~ sticker attached to the first page of the paper. ~~Thus~~ Therefore, the printed matter on the first page, parts of which we believe to be demonstrably libelous, was ~~exposed to the unaided eye.~~ plainly visible + could be read easily by anyone who chanced to see it.

We contend that this is a clear violation of Sec. 18, Sub-sections 17-18, Fed. Code annotated, which reads as follows:
"All matter otherwise mailable by law, upon the envelope or outside cover or wrapper of which, or any postal card upon which is written or printed or otherwise impressed or apparent any delineation, epithet, term or language of libelous, scurrilous, defamatory, or threatening character or calculated by the terms or manner of style or display and obviously intended to reflect injuriously upon the character or conduct of another, is non-mailable matter, and shall not be conveyed in the mails nor delivered from any post office nor by any letter carrier, and shall be withdrawn from the mails under such regulations as the Postmaster General shall prescribe.

Whoever knowlingly deposits for mailing or delivery anything declared by this section to be non-mailable matter, or knowingly takes the same from the mails for the purpose of circulating or disposing of or aiding in the circulation or disposing of the same, shall be fined not more than $1,000 or imprisoned not more than one year, or both.

Libelous Matter on First Page

In the right-hand column of the first page, the following passage appears: "GEORGE S. MITCHELL a former professor of Columbia University and a notorious Communist fronter is the Executive Secretary who directs the work of SRC from his office in Wesley Memorial Methodist Church. At a meeting held at the Atlanta YWCA, September 9, 1952 under the sponsorship of the Friends Service Committee, a young Negro man when speaking to the group said to the effect that it was a shame that one could not present an effective program on peace in his community without being called a Communist. The person presiding according to a reliable source said, "We have a member of the Communist Party here, let's hear what he has to say to that." The leader then said, "Dr. Mitchell, will you answer that"? George S. Mitchell, arose and said, "I am not talking today, but I will say that we will never get anywhere by moral force alone". According to my source of information, Dr. Mitchell did not deny that he was a member of the Communist Party."

This entire passage is patently a malicious falsehood. Attached are signed statements by three respected community leaders who were present at the meeting referred to. Each of these persons states, and is prepared to do so under oath, that neither Dr. Mitchell nor the chairman of the meeting made any such statements as those attributed to them in the passage from "One Methodist Voice." The testimony of these

three persons can be substantiated by more than a dozen other reputable individuals who were present at the meeting in question. It is hardly ~~significant~~ surprising that ~~Mr.~~ Craft does not identify what he calls the "reliable source" of this account.

S-R-C- : General

Since ~~the~~ it is not pertinent for this purpose, we will not present here a detailed analysis of the other contents of this publication. However, the following brief account of the Southern Regional Council's history ~~, leadership, and activities~~ and make-up will give some idea of the ~~irresponsible~~ far-fetched nature of Craft's attack.

The organizing meeting of the Council was held in response to a ~~[illegible]~~ "call" issued by some of the South's finest leadership, including:

Following the deliberations of this group, + a subsequent conf. w/ So. Negro leaders, the SRC was chartered, the incorporators being Bishop Arthur J. Moore, Ralph McGill, ~~and~~ Dr. Rufus E. Clement. Dr. C. S. Johnson, and Dr. Howard W. Odum.

Attached is a complete list of SRC's board members, past and present, showing the dates served. It is obvious that the board, from the beginning, has been composed overwhelmingly of Southerners whose record of patriotism and public service is above reproach.

Recognizing that most of these persons are unassailable even by his standards, Craft attempts to suggest that they have been deceived about the nature of the SRC and have lent their names to it unwittingly. This is untrue on ~~the~~ its face, since the members of the board receive full reports on the activities of the SRC and review them in detail at an annual session. ~~However,~~ The claim is even more

~~conclusive refutation~~

conclusively refuted by the fact that the executive committee, elected by the board, meets quarterly, ~~and formulates the intimate policy~~ intimately reviews the SRC's activities, ~~in intimate detail,~~ and formulates the ~~basic policy~~ ~~controlling~~ detailed policies of the organization. (The full minutes of these meetings are ~~xx~~ on file in the SRC's offices.) A list of The members of the executive committee, past and present, are shown below, with their terms of service indicated: is also attached. No informed person could imagine this group directing or condoning a Communist-influenced program.

~~It is of some interest to note that the SRC has had, from its inception~~

From its inception, the SRC has had substantial contributions from ~~and the active participation of Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish groups~~ many ~~most~~ of the major religious groups (Methodist, Protestant Episcopal, Presbyterian, Congregational, Society of Friends, Catholic, ~~and~~ Jewish). Representatives of these and other religious groups have also participated actively in the SRC's affairs.

In view of the nature of the charges here considered, it is perhaps particularly pertinent ~~of particular interest~~ to note ~~observe~~ the extent of Catholic participation in the SRC. One of the founders and a charter member of the SRC is the Most Rev. ~~Archbishop~~ Gerald P. O'Hara, ~~formerly~~ Archbishop of ~~the Catholic Church~~ Savannah. The Executive Committee has always included a Catholic ~~had a active representative.~~ clergyman Mr. Paul D. Williams, was president of the SRC from 1945 to 1951, ~~is~~ a distinguished Catholic layman, a founder of the Catholic Committee of the South, and more recently a Knight of St. Gregory. In April of this year, Dr. George S. Mitchell, executive director of SRC, received the award of the Catholic Committee of the South

for his "significant contribution to the welfare of the South." The same award was conferred in previous years on Dr. Howard W. Odum, the first president of SRC, and Dr. Guy B. Johnson, executive director of SRC from 1944 to 1947.

For those who are aware of the Catholic Church's militant anti-communism, these facts need no amplification.

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(3) Although the past and present board members of the SRC number 130, he comments on only 11 current board members and 6 ex-board members,

(4) He weaves irrelevant passages about communist activities and individuals that are in no way related to the SRC. This sort of purely verbal association is evidently designed to lend the appearance of substance to his insubstantial charges.

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PAGE (s) MISSING

Reference material

M E M O R A N D U M

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This charge is wholly false, as are most of the "facts" offered in support of it. The object of the author clearly is to discredit and embarrass the leadership of the North Georgia Conference of The Methodist Church -- particularly, the Methodist board which administers the Wesley Memorial Building, where the SRC rents office space. A full understanding of his motives and methods can be gained from his personal background, the history of his relationships within the Church, and his previous utterances, through "One Methodist Voice" and otherwise. However, since the sole purpose of this memorandum is to demonstrate the false and libelous nature of the publication, these personal and denominational aspects will not be discussed here.

4-A
2-B

THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

OMIT FOR B

~~Since it is not pertinent for this purpose, we will not present here a detailed analysis of the other contents of this publication.~~ However, the following brief account of the Southern Regional Council's history and make-up will give some idea of the far-fetched nature of Craft's attack.

The organizing meeting of the Council was held in response to a "call" issued by some of the South's finest leadership, including:

C. H. Gillman, Georgia director, C. I. O.
George L. Googe, Southern Director, A. F. of L.
M. Ashby Jones, Baptist minister
Ryland Knight, Baptist minister
Rabbi David Marx, The Temple, Atlanta
Bishop Arthur J. Moore, The Methodist Church
Ralph McGill, Editor, The Atlanta Constitution
Stuart R. Oglesby, Presbyterian minister
Rt. Rev. Gerald P. O'Hara, Catholic Bishop of Savannah-Atlanta
Dean S. Paden, President, King Hardware Company
J. McDowell Richards, President, Columbia Theological Seminary
Bishop John Moore Walker, The Protestant Episcopal Church
Goodrich C. White, President, Emory University

Following the deliberations of this group and a subsequent conference with Southern Negro leaders, the SRC was chartered, the incorporators being Bishop Arthur J. Moore, Ralph McGill, Dr. Rufus E. Clement, Dr. Charles S. Johnson, and Dr. Howard W. Odum.

Attached is a complete list of SRC's board members, past and present, showing the dates served. It is obvious that the board, from the beginning, has been composed overwhelmingly of Southerners whose record of patriotism and public service is above reproach.

Recognizing that most of these persons are unassailable even by his standards, Craft attempts to suggest that they have been deceived about the nature of the SRC and have lent their names to it unwittingly. This is untrue on its face, since the members of the board receive full reports on the activities of the SRC and review them in detail at an annual session.

5-A
3-B

The claim is even more conclusively refuted by the fact that the Executive Committee, which is elected by the board, meets quarterly, intimately reviews the SRC's activities, and formulates the detailed policies of the organization. (The full minutes of these meetings are on file in the SRC's offices.) A list of the members of the Executive Committee, past and present, with their terms of service indicated, is also attached. No informed person could imagine that this group would direct or condone a Communist-influenced program.

From its inception, the SRC has had substantial contributions from many of the major religious groups (Methodist, Protestant Episcopal, Presbyterian, Congregational, Society of Friends, Catholic, Jewish). Representatives of these and other religious groups have also participated actively in the SRC's affairs.

In view of the nature of the charges here considered, it is perhaps particularly pertinent to note the extent of Catholic participation in the SRC. One of the founders and a charter member of the SRC is the Most Rev. Gerald P. O'Hara, Archbishop of Savannah-Atlanta. The Executive Committee has always included a Catholic clergyman. Mr. Paul D. Williams, a distinguished Catholic layman, a founder of the Catholic Committee of the South, and more recently a Knight of St. Gregory, was president of the SRC from 1945 through 1951. In April of this year, Dr. George S. Mitchell, executive director of the SRC, received the award of the Catholic Committee of the South for his "significant contribution to the welfare of the South." The same award was conferred in previous years on Dr. Howard W. Odum, the first president of the SRC, and Dr. Guy B. Johnson, executive director from 1944 to 1947. For those who are aware of the Catholic Church's militant anti-Communism, these facts need no amplification.

6-A
4-B

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6B

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(7) Craft makes no distinction as to the time, the nature, or the termination of the various affiliations of which he accuses directors and staff members of the SRC. It is no secret that Communist-front organizations have frequently made use of names without the permission or approval of the persons so named. It is also well known that many organizations which were entirely sound at the beginning were later infiltrated by Communists and Communist sympathizers; therefore, the time of joining and the time of withdrawal are of great importance to any real understanding of the association. It is obvious that any such understanding is alien to Craft's purpose.

7B

~~Detailed Analysis 1~~

Lead Article ~~(George S. Mitchell)~~ beginning on page 1, OMV

CAPS unchanged

1. The first paragraph consists of a general indictment of the SRC unsupported by facts. The SRC is alleged to be carrying on an obnoxious program from a "point of advantage and influence" -- i.e., the Wesley Memorial Building. It may be noted, in passing, that ~~the letterhead~~ all stationery, ~~and~~ publications, and news releases of the SRC bear the address 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.; the SRC has never sought in any way to capitalize on ~~its~~ the location of its offices.

2. Dr. Mitchell is described as "a former professor of Columbia University and a notorious Communist fronter." He is neither. He was an instructor in economics at Columbia from 1929 to 1935, though ~~the fact~~ ~~indicates~~ it is hard to see what relevance this is supposed to have. ~~Anyone familiar with the examination of his background and reputation knows that his loyalty is not a matter of dispute.~~ [illegible]

3. The next paragraph attributes to an anonymous "reliable source" ~~which~~ an account of a meeting held at the Atlanta YWCA, September 9, 1952, under the sponsorship of the Friends Service Committee. According to this account, the chairman ~~declared~~ is supposed to have said, "We have a member of the Communist Party here, let's hear what he has to say to that," after which Dr. Mitchell was called upon. The paragraph concludes with the statement that "Dr. Mitchell did not deny that he was a member of the Communist Party."

This entire paragraph is as false in ~~its~~ fact~~s~~ as it is vicious in implication. Attached are copies of signed statements by three persons who were present at the meeting, + who declare unequivocally ~~to the effect~~ that no such incident took place. More than a dozen other reputable persons who were present can testify to the same point.

4. It is stated that SRC's publication New South was "consciously or unconsciously borrowed from the old official organ, 'New South' of the now defunct Communist originated and Communist inspired organization known

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as, 'The ~~South~~ Conference for Human Welfare.'" This can only be described as hate-inspired nonsense. The SRC's publication was named ~~by the Executive Committee~~ "New South" in 1946 ~~(more than a year before Dr. Mitchell became executive director)~~ by the Executive Committee, after lengthy consideration of many ~~scores of~~ possible titles. Neither the Committee nor the staff had ever heard of another publication of that name; ~~nor does the staff know of any organization called "The Conference for Human Welfare"~~ if the Southern Conference for Human Welfare (if that is the organization meant) never published anything by that title, to the best of our knowledge. The phrase "New South", as most schoolboys know, ~~comes from~~ is taken from an the historic address by Henry Grady. ~~It is strange that~~ Apparently Mr. Craft ~~would~~ would attribute the origin of this famous phrase to the Communists!

5. In this paragraph and elsewhere in the paper, Craft makes much of the fact that several SRC board members were at one time affiliated with the ~~now defunct~~ late Southern Conference for Human Welfare. This is one of the most shopworn methods used to discredit liberal-minded Southerners. Commenting on an attack upon Dr. Rufus E. Clement (almost identical with that in "One Methodist Voice"), the Atlanta Constitution editorialized on May 12, 1953:

"A member of the board has charged that Dr. Clement is a Communist sympathizer because he once belonged to the now defunct Southern Conference for Human Welfare. This newspaper is proud of the fact that it contributed largely to the demise of that organization. We were twice threatened with lawsuits because of our exposure of it; therefore, we believe we have some authority to speak.

"The Southern ~~X~~ Conference for Human Welfare was organized by honest, loyal Americans, with a viewpont to organizing all constructive forces in the South to improve the South's economic and social status. It later was

infiltrated by Communists, but for a good many years it was composed of and led by persons of unquestioned loyalty, during which time its membership was about 99.95 per cent loyal. It offers the typical example of a few rotten Communists spoiling a good barrel of apples.

"Even so, it was not until a good many years had passed, and after most of the membership had withdrawn, including Dr. Clement, that persons of suspected communistic tendencies took over what remained of the organization. They did not long endure, largely because this newspaper exposed them and kept upon them the full light of publicity."

Ralph McGill, editor of the Constitution, who led the exposure of the Southern Conference in its latter years was an incorporator of the SRC, and has been a close friend of its work ever since. During the few years of their co-existence, the two organizations were widely considered rival agencies, markedly different in ideology and approach to Southern problems. To suggest, as Craft does, that the SRC was related to or sympathetic with the left-wing element in the Southern Conference is to fly in the face of incontrovertible facts.

6. Craft declares, "Mitchell was an endorser and sponsor of Brookwood College at Katonah, N. Y., which the American Federation of Labor put a ban on it because of the school's Communistic affiliations." Dr. Mitchell recalls that he taught a class at Brookwood College on one or two occasions in 1930 or 1931. Brookwood was then a widely respected workers' education center. Craft does not give the date when the AFL allegedly "put a ban" on the institution.

7. Craft charges that Dr. Mitchell "is affiliated with the notorious Communist organization, Civil Rights Congress." Dr. Mitchell's comments follows: "Untrue, though I in 1946 permitted my name to be used in a newspaper ad as one of the sponsors of the first meeting of what

became the Civil Rights Congress. This was the time when a movement was under way to repeal the Norris-LaGuardia Act which forbade the use of injunctions in most labor disputes. I was asked to be a sponsor of an emergency meeting to form an organization to combat the movement to make these injunctions legal again. The great majority of those whose names were put to the invitation sent me were sound Americans with the good interests of the country at heart. I was, and am still, opposed to the use of injunctions in labor disputes. On the assumption that the proposed organization would work effectively against this practice, I permitted my name to be used as a sponsor for the emergency meeting. Within a few months, it became apparent that the resulting Civil Rights Congress was strongly influenced by Communists, and a year or so later, when the organization asked me again to be a sponsor of some meeting it was having, I refused. I never joined the Civil Rights Congress, am not and have never been a member of it, and have never attended any of its meetings."

8. The last paragraph makes no point at all, apparently having been added for suggestive effect. Dr. Mitchell was from February 1944 until about May 1945 regional director for the CIO Political Action Committee, covering the states of Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Tennessee, Missippi, and for part of the time Louisiana. No responsible person supposes that the Political Action Committee was Communist-dominated; the charge was certainly never made against Dr. Mitchell's office. Craft does not identify the mysterious "Mr. Morgan" or explain what a telephone call to him is supposed to have meant.

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~~Dem. 5~~
Mrs. M. E. Tilly, page 3, OMV
~~(Page 3, OMV)~~

1. The first paragraph states Mrs. Tilly was "a sponsor of the Mid-Century Conference for Peace held in Chicago, May, 1950" and proceeds to discuss in detail the leftist record of persons described as her "fellow sponsors." Mrs. Tilly did not sponsor or attend the so-called "Mid-Century Conference For Peace" and has never even heard of the individuals described as her "fellow sponsors."

2. Paragraph two states: "According to the letterhead of the Communist front known as THE COMMITTEE FOR PEACEFUL ALTERNATIVES TO THE ATLANTIC PACT, Mrs. M. E. Tilly is listed as a member of the Executive Board." Mrs. Tilly is not and has never been affiliated with this organization. In June 1951, when it came to her attention that her name had been used on its letterhead, she promptly sent the Dept a registered ltr demanding that it be removed ~~If her name has it appeared on its letterhead, it has been without her knowledge or consent.~~

the comment on this is in preparation

3. Paragraph 3: "Mrs. M. E. Tilly was also a sponsor of the National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax which is cited as a Communist Front by the California Committee on Un-American Activities." Mrs. Tilly, along with a great many other leading Americans who oppose any tax on the right to vote, was affiliated with this organization. It is interesting that the California Committee, which is notorious for its loose allegations, should be the authority for the charge that this organization was a communist front. So far as is known, no responsible Federal agency ever has so declared it, to be so during the period of Mrs. Tilly's membership.

4. Paragraph 4: "She was a sponsor of the National Citizens Conference on Civil Liberties, according to the Daily Worker, April 16, 1948." ~~Unlike Mr. Craft and his associates, Mrs. Tilly and the SRC staff neither read the Daily Worker nor regard it as a competent authority.~~ This doubtful source to the contrary, Mrs. Tilly did not sponsor or participate in anything called the National Citizens Conference on Civil Liberties.

Paragraph 5: "Mrs. Tilly was one of the initiators of the National Committee to Repeal the McCarran Act and appears as Mrs. M. E. Tilly on the letter head while her signature appears with other signers of an open letter to all Congressmen as Dorothy Tilly." What is the point? Is the fact that Mrs. Tilly signed her name in two different ways supposed to be subversive? No allegation is made against the Committee to Repeal the McCarran Act.

6. Paragraph 6: "Mrs. M. E. Tilly's name appears on the official roll of the Methodist Federation for Social Action several years as an executive member." That is true. Mrs. Tilly withdrew from the MFSA ~~in~~ ~~about~~ in 1949.

7. Paragraph 7: "Mrs. M. E. (Dorothy) Tilly, of Atlanta, Ga., is listed as a member of 'The National Citizens' Political Action Committee'." When the organization was founded in 1944, it commanded ~~had~~ the respect + participation of a host of reputable citizens. There was no suggestion that it was anything but a sincere and honest movement. Only in its latter days — well after Mrs. Tilly and other influential citizens had ceased to be active in ~~it~~ ~~Paragraph~~ — did the NCPAC fall under Communist influence, and shortly thereafter it was merged into a left wing organ with which Mrs. Tilly had no connection whatever. Since the NCPAC has been out of existence for years, Crapt's use of the present tense to suggest a current affiliation is either inexcusable ignorance or downright deceit.

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~~Mrs. T.~~

Paragraph 8: "Mrs. Tilly's name appears on the letterhead of the 'American Civil Liberties Union' as a member of the National Committee that was used in October, 1951, which the California Committee on Un-American Activities says it may be definitely classed as a Communist front or 'transmission belt' organization." Mrs. Tilly's affiliation with the American Civil Liberties Union requires neither defense or apology. It is a well established fact that the ACLU is a non-communist organization. One can only wonder at the reliability of Craft's source in view of the following statement which appears in a document issued by the House Un-American Activities Committee on February 17, 1952 (quoted by Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam in the Washington Post): "The American Civil Liberties Committee has never been cited as Red-dominated, or as Communist, by any official organization charged with the duty of investigating subversive activity."

Same Paragraph: "She has been a member of the National Board, 'Americans for Democratic Action.'" Craft does not explain what this is supposed to mean. The Americans for Democratic Action is a militantly anti-Communist organization.

Same Paragraph: "She was listed as one of the signers of a statement on Korea, released by the Communist inspired 'Committee for Peaceful Alternatives--' as shown in the Daily Worker of July 28, 1950, the official organ of the Communist Party in the U. S." This is untrue, as the source cited might indicate to any rational person. As has already been pointed out, Mrs. Tilly has never been associated with the Committee for Peaceful Alternatives and signed no statement bearing its name.

The comment on this is in preparation

Paragraph 9: "Mrs. Tilly, according to the Daily World, April 6, 1952 addressed a three days' Women's Conference on World Peace at Daytona Beach, Florida called by the notorious Communist fronter Dr. Mary McCleod Bethune founder of the National Council of Negro Women." This characterization

14-13

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~~Mrs. T.~~

of Mrs. Bethune is an unwarranted smear of a great American woman who has won national and international honor for her many constructive activities. Mrs. Tilly was present at the meeting in question, along with leading representatives of Protestant, Jewish, and Catholic church women; the vice-chairman of the World Council of Churches; and the National Committeewomen of both the Democratic and the Republican Parties.

~~D. A. 9~~
15-B

Board Members

Eleven current board members of the SRC are accused of Communist-front affiliations. ~~Each~~ of These persons was elected to the board in consideration of ~~his~~ their recognized worth and service to the South and the Nation. The high positions of public esteem which they occupy are enough ~~in themselves~~ alone to ~~refute the~~ discredit ~~the~~ this ~~x~~ implied attack on their loyalty. In any case, men of the statute of Dr. Charles S. Johnson, Dr. Rufus E. Clement, Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, Dr. F. D. Patterson, ~~and~~ Dr. Will Alexander, and the rest, require no defense by us.

The same may be said of the two persons who hold no position in the SRC but are attacked as having taken part in SRC activities -- i.e., Dr. Channing Tobias and Mr. Frank McCallister.

It may be noted that at least two of these persons have had occasion to repudiate ~~similar charges the~~ these same charges in more important connections. In the Senate hearings on his appointment as delegate to the United Nations, Dr. Tobias was confronted by the same kind of irreponsible attack as appears in "One Methodist Voice." ~~Following~~ After hearing his testimony, the Senate committee unanimously confirmed his appointment, as did the full Senate in a ~~later~~ subsequent session. Dr. Rufus E. Clement was similarly attacked by certain members of the Atlanta City Executive Committee who sought to have him disqualified as a candidate for the Board of Education. Following a hearing at which Dr. Clement testified, the Committee dropped the charges and Dr. Clement was overwhelmingly elected by the people.

Six ex-board members are mentioned in "One Methodist Voice." Two of these, to our knowledge, have been identified with ~~leftwing and pro~~ leftist or Communist infiltrated movements.-- largely, however, in the last four years, ~~since they were dropped from the SRC board as~~ when they were members of the Board of SRC. no longer ~~residing in the region~~. In any case, these two former board members -- out of a total of 130 -- ~~played no~~ participated only in the early years of the SRC and played no significant part in the policy-making activities of the Board.

2 staff members
2 non-bd mems
11 Bd mems
6 ex-bd mems
1 mistake

CPAC
44-46

One Methodist Voice

"A Voice and Not An Echo"

VOLUME 3 | CLAYTON, GEORGIA, APRIL, 1953 | NUMBER 4.

Communist Fronters Honeycomb The Southern Regional Council

Great Rally In Interest Of Americanism And Evangelical Methodism, Clayton Methodist Church, Sunday, May 17

The Warren A. Candler Chapter of Circuit Riders, Inc., is sponsoring a Great Rally in the interest of Americanism and Evangelical Methodism at the Clayton Methodist Church, Sunday, May 17, at 2:30. Mr. Mack A. Carnes of Jonesboro, Ga., the executive vice-president extends a cordial invitation to all Methodists who are interested in the preservation of our historic Methodism to attend this rally. An interesting and informative program will be presented. Mr. Carnes' announcement suggests that as many as can come to Clayton in time for the eleven o'clock service where the Reverend Blake Craft, Editor of OMV will preach a Gospel sermon.

Those interested in coming up on Saturday to enjoy the beautiful scenery and pleasant climate in the Blue Ridge Mountains write the Clayton Hotel, Clayton, Ga., for a reservation.

SRC Big Moguls Meet In Wesley Memorial To Plan Drive For Finances And Members

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Dr. Harry V. Richardson, president of Gammon Theological Seminary, (Negro); Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, president, Morehouse College, (Negro); Dr. Channing H. Tobias and Col. A. T. Walden, Atlanta Negro lawyer whom many call "Kingfish" and believe he keeps in his vest pocket the Negro block vote of Atlanta met at Wesley Memorial Church, September, 1951 reports the Daily World to devise plans to raise money for the support of S. R. C., and to increase the membership.

The Southern Regional Council has had to turn elsewhere for funds since losing the substantial support from the Rosenwald Fund.

THE ROSENWALD FUND had been a great financial help to this agitating organization which is for the abolition of segregation whose headquarters are permitted to stay in Wesley Memorial Church. Ac-

(Continued on page six)

-EDITORIALS-

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"A SOLEMN STATEMENT"

We send out this issue of OMV with the consciousness of the gravity of its contents. It is filled with awful facts. It carries terrible truths. We are not unmindful of the possible varied reactions on the part of our readers.

This issue has been prepared prayerfully, intelligently and patiently. It has been edited without fear or favor of any man, but with the sincere desire to tell the truth at a time when Americans need to know the truth.

The general public is not aware of Russia's design and pattern to take over the control of America. Her techniques and methods are insidious to fool us trusting Americans. We who have made a study of the Kremlin's Plan shudder and stagger at its treasonable effectiveness.

I, as a Minister, a Methodist Minister am gravely concerned over the Soviet Union's scheme to enlist the aid, names, and influence of gullible Church folk into Communist fronts. I am disturbed over the undisputable fact that there are outright Communists parading under the banner of religion to hide their affiliation while they have the voice of Jacob, but the hand of Esau.

When the security of our nation is at stake. When our American boys are spilling their blood and dying in a war planned, originated and continued by the godless forces of Russia. When that godless and ruthless bunch has a thousand fronting organizations in this Country dedicated to destroy our freedom. When an organization is in one of my churches which has on its Board of Control people who belong to Russia's fronts— I can't remain silent. I MUST speak out. I HAVE SPOKEN OUT IN THIS ISSUE. I HAVE PUT IT IN PRINT. I AM SENDING IT THROUGH THE MAILS. IF IT IS NOT THE TRUTH, SILENCE ME. IF IT IS THE TRUTH, EVERY METHODIST IN GEORGIA SHOULD RISE UP AND DEMAND TO PURGE WESLEY MEMORIAL CHURCH FROM EVERY VESTIGE OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL.

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REMOVE THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL FROM WESLEY MEMORIAL

The Southern Regional Council's occupancy of rooms within the sacred and hallowed walls of beloved Wesley Memorial Methodist Church, Atlanta, Ga., is embarrassing to every Georgia Methodist who is properly informed of the true situation. Certainly, the Church should encourage every organization which is endeavoring to improve human relations that travels the roadway of Americanism. It certainly would be permissible for an orgaization whose record is clean to be permitted to have its headquarters in that part of Old Wesley Memorial which is designated for lease. But there is no rhyme or reason why SRC should be tolerated any longer. It doesn't deserve the privilege of hiding behind the sanctity of a building dedicated to the preaching of the gospel whose denomination has in its Constitution the allegiance to one Country.

Those in authority are not playing fair with Georgia Methodists by permitting the occupancy in OUR building of an organization which has on its policy forming councils communist fronters who fraternize and associate with such Negro Communists as Langston Hughes, Paul Robeson and Dr. DuBois and then assemble themselves in a meeting in Dixie to tell us how

(Continued on page two)

The main offices for the SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC., are in the Historic Wesley Memorial Methodist Church, Atlanta on the fourth floor which also houses the offices of many activities of the North Georgia Methodist Conferences. From this point of advantage and influence the Southern Regional Council, whose Board of Directors for years has been honeycombed with leftists, radicals, Communist fronters is able to carry on its stubborn program for racial mixture which is obnoxious to Southern Methodists and which foments racial strife and hatred in an area where sympathetic citizens have been doing much to develop the descendents of our grandparents' slaves. Unfortunately, some good and intelligent people who have not taken the time to personally investigate SRC's connections have lent their names to the organization.

GEORGE S. MITCHELL a former professor of Columbia University and a notorious Communist fronter is the Executive Secretary who directs the work of SRC from his office in Wesley Memorial Methodist Church.

At a meeting held at the Atlanta YWCA, September 9, 1952 under the sponsorship of the Friends Service Committee, a young Negro man when speaking to the group said to the effect that it was a shame that one could not present an effective program on peace in his community without being called a Communist. The person presiding according to a reliable source said, "We have a member of the Communist Party here, let's hear what he has to say to that". The leader then said, "Dr. Mitchell, will you answer that"? George S. Mitchell, arose and said, "I am not talking today, but I will say that we will never get anywhere bv moral force alone". According to my source of information. Dr. Mitchell did not deny that he was a member of the Communist Party.

The official organ of the Southern Regional Council is the "NEW SOUTH" which was consciously or unconsciously borrowed from the old official organ, "NEW SOUTH" of the now defunct Communist originated and Communist

(Continued on page two)

One Methodist Voice

(Unofficial but not unorthodox)

A monthly publication (except July and August) for those who believe in Evangelical Methodism, Americanism and the peculiar heritages and cherished traditions of the Southland.

BLAKE CRAFT ..... Editor

Subscription, per year $1.00

Entered as second-class matter at the post office at Clayton, Georgia under act of Mar. 3, 1879, as amended by act of June 11, 1934.

THIS IS WHAT WE BELIEVE IN:

The Doctrines of the Methodist Church.
The Preservation of the Jurisdictions.
Our Historic Episcopacy.
Revival Meetings.
The Brotherhood of Methodist Preachers.
Church School Literature Which Is Acceptable to Southern Methodists.
Preservation of the Integrity of the Races
The Perpetuity of the Sovereignty of the U. S
A Vigorous Opposition To Communism.
The American System of Free Enterprise.
Adequate Military Preparedness.

EDITORIALS — continued

Remove The Southern Regional Council From Wesley Memorial—

(Continued from page one)

we ought to treat the Negro. Atlanta Methodists resent the fact that a member of the Board of Directors of SRC writes a column in a Northern Daily, uncomplimentary things about Georgia then enters Old Wesley Memorial to lay plans to reconstruct us. Georgia Methodists are insulted that a leading official of SRC sits in Moscow inspired meetings with the fat, flabby, former pin-up girl of American Communists and then comes down to Georgia to sit somewhere in Wesley Memorial Church with a Georgia Methodist woman to make plans for their program.

NO ORGANIZATION OUGHT TO BE PERMITTED TO HAVE ITS HEADQUARTERS IN A METHODIST CHURCH OR ANYBODY'S CHURCH WHICH HAS JUST ONE MEMBER WHO BELONGS TO JUST ONE COMMUNIST FRONT. But the SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL has more than twenty Directors within the past few years who belong to numerous Communist fronts. The Southern Regional Council has on its Board of Directors people who are fraternally known to notorious Communist fronters in every section of our nation. The Southern Regional Council has leading members whose names are listed in the files of patriotic investigators in every large city of America. The Southern Regional Council is largely directed by persons whose names are commonly known to state legislative and national congressional investigating committees. **THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL HEADQUARTERS OUGHT TO BE MOVED FROM THE CHURCH BUILDING IN ATLANTA.**

Not all members of the Board of Directors come within this regrettable catagory. There are those who would not be unpatriotic to identify themselves with just one subversive front. It is our opinion that they are unaware of what is going on in the organization to which they have lent their name and influence. We believe that they, not because of expediency but of conviction will withdraw their names and demand that the SRC move immediately from our Church. This responsibility does not rest in the hands of the Pastor. It is the responsibility of the Board of Trustees of Wesley Memorial Church which is elected by the North Georgia annual conference. Dr. E. G. Mackay is chairman of this Board. We brought to his attention in the October, 1952 issue of O. M. V., a little of what was going on. We had expected then that some action would be taken. He knew how to say, "NO" to the Warren A. Candler Chapter of Circuit Riders, Inc., an organization composed of true, tried and loyal Methodists. We would like to remind Dr. Mackay that for every Georgia Methodist who is in sympathy with the program of SRC, there is twenty-five Methodists in Georgia who believe what the Circuit Riders, Inc., stand for. If the Board fails to do its duty—then, the only other course is for the annual conference meeting in June to take appropriate action.

The continued presence of SRC in Wesley Memorial is a reflection upon our loyalty to Americanism. It would be most embarrassing to have leading dailies across this country carrying screaming headlines of a Congressional investigation of an off color organization in a Methodist Church in the heart of Dixie where patriotism to country is a passion and Old Glory is an adored sacred symbol.

Come on Dr. Mackay, you have a great opportunity to do a patriotic duty.

THE RED HAND OF RUSSIA REACHES INTO GEORGIA

45

One of Russia's most effective plans to sell Communism to America is to cause discontent and strife among so-called minority groups. Their prize weapon to destroy freedom and our American way of life is to stir up racial strife and discord among the Negro, the Southern Negro. The Soviet Union has no love for the Negro. It seeks to bring about a revolution by pitting one race against another race. Communists seek to capitalize on every racial incident so as to turn it into effective propaganda for the gospel of the Soviets. All persons acquainted with Russia's diabolical pattern know of her program to create racial discord. This design includes the forcing of a changed social pattern which will bring confusion. In this they hope to start a Revolution.

Nowell a Georgia born Negro and former Communist told Judge Medina, on the witness stand in the dazed and hushed Federal Court room at the trial of the top eleven American Communists, that he was trained at Moscow in the technique for the overthrow of the government of the United States. He told under oath that it was the plan of the Soviet Union to foment a revolution among the Negroes of the South and to set up a Communistic regime with Negroes in complete and absolute control in the 'Black belt'. He said it was the Reds' further plan to capture the industrial worker of the North by constantly condemning private capitalism, and then to tie together the 'red-black' man of the South with the labor revolutionists of the North for the establishment of complete Communistic control in America.

In Russia's iniquitious pattern she has very effectively set up such Communist fronts as: the **"National Negro Congress"**; the **"National Negro Women's Council"**; the **"Negro Cultural Committee"**; the **"Negro Labor Victory Committee"**; the **"Negro People's Committee To Aid Spanish Democracy"**; the **"African Blood Brotherhood"**; **"All Harlem Youth Conferences"**; the **"Southern Negro Youth Congress"**; the **"Southern Conference for Human Welfare"** and many other such fronts which have drawn into their propaganda nets American liberals, radicals and some gullible, innocent 'pretty good folk' with American and foreign born Communists to foment a revolution. One church member in a place of authority and in a position of influence working in a Communist front can do Communism's Cause more good than a dozen card toting members of the Communist Party.

The Southern Regional Council with its Board of Directors top heavy with fellow travelers and Communist fronters is unknowingly to some of its members aiding the Russian Cause to stir up the Negro question in the South. That is what pleases the Kremlin. The Red hand of Russia reaches into Georgia.

Mitchell—

(Continued from page one)

inspired organization known as, **"The Conference For Human Welfare"**. Earl Browder, well known Communist leader in this Country according to the Daily Worker praised this organization for its fine work. Paul Crouch, before his conversion from Communism, James Ford, Negro Communist candidate for vice president of the United States and Ben Davis, Jr., convicted for his conspiracy to overthrow the government of the United States were associated with the old "NEW SOUTH".

A dozen or more of the leftist leaders in the now deceased Communist front, The Southern Conference for Human Welfare are either now or have been on the policy making board of the Southern Regional Council. This organization was incorporaated under the laws of the State of Georgia in January, 1944 with general objectives which on the face seem to be commendable. But its program, conduct and much of its personnel have removed it worthiness to be permitted quarters in a Church much beloved and respected by the rank and file of loyal Georgia Methodists.

MITCHELL'S shameful record of affiliations with polices, idelogices and organizations which are Communist inspired is certainly unknown to many good American Methodists who ride the same elevator to the fourth floor of Old Wesley Memorial which is dear to the heart of every Methodist within the bounds of the North Georgia Conference. MITCHELL was an endorser and sponsor of **Brookwood College at Katonah, N. Y.**, which the American Federation of Labor put a ban on it because of the school's Communistic affiliations. He is affiliated with the notorious Communist organization, **CIVIL RIGHTS CONGRESS** which the House Committee On Un-American Activities says, "it was dedicated to the broader issues of civil liberties, **but specifically to the defense of individual Communists and the Communist Party and controlled by individuals who are either members of the Community Party or openly loyal to it"**. Mitchell was a sponsor

(Continued on page six)

Mrs. M. E. (Dorothy) Tilly, Director of Women's Work, Southern Regional Council has quite a record of affiliations with Communist fronts. Her connection with the WSCS of the Methodist Church has placed her in an advantage position to preach the doctrines of SRC to many Church Women Groups. Here is a partial listing of her affiliations:

She was a sponsor of the Mid-Century Conference For Peace held in Chicago, May, 1950. A Congressional Committee says the purpose of this so-called Peace Rally was the aim of assembling as many gullible persons as possible under Communist direction and turning them into a vast sounding board for Communist propaganda. Some of her fellow sponsors were James Durkin, recently expelled from the CIO because of his Communist activity; Haloise Moorehead, member several Communist front Negro organizations, sponsor of Communist Party in the city of New York and defender of indicted Communists. On her return as a delegate to the world conference, WIDF, "Haloise" attended a dinner held in honor of the delegates where America was ridiculed and the Soviet Union was praised, and testified that, "Hungary had provided her with her first real taste of human freedom: Other fellow sponsors of Mrs. Tilly were Sylvain Schnaittacker, Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers; Rabbi Jack J. Cohen; Leo Krzycki; and a host of other radical labor leaders, liberal churchmen and Communist fronters.

According to the letterhead of the Communist front known as THE COMMITTEE FOR PEACEFUL ALTERNATIVES TO THE ATLANTIC PACT, Mrs. M. E. Tilly is listed as a member of the Executive Board. The House Committee says that "Communists in the United States did their part in the Moscow campaign by instigating a Conference for Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact, allegedly held in July, 1949 in Washington, D. C. This resulted in the formation of a front organization known as "the above mentioned of which Mrs. Tilly is listed as an executive member. The House Committee on Un-American Activities says, "Preparatory to the formal establishment of this 'peace' front, various preliminary conferences were called and statements issued which were featured and supported by the Daily Worker".

Mrs. M. E .Tilly was also a sponsor of the NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO ABOLISH THE POLL TAX which is cited as a Communist Front by the California Committee On Un-American Activities. It says in its citation that it is, "Among the Communist-front organizations for racial agitation which also serves as a 'money-collecting media' and 'as special political organizing centers' for the racial minority they pretend to champion."

She was a sponsor of the National Citizens Conference on Civil Liberties according to the Daily Worker, April 16, 1948. The National Conference on Civil Liberties has been cited as a Communist front by the California Committee.

Mrs. Tilly was one of the initiators of the National Committee to Repeal the McCarran Act and appears as Mrs. M. E. Tilly on the letter head while her signature appears with other signers of an open letter to all Congressmen as Dorothy Tilly.

Mrs. M. E. Tilly's name appears on the official roll of The Methodist Federation For Social Action several years as an executive member.

MRS. M. E. (DOROTHY) TILLY, of Atlanta, Ga., is listed as a member of "THE NATIONAL CITIZENS' POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE" on page 10300 of the Special Committee On Un-American Activities House of Representatives Bulletin entitled, "Investigation of Un-American Propaganda Activities in the United States". Here is a small part of the vast documentary evidences of this organization being an outright, powerful Communist front organization. On page 10303 of the above mentioned bulletin this question and answer is given. A member of the Committee asks Mr. J. B. Matthews, Research Director, Special Commitee To Investigate Un-American Activities, this question, "Would you call the 'National Citizens Political Action Committee' the most active Communist front organization in the United States today"? Mr. Matthews answer, "It seems to me that that is the unavoidable conclusion, that this is the Communist Party's major front organization. Furthermore, it represents the Communist Party's supreme bid for power throughout its 25 years of history in the United States. Never before has it set up a front organization with so ambitious an objective as that of the National Citizens Political Action Committee. It is the Party's supreme bid for power—and I use the word 'party' instead of the Communist Political Association, on the ground that the Communist Party has simply gone underground and has come up under the name of the Communist Political Association in order to advance the purposes which are INVOLVED in the National Citizens Political Action Committee". Mr. Costello, Congressman from California said, "The only purpose (of the Communist Party) in organizing the Communist Political Association is to lead the public into believing that that is the Communist activity, while this other, the National Citizens Political Action Committee, is put forward as not a Communist organization".

Mr. Matthew said, "If the list of membership of the National Citizens Political Action Committee had been drawn up by Earl Browder personally in Communist Party headquarters, it would be difficult to see how that list would have varied in any important respect".

The names of a few of the 82 Communist fronters, fellow travelers and outright Communists who are fellow members of Mrs. M. E. Tilly in this un-American and Communist honey-combed organization are: James Dombrowski; Bruce Bliven, Langston Hughes, the Communist Negro poet and author of the blasphemous poem, entitled "Good-Bye Christ"; Paul Robeson, the infamous Negro Communist Singer; Leo Krzycki, President, American Slav Congress, a subversive organization which there is nothing about it American but in every way Russian; Adam Kulikowski, publisher of OPPORTUNITY; James Loeb, secretary, Union for Democratic Action; Carey McWilliams, an affiliate of some fifty Communist fronts; W. T. Osowski, president, American Slav Congress, Michigan; Julian D. Steele, president, Boston Branch National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and George Soule, associate editor of New Republic an off color and wrong color magazine.

NO PERSON OUGHT TO BE PERMITTED AN OFFICE WITHIN THE SACRED WALLS OF WESLEY MEMORIAL CHURCH WHO HAS BEEN A MEMBER OF THIS GANG—UNLESS SUCH MEMBERSHIP HAS BEEN PUBLICLY REPUDIATED.

Mrs .Tilly's name appears on the letterhead of the "American Civil Liberties Union" as a member of the National Committee that was used in October, 1951, which the California Committee On Un-American Actiivties says it may be definitely classed as a Communist front or 'transmission belt' organization. She has been a member of the National Board, **"Americans for Democratic Action".** She was listed as one of the signers of a statement on Korea, released by the Communist inspired **"Committee for Peaceful Alternatives—,"** as shown in the Daily Worker of July 28, 1950, the official organ of the Communist Party in the U. S.

Mrs. Tilly, according to the Daily World, April 6, 1952 addressed a three days' Women's Conference on World Peace at Daytona Beach, Florida called by the notorious Communist fronter Dr. Mary McCleod BETHUNE founder of the National Council of Negro Women. MARY McCLEOD BETHUNE'S affiliation with Communist and Communist front organizations are too numerous to mention. A House Committee Report includes her name among a group it des-cribes as they "were such fronters. if not ACTUAL COMMUNISTS".

McCallister Big Wheel At Southern Regional Conference Meeting, Atlanta

Frank McCallister, Director of the "Georgia Workers Education Service took part in all the functions of the Southern Regional Conference of SRC, which was held in Atlanta, Ga., March 4, 1948. McCallister was in charge of the Hall on Courtland Street, Atlanta which was used in 1948 for mixed dances until the Atlanta Police broke them up. According to an Atlanta daily, the apparent sponsors of these mixed dances were directors of the Fellowship of Southern Churchmen organization.

Four Negroes and 17 white persons, among whom were ministerial students, were arrested by the Atlanta police on Friday night, July 16th, 1948.

One of the persons arrested was the Reverend A. J. Ritchie who said that his organization had no intention of causing trouble. He said he was a "Southern minister" but would not reveal his church affiliation to the police. Ritchie stated that he and his wife were staying at the Bethlehem Center a Home Missionary project supported by the WSCS of the Methodist Church. While he was living there, he was directing an interracial and interdenominational group on the campus of the Gammon Theological Seminary (Negro). This group was interested in making a study of the economic conditions in the (poor) South. The Southern Regional Council never condemn such mixed dances.

HERE IS A PARTIAL LIST OF PERSONS WHO EITHER ARE NOW OR HAVE BEEN MEMBERS OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL WHOSE HEADQUARTERS ARE IN WESLEY MEMORIAL CHURCH, WHICH SHOW AN INCOMPLETE LISTING OF THEIR SPONSORSHIP, SUPPORT AND AFFILIATION WITH COMMUNIST FRONTS. GEORGIA METHODISTS, WHAT ARE YOU GOING TO DO ABOUT IT?

DR. RUFUS E. CLEMENT

Dr. Clement is president of the Atlanta University, one of the organizers, and a member of the Board of Directors of the Southern Regional Council. He is NOW in the race for election to the Board of Education in the city of Atlanta, Ga. We are not interested in the political campaign going on in Atlanta to the extent that we would claim the right to suggest as to whom should be elected in that great city. But, we must say that Clement's record of affiliation with Communist fronts disqualifies him to be on the Board of Education in any American city. HERE IS A PART OF HIS RECORD AS A COMMUNIST FRONTER:

"National Council of Arts, Sciences and Professions: cited as a Communist front by the House Committee On Un-American Activities. The California Committee on Un-American Activities says it "is the most potent Communist-controlled cultural front in California—." Some of CLEMENT'S associates in this Communist front are Charlotte Bass, the vice presidential nominee on the Communist controlled Progressive Party in the last election; Paul Robeson, the infamous Negro Communist singer; John Gates, editor of the Daily Worker and one of the eleven convicted Communist AND Alexander Trachtenberg who was recently convicted in New York but preferred to go to jail in capitalist America than to go to the "good old USSR" he has been writing for. CLEMENT was associated with the **American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born** which has been cited as subversive and communist by the Attorney General of the United States. The California Committee On Un-American Activities says it is, "Among the Communist front organizations for racial agitation which also serves as 'money-collecting- media' and as special organizing centers for the racial minority they pretend to champion. Works closely with the International Labor Defense, legal arm of the Communist Party, in defense of foreign-born Communists and sympathizers". **National Conference on American Policy in China and the Far East** ,a Communist organization says the Attorney General of the U. S., This 'Stalin Club' propagandized for the Reds in China who are killing American boys in Korea. **Progressive Citizens of America** which was cited as subversive by the California Committee. Some of RUFUS CLEMENT'S progressive associates are Dr. W. E. U. DeBois, Negro communist; The Reverend Jack McMichael, Methodist minister and a member of the Communist Party; the late Louis Adamic who affiliated with forty Communist fronts before he got so progressive and died in his burning farm house in New Jersey, September, 1951. **The Southern Negro Conference** which was cited by the U.S. Attorney General as subversive. **The National Federation for Constitutional Liberties**, says the House Committee, "There can be no reasonable doubt about the fact that the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties - regardless of its high-sounding name is one of the viciously subversive organizations of the Communist Party". Sponser of the so-called **World Peace Conference** whose aims were to disrupt America's defense and to discredit American culture and extol the virtues of Soviet Culture. Among Clement's fellow sponsors which includes long haired, Russian named, fellow travelers is the Negro Communist poet, LANGSTON HUGHES, who is author of the blasphemous poem, entitled, "GOOD-BYE CHRIST".

DR. BENJAMIN E. MAYS

He is president of the Negro Morehouse College, Atlanta, Ga. He is associated with **"The American Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born** which the U. S. Attorney General says, is, "One of the oldest auxiliaries of the Communist Party in the United States". The California Committee says it, "Works closely with the International Labor Defense, the legal arm of the Communist Party, in defense of foreign-born Communists and sympathizers". **The crowd Dr. Mays associates with in this organization is quite different from Georgia Methodists he associates with when he appears on the programs in white Methodist Church and institutions in Atlanta.** He was sponsor of the "DEMAND NEGRO RIGHTS NOW" delegation sent to Washington. He was one of the initiating sponsors of the Communist inspired Mid-Century Conference for Peace held in New York, 1950.

MAYS was initator and honorary chairman of the notorious Communist front known as **"THE CIVIL RIGHTS CONGRESS".** This organization condemned the indictment and conviction of the 12 COMMUNISTS. On page 2517, of the House Committee's Bulletin entitled, EXPOSE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA, a reprint of Dr. Mays' organization's explosive and lying circular appears which says, "MORE NEGROES WILL BE SHOT IN THE SOUTH FOR DARING TO VOTE—MORE LYNCHINGS—MORE JIM CROW—UNLESS YOU STAND UP FOR THE TWELVE".

MAYS has a daily column in the Pittsburg (Negro) Courier where he writes says the heading of one of his columns, **"Uncomplimentary Things About Georgia"** and calls for the abolition of segregation in the South. Speaking before the American Baptist Convention in Buffalo, N. Y., in 1951 he said, "Protestant churches throughout the country should take a daring step and throw their doors wide open to Negro worshippers".

AUBREY WILLIAMS

Williams is a friend of the Communist Party said David Whitaker Chambers under oath before the House Committee On Un-American Activities.

Supported the American Youth Congress which is subversive and Communist said Attorney General Tom Clark. Attorney General Francis Biddle said, "It originated in 1934 and—has been controlled by Communists and manipulated by them to influence the thought of American Youth.

Aubrey Williams is a fellow member of Carey McWilliams on the Board of the Progressive Citizens of America. McWilliams is affiliated with more than forty (40) Communist fronts. This organization encourages Communists to join.

Member of now defunct communist front, the Southern Conference for Human Welfare.

Sponsor of the Communist inspired **Mid-Century Conference for Peace held** in Chicago, 1950.

Sponsor of **Stockholm Appeal Conference** which the Prime Minister of Sweden expressed his disgust over the fact that the name of that city was being used for international Communist propaganda.

Williams was a member of the **National Citizens Political Action Committee** which is dominated by communist fronters; the **"Washington Committee for Democratic Action";** and the **"Workers Alliance of America"** which is the Communist Party's organization of the unemployed patterned after the "Unemployed Councils' of St. Petersburg, Russia.

He was national chairman in 1948 of the Communist front known as the **"Civil Rights Congress".** His name appears on the letterhead of Civil Rights Congress which bears letters condemning the indictment of the 12 Communists in Ohio and commends Eisler and Paul Robeson.

LOUIS E. BURNHAM

Member of Board of Director of SRC.

Mrs. Tilly's magazine called the "New South" lists him as Organizational Secretary, Southern Negro Youth Congress which was cited as subversive by the Attorney General of the U. S. Former Attorney General Tom Clark said it is "among the affiliates and committees of the Communist Party, U. S. A., which seeks to alter the form of government of the United States by unconstitutional means". The House Committee says it is "surreptiously controlled by the Young Communist League".

Burnham before coming South to recruit members for this Communist front and to help direct the SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL whose headquarters are in the Wesley Memorial Building in Atlanta, participated in young Communist strikes in New York. His name appeared frequently in young Communist publications.

BURNHAM was one of the three speakers at a home coming for the Negro Communist Paul Robeson in New York City, June, 1949, which was attended by five thousand. In his speech he deplored the lack of a rebellious spirit among the Negroes of the United States. Paul Robeson said in his speech, "It is unthinkable that American Negroes or Negroes anywhere would go to war on behalf of those who have oppressed us for generations, against a country (Russia) which in one generation has raised our people to the full dignity of mankind". Robeson had just returned from the Paris Conference where the theme song was "Rebellion against consti-

(Continued on page five)

SRC Directors Affiliations Continued—

BURNHAM—

(Continued from page four)

tuted government in the event of war with a Communist nation". It was designed to deceive us in America. The song is still heard on the battlefields in Korea and will be heard as long as an American veteran will slowly die in a V. A. Hospital.

He was the vice chairman of the AMERICAN YOUTH FOR DEMOCRACY which was cited as Communist by the Attorney General of the U. S., The House Committee On Un-American Activities says it was "a front formed in 1943 to succeed the Young Communist League and for the purpose of exploiting to the advantage of a foreign power the idealism, inexperience and craving to join which is characteristic of American college youth. Its high-sounding slogans cover a determined effort to disaffect our youth and to turn them against religion, the American home, against college authorities, and against the American Government itself."

BURNHAM was a sponsor and member of the notorious and powerful Communist front known as the Civil Rights Congress. He was sponsor of the Communist inspired National Youth Assembly against Universal Military Training.

BURNHAM sponsored supported and joined other such communist fronts and subversive organization as: **"American Peace Mobilization"; "International Labor Defense"; "The Southern Conference For Human Welfare"; "the American Committee For Indonesian Independence"** which endorsed and supported the Indonesian Revolution.

THE REVEREND D. V. JEMISON

He was president of the National Baptist Convention. A sponsor of the Communist front, **"The Civil Rights Congress"**. On **"Eisler Defense Committee"** with resolutions, rallies, protests, and publicity statements which were drummed up by the Communist party and its fellow travelers to defend known Communists from charges of perjury, contempt of Congress and the courts, immigration and passport frauds, illegal registration and other violations of law. This member of the Board of Director of the Southern Regional Council signed the statement requesting Congress to abolish the House Committee On Un-American Activities.

He is listed as a member of the Advisory Board of the Communist front known as the **"Southern Negro Youth Congress"**. He is vice chairman of **"Conference On Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact"**. He was a sponsor of the **"Stockholm Appeal"**. He was an initiating sponsor of the **"Mid-Century Conference for (phoney) Peace"** which was Communist originated and supported.

He was the recipent of the **seditious** document of the **Peace Now Movement** which asked liberal Church leaders to call upon their followers in uniform to lay down their arms at once. Such action on the part of this movement went beyond "private conscientious objection" and advocated **treason.**

DR. CHANNING H. TOBIAS

A delegate to an executive meeting of SRC held in Wesley Memorial Church, Atlanta, Ga., Sept. 1951 according to the Daily World, September 6, 1951.

TOBIAS was a sponsor of the AMERICAN SLAV CONGRESS which is according to the House Committee On Un-American Activities "a Moscow-inspired and directed federation of Communist-dominated organizations seeking by methods of propaganda and pressure to subvert the 10,000,000 people in this Country of Slavic birth or descent".

He is a prominent affiliate of the communist front known as the **American League for Peace and Democracy.** It has been the largest communist front in this country. Earl Browder was its vice president. The House Committee says that "it was nothing more nor less than a bold advocate of treason."

He was affiliated with the **Conference On Constitutional Liberties In America** which established the National Federation For Constitutional Liberties, "part of what Lennin called the Solar system of organizations, ostensibly having connection with the Communist Party, by which Communists attempt to create sympathizers and supporters of their program" says former Attorney General Biddle. Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, a high ranking member of the national committee of the Communist Party and recently convicted in a federal court for her attempt to overthrow the government of the United States worked with Tobias at this conference. **Tobias has varied experiences from scheming with fat, flabby, former pin-up girl of American Communists at a Moscow inspired session to sitting in a room in the hallowed building of old beloved Wesley Memorial Methodist Church in Atlanta with a Georgia Methodist woman to lay plans for the raising of funds for and for the increasing of the membership of the Southern Regional Council.**

He signed a Communist-originated petition to the House of Representatives to abolish the House Committee On Un-American Activities. Among his co-signers were such communist as Langston Hughes, the Negro poet; Negro Paul Robeson; and dozens of long haired, un-Americans.

TOBIAS according to the Daily Worker, official organ of the Communist Party in the United States signed a statement in defense of the Communist Party. He was a member of the communist front, the **"Southern Conference for Human Welfare".**

DR. CLARK FORMAN

Member of Board of Directors of SRC

Was President of the defunct Communist front, Southern Conference for Human Welfare.

Paul Crouch (sometimes has used the name of Fred Allen) and a member of the Communist Party from 1925 to 1943 said under oath the following about, Dr. Forman a member of the Board of Directors of the SRC, whose main office is in WESLEY MEMORIAL CHURCH,, ATLANTA: "I have spoken to him frequently. He knew I was an official in the Communist Party, and he was very anxious to discuss policy and so on, **and he impressed me as being anxious to carry out the policies of the party."**

Forman was sponsor of a meeting under the auspices of the American SLAV CONGRESS which was cited as subversive and Communist by the Attorney General of the U. S., The California Committee says it is a "permanent, completely Communist created and controlled organization".

Forman was associated with or sponsor and member of the following Communist fronts and subversive organizations: **"Progressive Citizens of America"; "The Win the Peace Conference"; "The Washington Committee for Democratic Action"; "The National Citizens Political Action Committee"; "American Youth Congress";** One of the incorporators of the Radio Station WQQW which use Communist programs and talent; Sponsor of the **"New York Cultural Conference";** which from its inception had the active approval and support of Moscow and the Communist Party of the United States says the House Committee; Member of he **"Civil Rights Congress"** one of Moscow's most effective fronts; Supporter of **"Young Communist League"; and** sponsor of **"Dinner for Ferdinand Smith."**

His book entitled, "THE NEW INTERNATIONALISM" is pure socialist and has a Communist slant.

DAVID D. JONES

Member of Board of Directors of SRC.

President of (Negro) Methodist Bennett College, Greensboro, N. C.

Sponsor of the communist fronting, Scientific and Cultural Conferences for World Peace; Sponsor and an affiliate of the notoriously subversive Civil Rights Congress; sponsor and affiliate of the NATIONAL NEGRO CONGRESS which has been cited by two Attorney Generals, the House Committee, California and Massachusetts Committees On Un-American Activities as being subversive and communist. James W. Ford (Negro) a well known Communist was vice president of the Executive Board of Jones' organization. William Z. Foster, chairman of the Communist Party in the United States, stated that the role of his party was "one of central importance in the organization of the great united front National Negro Congress in Chicago."

JONES was a member of the defunct communist front known as the SOUTHERN CONFERENCE FOR HUMAN WELFARE. (The March, 1953 issue of OMV covers its record). He was affiliated with the Communist front known as the NATIONAL FEDERATION FOR CONSTITUTIONAL LIBERTIES. He was signer of statement, "WE NEGRO AMERICANS — DEFENDING COMMUNIST PARTY". Jones was a participant in the communist inspired support of Gerhart Eisler. He is a member of the Methodist Federation For Social Action.

CHARLOTTE HAWKINS BROWN

President of Palmer Institute.

She is a member of at least 16 Communist and communist front organizations. She with Paul Robeson, Communist Negro singer, Dr. W. S. B. DuBoise, Negro communist, Charlotte A. Bass, Negro who was the vice presidential candidate on the Progressive Party (Communist controlled) last year, signed an appeal to President Truman to reject the illegalization of the Communist Party. She was one of the speakers for the Conference held in New York by the communist front known as the NATIONAL COUNCIL OF AMERICAN-SOVIET FRIENDSHIP. She is an officer in the Communist front, NATIONAL NEGRO CONGRESS. She is a member of the Advisory Board of the SOUTHERN NEGRO YOUTH CONGRESS a communist front which the Attorney General of the United States says is "among the committees of the Communist Party, USA, which seeks to alter the form of government of the United States by unconstitutional means". She is a member of the COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS which the Attorney General says is communist. She was a member of the defunct **Southern Conference for Human Welfare** which was communist originated, communist controlled and I believe was folded up by the Communist party so another organization could carry on. She was a member of the communist front, CIVIL RIGHTS CONGRESS. She was vice chairman of the CONGRESS OF AMERICAN WOMEN which the Attorney General said is communist and supported at all times by the International Communist movement. She also was or is affiliated with the following other Communist fronts: the **Women's International Democratic Federation; Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy; United Negro and Allied Veterans of America; Americans Sponsoring World Congress for Peace In Paris; World Congress of Partisans of Peace Held in Paris and Prague; On Executive Board of the "Committee for Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact" with Mrs. M. E. Tilly a fellow worker of SRC; "The American Continental Congress for Peace, Mexico City";**

SRC Directors Affiliations Continued—

BHOWN—

(Continued from page five)

"The Stockholm Conference"; AND "Let the People Speak for Peace, Washington Conference".

DR. IRA De A. REID

Reid is Head, Department of Sociology, Atlanta University, (Negro). Member of the Advisory Board of the **"Southern Negro Youth Congress".** Co-sponsor of the delegation for **"Demand Negro Rights Now".** Speaker at meetings for the defunct Communist front known as **"The Southern Conference for Human Welfare".** Member also of the following Communist fronts: **"The American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born"; "Jefferson School of Social Science";** cited by the Attorney General of the United States as an "adjunct of the Communist Party"; Signer of statement, **"We Negro Americans — Defending Communist Party;** Listed as PANEL MODERATOR for the **"World Peace Conference."**

According to sworn testimony given before the House Committee, Communist reports are that police raided the meeting of the labor division of the Tenth Convention of the National Negro Congress and arrested 37 of the members. AMONG THEM WAS ONE "IRA REID".

Ira Reid is listed as a sponsor or member of the following Communist fronts: "The American League Against War and Fascism"; "National Federation for Constitutional Liberties" and the **"National Citizens Political Action Committee".**

Harry Stanley Brav

He is listed as a member of the Executive Board of the **"Conference of Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact"** which was supported by Communists and the Daily Worker. Sponsor of the **"Stockholm Conference"** which Prime Minister Tage Erlander of Sweden expressed his disgust over the fact that the name of that fair city was being used for international Communist propaganda. He declared, "The overwhelming majority of the Swedish people have no sympathy to spare for the attempts of the Communists to exploit for their particullar ends, mankind's love for peace and abhorrence of war". He was sponsor of the **"Mid-Century Conference for Peace".**

Charles S. Johnson

President of Fisk University (1949), Chairman Executive Committee (1946) of SRC.

Sponsor of the World Peace Conference under the auspices of the Communist front known as the National Council of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions.

Dr. Charles S. Johnson has been affiliated with the following Communist fronts: American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born; National Federation for Constitutional Liberties; and the Southern Conference for Human Welfare.

Send your friends a copy of **ONE METHODIST VOICE** and get them to become subscribers to this paper.

OTHER MEMBERS OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF SRC, WHO HELP FORM POLICY OF RACIAL MIXTURE

F. D. PATTERSON, of Tuskegee Institute. Was a member of the defunct Communist front, the "Southern Conference for Human Welfare". He was chairman of the Advisory Board of the notoriously subversive organization, **"The Southern Negro Youth Congress".**

DR. WILL W. ALEXANDER, vice president, Julius Rosenwald Fund, North Carolina, member of the Committee of the **"National Citizens' Political Action Committee".**

REVEREND JOHN D. LONG, a sponsor of the **"Mid-Century Conference for Peace'.**

PAUL R. CHRISTOPHER, C I O Regional Director, Tennessee is a member of the executive council of **"Highlander Folk School in Monteagle, Tenn.",** which "unquestionably keeps pretty close to the party line" says a report by a Congressional Committee. It has been a recipient of funds from the Robert Marshall Foundation which has so lavishly contributed to front organizations. Christopher was on the Board of Representatives of the **"Southern Conference of Human Welfare"** but since its decease he has found a place in the **"Southern Region Council"** with headquarters in beloved old Wesley Memorial Church Building of Atlanta to carry on his program of racial agitation.

CARTER WESLEY is affiliated with the powerful communist front, known as the **"National Citizens' Political Action Committee".**

PROFESSOR FLORENCE SYTZ, a member of the so-called **"World Peace Conference"** which is composed of fellow travelers, communist fronters, wild-eyed leftists, long-haired comrades and outright Communists to hinder and destroy America's preparedness program which is to protect our security and keep our freedom.

F. B. WASHINGTON, Director, Social Science, Atlanta (Negro) University is on the Advisory Board of the **"Southern Negro Youth Congress"** which the Attorney General of the United States has cited as subversive and he says it, "is among the affiliates and committees of the Communist Party, U. S. A., which **seeks to alter the form of government of the United States by unconstitutional means".**

A GROUP ATTENDING ATLANTA CONFERENCE OF SRC

The man in the back with hat talking with the woman is Col. A. T. Walden, a champion of the abolition of segregation in Atlanta; The man hatless talking with the woman is Calvin Kytle, co-author with James A. Mackay, of the book, entitled "Georgia Politics" which is an insult to the people of Georgia. The gentleman in the foreground facing the blonde was not identified by the photographer.

Mitchell—

(Continued from page two)

of an urgent summons to a meeting of the CIVIL RIGHTS CONGRESS held in Detroit, Michigan, April 27 and 28, 1946. In the call he was identified as Dr. George Mitchell, Veterans Service, **SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL. We would like to know if he signed that "urgent summons" for that Communist fronting organization in an office of old Wesley Memorial Church.**

MITCHELL according to records of the Political Action Committee which were subpoened by the House Committee On Un-American Activities was head of Region 8, of PAC which embraced the State of Alabama. Telephone call slips of the Atlanta office of PAC show that Mitchell was in communication with Mr. Morgan prior to the primary campaign in that state. There is much documentary evidence to support the fact the PAC in many places was manned by Communists. The voice of Harry Bridges the notorious Communist was familiar to some people in the PAC offices.

SRC BIG MOGULS—

(continued from page one)

cording to the president, the FUND had some twenty million dollars to be used to bring about the amalgamation of the White and Negro races in the South.

THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

For 85 Years The South's Standard Newspaper

CLARK HOWELL, Publisher — RALPH McGILL, Editor

Established June 16, 1868

Issued daily except New Year's Day, July 4, Labor Day, Thanksgiving and Christmas and entered as second-class matter at the Post Office at Atlanta under Act of March 3, 1879.

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Hartsfield Offers The Best Choice

On the morrow Atlantans will make their decision in regard to their city government for the next four years. The lines are clearly drawn. The choice is between an experienced mayor with a record of consistent and continuous achievement and a candidate untried in city office. The challenger's major promise is that he will "do it better." His main premise is that the incumbent has been too long in office.

We submit that a change in public office can be desirable but only when the man or men in power are inefficient, dragging their heels and/or corrupt.

We submit that the present mayor of Atlanta, William B. Hartsfield, is not guilty on all three counts. His record is all the evidence we need to give him our full support.

The future of Atlanta, including that of its progressive public school system, depends on the decision of the voters Wednesday. Although Mr. Hartsfield's opponent, Charlie Brown, is in himself not responsible for it, the fact remains that many who would sabotage the city school system and the city itself are aligned in the Brown camp.

Atlanta is developing and progressing at a rate unprecedented in her history. We sincerely believe that to be true in a large measure because of the efforts of Mayor William B. Hartsfield. We want the assurance that our city will continue on that favorable course. We will find that assurance in the renomination of Bill Hartsfield.

The thoughtful Atlantan will consider these things in marking the ballot tomorrow. Above all, the good citizen interested in the continued progress of his city will go to the polls and vote. He will not assume that the victory is already won or that it can be won without his active support.

The "stay-at-home" citizen votes for no one. In effect, he casts a vote "against" progress and "against" a free

many years had passed, and after most of the membership had withdrawn, including Dr. Clement, that persons of suspected communistic tendencies took over what remained of the organization. They did not long endure, largely because this newspaper exposed them and kept upon them the full light of publicity.

* * *

Therefore, we feel free to say that this smear attack on Dr. Clement was false and unworthy, and those conducting it reflect no credit on themselves, our city, state and region. They waited almost until the eve of the election, apparently hoping that the accused would have no time to answer. Most of the committee members are not running for another term. Their latest action makes it all the more understandable why they were not willing to face the people.

Dr. Clement is a conservative man, but a progressive educator. He is no slight part of a radical or leftist. We cannot condemn too strongly this sort of tactic in a political campaign. In fact, we believe that if Dr. Clement were not a Negro he would not now be undergoing this ordeal. Twice within recent months he has been cleared by the FBI for important government posts.

The timing of this smear reveals it for what it is.

* * *

50 Farm Families Earn Their Laurels

Today in Athens 50 Georgia farm families will be honored at the sixth annual Farm Family Achievement Day. They will be recognized for their work in developing sound agricultural programs with the loans from the Farmers Home Administration. The winners represent 35 counties.

The number may seem small when compared to the total number of families engaged in farming in the state. However, they are no less important. Former tenants, most of them are already well on the way to owning their

David Lawrence

Editor's Quiz Not Press Violation

WASHINGTON—May 11—Because Senator McCarthy, as chairman of a Senate committee, ventured to ask a newspaper editor to explain his onetime membership in a Communist group and to explain also his present-day views on communism, a hue and cry has gone up from certain quarters that this infringes upon the freedom of the press.

The cry comes mostly from "left wingers" who were strangely silent and indeed ridiculed the complaint of the newspaper publishers back in 1935 when the latter asked the courts to exempt them from the provisions of the Wagner Labor Relations Law on the ground that it violated freedom of the press.

Likewise, when some newspaper publishers had to open their files to investigators who sought to determine the pattern of the relationships between the newspapers and their customers, no "left winger" got up to defend the newspapers as immune from investigation under the antitrust laws.

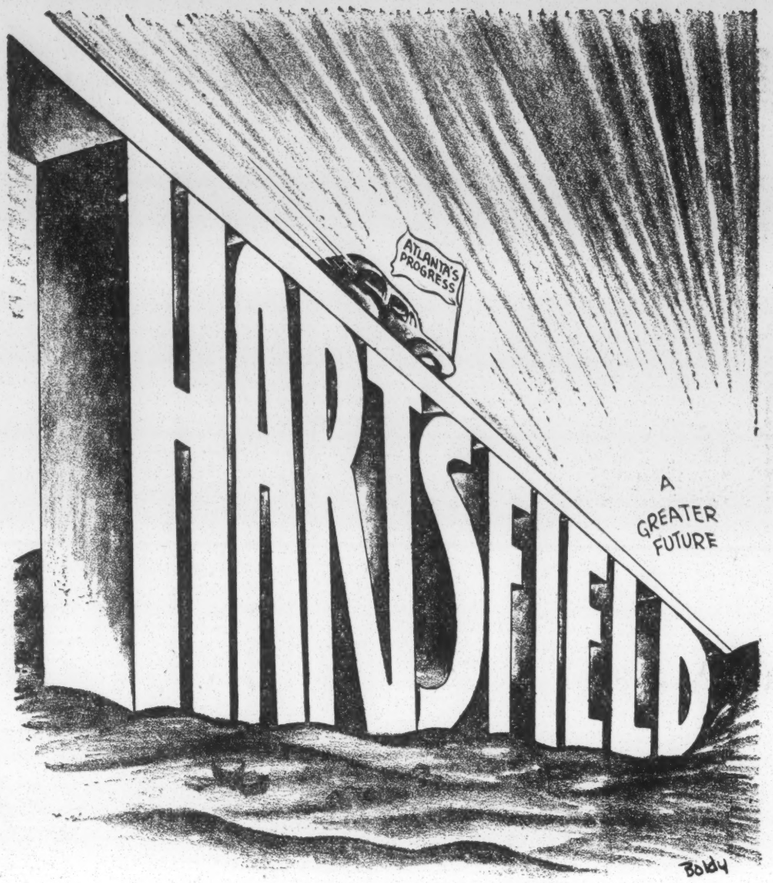
Likewise, a few years ago, when a New York labor union of newspaper reporters was found to be dominated by Communists, Congress had the right to investigate that subject but didn't. Anti-Communist newspapermen in New York cleaned house.

Also, when a senator supporting Governor Stevenson in the 1952 campaign publicly threatened to investigate and then ask for laws punishing certain periodicals which were supporting President Eisenhower and did urge that their postal rates be increased because of their views, no "left winger" rose to ask that the senator be repudiated.

The fact is these senators had a right to say what they pleased about the press, just as the press has a right to say what it pleases about them.

The courts have said that the power of congressional committees to ask questions is unlimited, but the power to compel the furnishings of books and records is protected in personal instances.

It has been reported that the American Society of Newspaper Editors has been asked to examine the transcript of Senator McCarthy's interrogation of a newspaper editor and to pass judgment on it and say if it is an infringement of freedom of the press. Maybe if such a study is made, it should include the government's suits under the antitrust laws and the present law that says labor unions of newspaper writers must be recognized by publishers. It could delve into the phases of the present law whereby newspaper writers and reporters in certain cities are compelled to join a union at the end of 30 days or lose their jobs. These questions touch "thought control" and the freedom of the press much more vitally than the problem of whether an editor who was once engaged in Communist adventures has or has not thrown off his earlier Communist sympathies.



Stay on the Expressway

Pulse of the Public

Boll Weevil Destroys One-Seventh Of Georgia's Cotton Crop Annually

Atlanta—I commend your editorial entitled "Boll Weevil Poised for His 1953 Attack," and the unique cartoon, "Basic Training," by Baldy. Such publicity will have a great deal of influence in stimulating interest among Georgia farmers to make a determined fight against this most destructive cotton insect pest.

It is said that on the average the boll weevil claims about one-seventh of our cotton crop. When the boll weevil robs the cotton grower of a bale of cotton, the entire community and state are poorer. This tremendous loss need not occur. There is sufficient information available which, if applied according to recommendations of the entomologists, will enable the farmer to produce maximum yields in spite of the boll weevil.

I trust you will continue to drive home the importance of eternal vigilance and a continuous fight against the archenemy of the Southland. J. E. MOSES,
Secretary, Georgia Cottonseed Crushers Association.

* * *

Qualified Voters Capable

is put in or on the air is there to stay and it must travel or stand still. Does some one have any further explanations? Mrs. Clack, I, too, believe. MRS. A. A. CLARKE.

* * *

High Heels May Constitute Threat to Public Property

Emory—Why do you suppose women wear high heels when there is nothing either utilitarian or attractive about them? They definitely should be outlawed as a threat to public property, for you can never tell when a high-heeler will lose control and fall, doing considerable damage to our valuable concrete sidewalks.

JOHN SWIFT.

* * *

Auto Driver, Bus Rider Submits Traffic Suggestions

Atlanta—In the interest of suffering humanity, and improved traffic conditions,

Charles L. Allen

Discontentment Is Crippling Disease

"I have learned, in whatsoever state I am, therewith to be content" (Philippians 4:11). The meaning of these familiar words are sharpened, I think in the more recent translations. Goodspeed reads: "I have learned how to be contented with the condition I am in." Moffatt says: "I have learned how to be content wherever I am."

Whatever the translation, these are bold, confident, daring words. Could you in sincerity say them? Do you know anyone who with candor could make these words his own? Most of us, I dare say, are far from content with our lives, however fortunate our circumstances or unfortunate our situation.

Some folks are discontented with their work, others with their place of residence, others by the money they make, some by the man or woman they married. Every parish priest, I suppose, aspires to be pope and every ward heeler to be president. The poor want to be rich and the rich want to be happy.

Children want to be "grown up" and older people struggle to retain their youth. The employee envies the compensations and authority of his boss and the employer wants the government to assume more of his responsibility. Country people want the bright lights and city folks live 50 long weeks for two weeks in the open air.

Discontentment is sometimes a sign of growth and aspiration. There are some things we should never become contented with. Yet discontentment is often a crippling and dangerous disease of the personality, for it frustrates endeavor and breeds despair. The man who is forever questing for greener pastures too frequently misses the opportunity of the present hour.

Against the all too common feeling of discontent, we read the confident words, "I have learned, in whatsoever state I am, therewith to be content." Who spoke in this manner? The Apostle Paul, writing to friends in the church at Philippi who had just sent financial assistance to relieve his poverty.

He was a man of poor health who had long suffered from what he called a "thorn in his flesh." His age was somewhat beyond 60 and the passing years had taxed his strength and energy excessively. Furthermore, he was writing from within the walls of a prison!

Why did he write in what seems to be exuberant confidence and spiritual health? Because in whatever condition he found himself, he enjoyed the companionship of God and he accepted without question the will of God for his life. In the 13th verse of the same chapter he reveals his secret: "I can do all things through Christ which strengtheneth me."

ord is all the evidence we need to give him our full support.

The future of Atlanta, including that of its progressive public school system, depends on the decision of the voters Wednesday. Although Mr. Hartsfield's opponent, Charlie Brown, is in himself not responsible for it, the fact remains that many who would sabotage the city school system and the city itself are aligned in the Brown camp.

Atlanta is developing and progressing at a rate unprecedented in her history. We sincerely believe that to be true in a large measure because of the efforts of Mayor William B. Hartsfield. We want the assurance that our city will continue on that favorable course. We will find that assurance in the renomination of Bill Hartsfield.

The thoughtful Atlantan will consider these things in marking the ballot tomorrow. Above all, the good citizen interested in the continued progress of his city will go to the polls and vote. He will not assume that the victory is already won or that it can be won without his active support.

The "stay-at-home" citizen votes for no one. In effect, he casts a vote "against" progress and "against" a free election.

* * *

Attack on Clement Is Dirty Politics

Since it was from the beginning "dirty politics" of the worst sort, we can only rejoice with all fair-minded persons everywhere that the City executive committee backed down and failed to carry out the purpose announced by one of its members—to disqualify Dr. Rufus W. Clement, president of Atlanta University, candidate for the Board of Education, on a "leftist" complaint. Public decency owes a debt to those who stood fast for the principles of fair play and Americanism at its best.

A committee already largely discredited in the eyes of many by its procedures had called a meeting, almost on the eve of the Wednesday primary, to bring charges against Dr. Clement.

A few days ago it could not scrape up a quorum for a meeting to decide whether it would appeal from or obey a Fulton County Superior Court order concerning the election.

There is some question as to whether the order of the court now is being fully met with the election as they propose to hold it—on future rather than present ward lines. There is serious legal question as to whether election to membership on the new board will be valid. There is a further legal question as to whether this board will be conducting a legal election when it leaves the names of uncontested candidates off the ballot, as reportedly is planned.

Having left undone the things it ought to have done, the committee then proposed to do something which ought not to have been done.

* * *

A member of the board has charged that Dr. Clement is a Communist sympathizer because he once belonged to the now defunct Southern Conference for Human Welfare.

This newspaper is proud of the fact that it contributed largely to the demise of that organization. We were twice threatened with lawsuits because of our exposure of it; therefore, we believe we have some authority to speak.

The Southern Conference for Human Welfare was organized by honest, loyal Americans, with a viewpoint to organizing all constructive forces in the South to improve the South's economic and social status. It later was infiltrated by Communists, but for a good many years it was composed of and led by persons of unquestioned loyalty, during which time its membership was about 99.95 per cent loyal. It offers the typical example of a few rotten Communists spoiling a good barrel of apples.

Even so, it was not until a good cannot condemn too strongly this sort of tactic in a political campaign. In fact, we believe that if Dr. Clement were not a Negro he would not now be undergoing this ordeal. Twice within recent months he has been cleared by the FBI for important government posts.

The timing of this smear reveals it for what it is.

* * *

50 Farm Families Earn Their Laurels

Today in Athens 50 Georgia farm families will be honored at the sixth annual Farm Family Achievement Day. They will be recognized for their work in developing sound agricultural programs with the loans from the Farmers Home Administration. The winners represent 35 counties.

The number may seem small when compared to the total number of families engaged in farming in the state. However, they are no less important. Former tenants, most of them are already well on the way to owning their own homes. Some of them have paid off their loans in only a fraction of the time allotted them.

There were those who called this program "socialistic." They still do so. However, it is stretching a point to call a program socialistic that enables a man to own his own home, to become a taxpayer and free producer. He has become a better citizen and his community, state and nation are stronger for having them.

Then, too, he has received instruction in agricultural and home economics and has learned to make the most of his opportunities. He has learned to use the soil and to conserve it.

We congratulate these 50 farmers for their achievements. We are grateful, too, for a system that makes it possible for a man to become a homeowner and producer within the framework of democracy and free enterprise.

* * *

WACs Congratulated On 11th Anniversary

Today is the 11th anniversary of the Women's Army Corps. And an illustrous occasion it is, too. Along with all other units of the armed forces that have served the nation so well during its times of need, the WACs have earned the respect and affection of the entire country.

On its 11th birthday, the WAC is an established and necessary part of the national defense program. It offers career opportunities for capable young women, as well as the chance for training in specialized fields. Its standards have been raised progressively and today only high school graduates of proved capability are accepted.

As we salute the Women's Army Corps on its 11 years of valuable service to the nation, we recommend its many opportunities for careers and training to the young women of the South.

* * *

Taxpayers Can Look To Time of No Returns

In a copyrighted interview with U. S. News & World Report, T. Coleman Andrews, the new commissioner of Internal Revenue, reveals a tentative plan under which 30 to 40 millions of Americans would have to make no tax returns at all. The group would include those whose income is solely in salary or wages.

If the deal works out, the Revenue bureau will calculate a man's tax from a study of his employer's report on his income, then either mail him a refund or a bill, as the case might be.

The plan seems sound.

hower and did urge that their postal rates be increased because of their views, no "left winger" rose to ask that the senator be repudiated.

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Thomas L. Stokes

Complaints Grow On GOP Budget

WASHINGTON—What we have come to call "social gains" are not just something that happened—and can then be taken for granted.

Certain principles had to be established by law, it is true. Getting that done was quite a battle that went on through the last 20 years. But these principles have to be implemented from time to time if they are to mean anything.

For example, Congress established back in 1937 the policy of government financial assistance to help communities to eliminate slums and put up decent housing in such blighted areas. That didn't solve the problem. It is a continuing job, for there are still sizable slum areas in our bigger cities, including the national capital. Congress has to provide money from time to time to continue this work.

So likewise does it have to provide funds for loans to rural electrification co-operatives to serve farm regions with electric power and, in recent years, with telephones. These are self-liquidating projects that pay out in time. They are operated by the people in the community and represent one of the finest examples of grass-roots democracy.

Congress now is going about its economy motions, cutting appropriations for various purposes included under "social gains" along with other items. As it does so, it is getting kickbacks from voters here and there who remembered what General Eisenhower said about preserving the social gains, and took him on faith, and forgot about what he and his party said about economy.

For instance, the Eisenhower administration recommended appropriations in the independent offices bill for 35,000 public housing units, which compares with 75,000 suggested in the final Truman budget. But the House didn't approve a nickel for public housing units.

The House also sharply reduced loan funds for the Rural Electrification administration for power lines and telephones.

One of their leaders, F. V. Heinkel, president of the Missouri Farmers Association, the largest state-wide farm organization in the country, spoke up right brusquely in a signed editorial in the May issue of Missouri Farmer. He said, among other things:

"At a time when the 'farm problem' is casting its ugly shadow across the whole of agriculture, why does Benson urge a 10 per cent cut in appropriations for the U. S. Department of Agriculture? Right at a time when farmers need help the worst, PMA, SCS, FHA, REA and other governmental agencies which have been rendering good service to farmers are to be sharply reduced! I don't understand it."

And so it goes with "economy" and "social gains."

Boll Weevil Destroys One-Seventh Of Georgia's Cotton Crop Annually

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I trust you will continue to drive home the importance of eternal vigilance and a continuous fight against the archenemy of the Southland. J. E. MOSES,
Secretary, Georgia Cottonseed Crushers Association.

* * *

Qualified Voters Capable Of Forming Own Opinions

Atlanta—I feel it is most unfair for Atlanta newspapers to endorse any candidate for mayor, alderman, or board of education. The candidates spend considerable money in advertising in newspapers, radio, and television. It is my feeling that the newspapers should present all issues impartially to the public. Qualified voters are surely capable of forming their own opinions as to which candidates are best fit to serve them.

MRS. FRANK DALEY.

* * *

She, Too, Believes A-Bombs Cause Changes of Weather

Atlanta—For several weeks, especially since there have been a number of atomic explosions, I have remarked to members of the family and friends that my belief was that the unusual weather we are having was caused in part by these explosions.

Had thought several times of writing "Pulse of the Public" but would not until I read the letter by Mrs. Annie B. Clack. My daughter resides not too far from Yucca Flats and she has written of the unusual condition of the atmosphere there after an explosion.

So why should not this condition extend farther away? As Mrs. Clack says, what is put in or on the air is there to stay and it must travel or stand still. Does some one have any further explanations? Mrs. Clack, I, too, believe. MRS. A. A. CLARKE.

* * *

High Heels May Constitute Threat to Public Property

Emory—Why do you suppose women wear high heels when there is nothing either utilitarian or attractive about them? They definitely should be outlawed as a threat to public property, for you can never tell when a high-heeler will lose control and fall, doing considerable damage to our valuable concrete sidewalks.

JOHN SWIFT.

* * *

Auto Driver, Bus Rider Submits Traffic Suggestions

Atlanta—In the interest of suffering humanity, and improved traffic conditions, I would like to offer the following suggestions:

First: That three lines of traffic be established on Peachtree Rd. southbound from Andrews Dr. to Brookwood Station between 7:30 and 9:30 a. m. and northbound from Brookwood Station to Andrews Dr. from 4:30 'til 6:30 p. m. Southbound lines are jammed bumper to bumper in the morning while traffic in the northbound lane is nil, and the reverse is true in the afternoon.

I don't believe our people are so dumb that this plan would confuse them.

Second: Give the pedestrians and auto traffic a chance in downtown Atlanta. Stop all auto traffic four ways at a corner while pedestrians cross the street and stop pedestrians while auto traffic moves. This is suggested at certain corners determined from observation, not studies; studies take too long.

Third: In case of highway accidents, if no legal involvements would result, have the State Patrolmen first reaching the scene reconstruct the situation and report, in addition to those killed or hurt, the estimated speed of the cars, condition of the road, whether or not it was on a curve, hill or straightaway and, if possible to determine, state whether or not either driver had been drinking. Such data should make us all more careful.

AN AUTO DRIVER AND BUS RIDER.

Gladstone Williams

Sec. Humphrey Gives Real Reason Why Budget Cannot Be Balanced

WASHINGTON—Any remaining hope of balancing the federal budget in the next fiscal year was thrown out the window by the testimony of Secretary of the Treasury George Humphrey before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee the other day. Some of the Republican diehards in Congress—those who made profuse campaign pledges for reduced taxes and wholesale slashes in government spending—are still reluctant to admit it, but the facts of the matter have been honestly stated by the Treasury department head.

Mr. Humphrey, a levelheaded businessman and a hard realist, told the Senate committee that Congress might as well forget about any immediate goal of balancing the budget. Instead, he said, it will have to increase the debt limit from the present $275,000,000,000 to take care of further deficit financing. The public debt as of today stands at around $265,500,000,000, which means that there is not sufficient leeway between that figure and the legal limit to absorb anticipated expenditure in the period that lies ahead.

"Although I am distressed that we cannot balance the budget this year," Secretary Humphrey is quoted as saying, "I do not believe it should be balanced. The risks that would involve our security would simply be too great."

An effort is being made to blame the former Truman administration for the difficulties in bringing the budget into balance. This derives from the fact that Congress authorizes funds in one year which are to be spent in an ensuing year or years. Such a policy is necessary in many things, of course, since a weapon like a battleship cannot be constructed in a single year. As a part of our defense program, the Eisenhower administration inherited some $81,000,000,000 in such carryover appropriations. It is a headache to the budget balancers, discouraging prospects for balanced federal expenditures not only in fiscal 1954 but for 1955 as well.

Administration apologists are saying it is just as though Mr. Truman had gone to the store and ordered $81,000,000,000 worth of goods which the Republican administration must now pay for as they are delivered. But the weakness in this sort of alibi is that it enables the Democrats to point out that President Eisenhower, after moving into the White House, could easily have sent his messengers back to the store and cancelled the orders before the merchandise was delivered.

The Republicans will have to get a better alibi than this. It would be better for them to adopt the cold realism of Secretary Humphrey and state with complete frankness that the risks to our national security are simply too great to undertake any meat-axe slashing of government expenditures immediately. This is the overriding reason which prompted him to make the bold assertion that he did not believe the budget should be balanced at this time.

with. Yet discontentment is often a crippling and dangerous disease of the personality, for it frustrates endeavor and breeds despair. The man who is forever questing for greener pastures too frequently misses the opportunity of the present hour.

Against the all too common feeling of discontent, we read the confident words, "I have learned, in whatsoever state I am, therewith to be content." Who spoke in this manner? The Apostle Paul, writing to friends in the church at Philippi who had just sent financial assistance to relieve his poverty.

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Why did he write in what seems to be exuberant confidence and spiritual health? Because in whatever condition he found himself, he enjoyed the companionship of God and he accepted without question the will of God for his life. In the 13th verse of the same chapter he reveals his secret: "I can do all things through Christ which strengtheneth me."

Leo Aikman

Honestly, the Man Once Had a House

It's an ill wind that so blows until a man must file an affidavit that he had a house. Such may be the experience of F. M. Houser of Warner Robins. According to a story in The Houston Home Journal, the insurance company may require of Mr. Houser a sworn statement that a house actually stood on his lot there at the scene of the frightful tornado. Two water pipes and a set of steps are all the physical proof left. And the steps are not at the place they were before the storm struck.

* * *

SNAPPY SIMILE: As bright as the operating room of a country hospital on a Saturday night.—Jim Chism Sr. in The Pelham Journal.

* * *

SPEAKING OF LIGHT, available for your car is an automatic time switch which turns out the lights after you have had time to get out of the car and close the garage door. Except, of course, with the carport replacing the garage, there are no doors to close nor for the novice driver to knock off. The carport has another distinct safety feature. It affords no chance for a monoxide suicide.

By the way, the 1953 model automobile has from 20 to 40 lights as compared to four or five at the most on the 1920 model. It's a good thing they are not on a meter.

* * *

A FOOL AND HIS GASOLINE: Man came in the Vindicator office about 11:30 today and said, "I have already traveled 300 miles since I got up this morning." We said, "You must have gotten up mighty early." He replied, "Not too early—you know gasoline and fools can make a lot of mileage in a little while these days."—Mrs. R. K. Stovall in The Meriwether Vindicator.

* * *

ADD ODD INCIDENTS in Georgia: In Appling County, The Baxley News-Banner reports, a mule and rider wandering all over the highway were arrested by the State Patrol. The mule was sober.

* * *

HIGHLINES: Every girl should know how to handle a live wire in case the lights go out in the parlor.—Raymond Duncan in Ellaville Sun.

A spinster is a girl who looks her best and then stops looking.—Teck Tygart in The Nashville Herald.

Rustling of wedding invitations is said to be a sure sign summer is just ahead—Charlie Benns in The Butler Herald.

Life is full of surprises. A black cat our kids named "Preacher" came in the other day dragging four little deacons, one at a time. Looks live a revival has been in progress.—"Bub" Lang in The Omega News.

A secretary's job is easy. All she has to do is look like a girl, think like a man and work like a dog.—Mary Singleton in "Snap Shots."

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From an Editorial from The ATLANTA CONSTITUTION
May 12, 1953

ATTACK ON CLEMENT IS DIRTY POLITICS

* * * A member of the [City Executive Committee] board has charged that Dr. Clement is a Communist sympathizer because he once belonged to the now defunct Southern Conference for Human Welfare.

This newspaper is proud of the fact that it contributed largely to the demise of that organization. We were twice threatened with lawsuits because of our exposure of it; therefore, we believe we have some authority to speak.

The Southern Conference for Human Welfare was organized by honest, loyal Americans, with a viewpoint to organizing all constructive forces in the South to improve the South's economic and social status. It later was infiltrated by Communists, but for a good many years it was composed of and led by persons of unquestioned loyalty, during which time its membership was about 99.95 per cent loyal. It offers the typical example of a few rotten Communists spoiling a good barrel of apples.

Even so, it was not until a good many years had passed, and after most of the membership had withdrawn, including Dr. Clement, that persons of suspected communistic tendencies took over what remained of the organization. They did not long endure, largely because this newspaper exposed them and kept upon them the full light of publicity. Therefore, we feel free to say that this smear attack on Dr. Clement was false and unworthy, and those conducting it reflect no credit on themselves, our city, state and region. * * *

Yankee Methodist Family

Rev. John D. Erb of Park Avenue Methodist Church, Worcester, Mass. is the author of an article in the May issue of *The Pastor*.

"How We Publish a Yearbook" is the title of Mr. Erb's article.

* * *

Miss Eliza Ladner, a member of First Methodist Church, Everett, since July 3, 1887, died on April 7. Miss Ladner was field secretary of the New England Deaconess Association from 1927 to 1943.

Memorial services were held in Everett on Friday, April 10.

* * *

Miss Sally Johnston, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Forrest Johnston, will be graduated this spring from the School of Nursing at Children's Hospital, Boston.

Mr. Johnston has been for many years lay leader of Grace Church in Keene, N. H.

* * *

Rev. Harold E. Mayo, Superintendent of the New York Port Society, attended the session of the New Hampshire Conference on May 8.

Formerly pastor at Winchester, N. H., Mr. Mayo was the first person at the conference to hand the new editor of **Zions Herald** his personal subscription.

* * *

Rev. Everett W. Thompson, son of Rev. and Mrs. Roger E. Thompson of Franklin, N. H., is in Yokosuka, Japan, where his evangelistic work is carried on through a community center. In this city of 70,000 people, he has started a church which has already become self-supporting, as well as a dormitory for young working people and a nursery for the children of working mothers.

Bishop John Wesley Lord announced last week the appointment of Dr. James R. Uhlinger to Wesley Methodist Church, Worcester, Mass., effective May 31.

Dr. Uhlinger succeeds Rev. George A. Fallon who became pastor of Lakewood Methodist Church in Cleveland, Ohio, on March 2.

Educated at Taylor University, Garrett Biblical Institute, the University of Chicago, and Northwestern University, Dr. Uhlinger held pastorates at Bannister and Decatur, Michigan; at Seneca and Rock Falls, Illinois; at Shenandoah, Iowa; and for the last eight years at St. John's church in Davenport, Iowa.

Active in community affairs, Dr. Uhlinger has been president of the Rock Falls Rotary Club, and of the Community Chest in Davenport.

His family consists of his wife Gladys, and three daughters, Mrs. Robert Guenther, Carolyn, who is a High School senior, and Susan, age 10.

Mrs. Jane Waterfield Stringer, who worked for many years at the Cokesbury Book Store, Boston, gave birth to a baby boy, Charles Reginald, on April 26, at Stoughton, Mass.

* * *

Rev. Charles Parkin of Portland, Maine, superintendent of the Portland District since 1950, has been elected an associate secretary of the Division of National Missions of the denominational Board of Missions.

* * *

Methodists in Melrose, Mass., are making preparations for the entertainment of the New England Annual Conference, to be held May 20-24 at First Methodist Church.

Already many members of the church and others in the Melrose area have offered the hospitality of their homes. Circles of the WSCS are planning the luncheon menus, and different groups in the church will serve coffee in the lounge each afternoon.

A campaign to spread the custom of saying grace before meals is gathering momentum in the eastern Iowa and Illinois area.

Launched recently by the Davenport Chamber of Commerce, the drive is aimed primarily at restaurant patrons.

The Davenport plan calls for each cafeteria and restaurant to be supplied with a simple, small white card bearing the legend, "Thanksgiving Before Meals." Below it in engraved script are three suggested "grace" prayers—for Protestants, Roman Catholics, and Jews.

Every public eating place in the city, from the smallest diner to the biggest cafeteria, has been enlisted in the drive.

Natick Promotes Red Cross Blood Donations

The Natick, Mass., chapter of the American Red Cross set up headquarters for blood donations at Fisk Memorial Methodist

Workshop Urges Congressmen To Support UN

A group of clergy and lay leaders from Eastern Massachusetts Protestant churches last week sent messages to Massachusetts Senators and Congressmen, urging sup-

Appointments

(*Continued from Page* 1, *Col.* 4)

Moultonville, South Tamworth, and Tuftonboro, supplied by T. M. Blanchard.

Nashua, Arlington St., E. R. Drake.

Raymond and North Chester, supplied by Charles Ellwood.

Rochester, First, C. D. Maurer.

Salisbury, Mass., (Smithtown no longer a part of this charge), supplied by W. M. Grant.

Sanbornville, East Wolfeboro, and Milton Mills, supplied by R. C. Kimball.

Smithtown (Seabrook Federated), supplied by K. D. Cannaday.

Parish of the Headwaters, Miss Dorothy M. Wilber, Deaconess.

These appointments were the result of consultation by the cabinet, consisting of Bishop Lord and the two district superintendents, Fred E. Fox and Edwin T. Cooke.

Wesley London Chapel Restored After Fire

Visitors to Wesley's Chapel in London, England, this summer will be able to see the Chapel much as it looked when it was first opened by John Wesley in 1778.

Most of the damage caused by fire this past winter has been repaired, and the whole of the interior has been redecorated.

The beautiful 18th-century ceiling design, one of the chapel's many noteworthy features, has been restored.

At the back of the chapel, the little graveyard in which the body of John Wesley was laid to rest is being surrounded by gardens of lavender and roses.

Oxnam Sends Velde Suggestions on Methods Of House Committee

Four recommendations for revising the practices of the House Un-American Activities Committee with reference to the use of their files were made by Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam in a letter to Chairman Harold A. Velde, released on May 11.

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Dear Family

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Rev. John D. Erb of Park Avenue Methodist Church, Worcester, Mass. is the author of an article in the May issue of *The Pastor*.

"How We Publish a Yearbook" is the title of Mr. Erb's article.

* * *

Miss Eliza Ladner, a member of First Methodist Church, Everett, since July 3, 1887, died on April 7. Miss Ladner was field secretary of the New England Deaconess Association from 1927 to 1943.

Memorial services were held in Everett on Friday, April 10.

* * *

Miss Sally Johnston, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Forrest Johnston, will be graduated this spring from the School of Nursing at Children's Hospital, Boston.

Mr. Johnston has been for many years lay leader of Grace Church in Keene, N. H.

* * *

Rev. Harold E. Mayo, Superintendent of the New York Port Society, attended the session of the New Hampshire Conference on May 8.

Formerly pastor at Winchester, N. H., Mr. Mayo was the first person at the conference to hand the new editor of **Zions Herald** his personal subscription.

* * *

Rev. Everett W. Thompson, son of Rev. and Mrs. Roger E. Thompson of Franklin, N. H., is in Yokosuka, Japan, where his evangelistic work is carried on through a community center. In this city of 70,000 people, he has started a church which has already become self-supporting, as well as a dormitory for young working people and a nursery for the children of working mothers.

Natick Promotes Red Cross Blood Donations

The Natick, Mass., chapter of the American Red Cross set up headquarters for blood donations at Fisk Memorial Methodist Church yesterday and today.

Women of the church are assisting in this program through the cooperation of the Woman's Society of Christian Service.

Rev. J. K. Montgomery issued a call for a large number of Fisk Memorial members to give blood at that time.

Wollaston MYF Completes Morning Series

A series of morning watches was held from April 27 to May 4 by the Youth Fellowship of Wollaston Methodist Church at 7:30 a.m., Wollaston, Mass.

Speakers included Miss Alison Robbins, president of the Conference MYF; Rev. Victor V. Sawyer, pastor; Thomas Riston, church school teacher; Ralph I. Doane, chairman of the commission on education and president of the Sawyer Men's Club; and Harold Scollins, Jr., vice chairman of the commission on education.

"Our Daily Faith" was the topic of the series, which was arranged by Donald R. Yates, associate pastor, and Mrs. Beth Ballard, MYF counsellor.

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Exec. Sec.:
Rev. Maurice L. Bullock
581 Boylston Street
Boston 16, Mass.

Bishop John Wesley Lord announced last week the appointment of Dr. James R. Uhlinger to Wesley Methodist Church, Worcester, Mass., effective May 31.

Dr. Uhlinger succeeds Rev. George A. Fallon who became pastor of Lakewood Methodist Church in Cleveland, Ohio, on March 2.

Educated at Taylor University, Garrett Biblical Institute, the University of Chicago, and Northwestern University, Dr. Uhlinger held pastorates at Bannister and Decatur, Michigan; at Seneca and Rock Falls, Illinois; at Shenandoah, Iowa; and for the last eight years at St. John's church in Davenport, Iowa.

Active in community affairs, Dr. Uhlinger has been president of the Rock Falls Rotary Club, and of the Community Chest in Davenport.

His family consists of his wife Gladys, and three daughters, Mrs. Robert Guenther, Carolyn, who is a High School senior, and Susan, age 10.

* * *

Mrs. Lucy Conn Randall, widow of Rev. Joshua O. Randall, died on March 31 in Grand Rapids, Mich.

Before going to Michigan pastorates, Mr. Randall served three churches in the New England Southern Conference, namely, Foxboro, Broadway Methodist in Providence, and Centenary Methodist in Attleboro.

* * *

Mrs. Clyde E. Kimball of Nashua, N. H., has two sons now in the service, Dana G. Kimball, who is a member of the navy band in San Diego, Calif., and Clyde E. Kimball, stationed at Chanute Air Force Base in Rantoul, Ill.

* * *

Rev. Maurice H. Porter, pastor of the Church of the Good Shepherd, Newport, N. H., played the organ for the sessions of the New Hampshire Conference.

Social Action Committee Wins Award

The American Heritage Foundation made a special award to Copley Methodist Church, Boston, Mass., for its activity in the National Non-partisan Register and Vote Campaign last fall.

The church's Social Action Committee provided information about polling places, absentee voting regulations in various states, and registration procedures. Non-partisan material was furnished from the League of Women Voters. A panel discussion including speakers from both major parties, stickers with the slogan, "Vote as you please — but VOTE!" on the monthly church paper, posters, and a non-partisan sermon crystallizing major issues and reminding listeners of their civic responsibility were all a part of the committee's efforts.

Members of the Social Action Committee included Miss Allena Luce, chairman, Miss Esther M. Clement, and Evertson Rogers.

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Reginald, on April 26, at Brockton, Mass.

* * *

Rev. Charles Parkin of Portland, Maine, superintendent of the Portland District since 1950, has been elected an associate secretary of the Division of National Missions of the denominational Board of Missions.

* * *

Methodists in Melrose, Mass., are making preparations for the entertainment of the New England Annual Conference, to be held May 20-24 at First Methodist Church.

Already many members of the church and others in the Melrose area have offered the hospitality of their homes. Circles of the WSCS are planning the luncheon menus, and different groups in the church will serve coffee in the lounge each afternoon.

A campaign to spread the custom of saying grace before meals is gathering momentum in the eastern Iowa and Illinois area.

Launched recently by the Davenport Chamber of Commerce, the drive is aimed primarily at restaurant patrons.

The Davenport plan calls for each cafeteria and restaurant to be supplied with a simple, small white card bearing the legend, "Thanksgiving Before Meals." Below it in engraved script are three suggested "grace" prayers—for Protestants, Roman Catholics, and Jews.

Every public eating place in the city, from the smallest diner to the biggest cafeteria, has been enlisted in the drive.

Workshop Urges Congressmen To Support UN

A group of clergy and lay leaders from Eastern Massachusetts Protestant churches last week sent messages to Massachusetts Senators and Congressmen, urging support of the United Nations and admission of representatives of all nations.

The special committee which framed the resolution was appointed by the Workshop on World Order, sponsored by the Dept. of International Relations of the Massachusetts Council of Churches, held in Attleboro, Mass.

The official statement reads as follows: "Believing that the United Nations organization is the logical outgrowth of the Christian concept of the brotherhood of man, and that next to the Church is the world's best instrument for peace, we urge —

"1. Universality of membership;

"2. More adequate appropriation for the United Nations and its services, and support of the Disarmament Commission, that the resources now utilized in disproportionate military expenditures be released to serve the needs of the world;

"3. Opposition to the Bricker Amendment, which would seriously handicap our participation in the United Nations."

Church Offers Employment To Young People

In response to requests for information about jobs available to young people in and through The Methodist Church, Rev. Richard G. Belcher of the Interboard Commission on Christian Vocations has compiled a very complete listing of jobs.

Opportunities range all the way from teaching music in a mission school in Chile to teaching farming in the southern mountain country, or doing bookkeeping for a Methodist hospital in Indiana.

Summertime and short-term projects are also listed in this handy guide, entitled "Methodist Service Projects, 1953." It may be obtained from Mr. Belcher at P. O. Box 871, Nashville 2, Tennessee.

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Raymond and North Chester, supplied by Charles Ellwood.

Rochester, First, C. D. Maurer.

Salisbury, Mass., (Smithtown no longer a part of this charge), supplied by W. M. Grant.

Sanbornville, East Wolfeboro, and Milton Mills, supplied by R. C. Kimball.

Smithtown (Seabrook Federated), supplied by K. D. Cannaday.

Parish of the Headwaters, Miss Dorothy M. Wilber, Deaconess.

These appointments were the result of consultation by the cabinet, consisting of Bishop Lord and the two district superintendents, Fred E. Fox and Edwin T. Cooke.

Wesley London Chapel Restored After Fire

Visitors to Wesley's Chapel in London, England, this summer will be able to see the Chapel much as it looked when it was first opened by John Wesley in 1778.

Most of the damage caused by fire this past winter has been repaired, and the whole of the interior has been redecorated.

The beautiful 18th-century ceiling design, one of the chapel's many noteworthy features, has been restored.

At the back of the chapel, the little graveyard in which the body of John Wesley was laid to rest is being surrounded by gardens of lavender and roses.

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J. T. C.

Cottage For Sale

Seven-room cottage. Good location at Willimantic Camp Ground. Electricity and Sanitary Toilet. Inquire Hitchcock Agency, Main St., Willimantic, Conn.

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ZIONS HERALD

Published by the Boston Wesleyan Association
J. TREMAYNE COPPLESTONE, *Editor*

CHARLES M. MCCONNELL, *Special Contributor*

Subscriber to Religious News Service and Ecumenical Press Service
Member of Associated Church Press.

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Volume CXXXI Wednesday, May 20, 1953 BOSTON, MASS.

We Are Proud to Follow

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To view what the bishop said in clear perspective, we should remember that he was speaking at an ecumenical convocation to which he had given his full support. The *Union Leader's* failure to catch his emphasis is suggested by the title of Bishop Lord's address, "The Church's Cooperative Task on a State and Area Basis." The paper did not print that title, which was on the release issued to the press. Neither did the paper include the following sentence from the release: "When any denomination fails to express the mind of Christ and becomes exclusive, living unto itself, then it is a liability to the Christian cause and will eventually cease to exist."

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Give and Take

Churches Do Speak At State House

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The interest taken by our legislators is greatly appreciated, and their expression has our hearty approval. However, in this particular matter, the Christian forces were well represented in both clergy and lay folk.

— Rev. G. Vaughn Shedd, General Secretary, Lord's Day League of New England.

Boston, Mass.

Welcomes Continued Service by Dr. Bucke

To the Editor — When the final editorial is written and the last

Executive Named to New Board of Social and Economic Relations

Rev. A. Dudley Ward of New York, presently on the staff of the National Council of Churches, was named executive secretary of The Methodist Church's new Board of Social and Economic Relations at the board's two-day meeting on May 5 and 6.

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There is plenty of room for severe critics of our fragmented church life. But once we have mastered the criticisms and are ready to do something to cope with our glaring faults, we need leadership that can guide us step by step towards the healing unity we all long for. That is where Bishop Lord comes in.

He is evidently convinced that whether we ever achieve organic unity of the churches or not, any real unity must be built upon the initial comradeship of our existing denominations in their common and cooperative dedication to the Christian world mission. He criticized not the movement towards unity but the attempt to build the foundation of the united church on the discovery of the least common denominator of theological belief. He said, furthermore, "We need to remember that unity of organization would provide no guarantee of unity in faith, or unity in charity, or even unity in devotion to Christ."

To implement the ecumenical purpose, Bishop Lord suggested five ways in which the churches may begin working together now on a state or area basis in the Christian mission: "(1) through cooperation in the overall planning of state councils of churches; (2) through comity agreements whereby the witness becomes more effective with smaller expenditures of financial and human resources; (3) through the facing of social ills on a statewide basis; (4) through the redeeming influence of the churches in state-wide gatherings and councils; (5) through the interchange of consecrated personalities across denominational lines."

It is too bad that the Manchester newspaper did not take its cue from the fact that early that same morning Bishop Lord had attended an ecumenical communion service in Grace Episcopal Church and had given a communion meditation. The service was conducted by Bishop Charles F. Hall of the Episcopal Diocese of New Hampshire and other Episcopal clergy according to the Episcopal ritual. Bishop Lord, devoted to the growing unity of the churches, had the grace and humility to attend a communion service in the administration of which he could have no part. He did not stand on prerogative. He went to the Lord's Table with no ecclesiastical chip on his shoulder. He demonstrated the patience and delicacy of appreciation with which, at this stage, men of different communions must deal with one another, while some New Hampshire Methodists were quibbling, however conscientiously, about whether they could even attend a service at which participation might involve receiving a wafer dipped in fermented wine.

We often bewail our lack of strong leadership. Bishop Lord's leadership of our people towards church unity is far-sighted, sensitive, and bold. We are proud to follow it.

Mr. Bucke Reply

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To the Editor — When the final editorial is written and the last smudge is washed from their hands, editors, like old soldiers, may just fade away. But not Emory Stevens Bucke! We look forward to the real service he will give in his new job as field representative for the Methodist Publishing House in New England. He patiently nursed *Zions Herald* through its gravest crisis and then turned the convalescent over to other capable hands. Thanks to Emory for using printer's ink so well.

—Rev. John D. Erb
Worcester, Mass.

Melrose Ministers Back UNICEF

To the Editor — I am enclosing a copy of a resolution passed by the Ministers Association of Melrose, Mass., which deals with an urgent humanitarian project with which your readers will undoubtedly be most concerned:

"We deplore the fact that the vital work of the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund around the world has been hampered this year because the last session of the U. S. Congress failed to provide our full share of the cost for the fiscal that our Government continue its full support of this important program.

"We urge especially (1) that provision be made in the next supplementary appropriation bill for at least the appropriation of the balance, $9,814,000, of the $16,841,000 which was authorized by the last Congress, but of which amount only part, $6,666,000, was covered in the appropriations.

"(2) that this session of Congress make adequate and generous appropriation for the support of UNICEF during the coming fiscal year beginning July 1, 1953.

"Passed by unanimous vote of the Ministers Association of Melrose, Mass., April 29, 1953."

Mark R. Shaw
Melrose, Mass.

There are 9,180,428 members in 39,906 Methodist churches in the U. S., according to the 1953 American Peoples Encyclopedia. This figure represents a gain of 114,701 for 1952.

Statistics at the end of 1952 showed also that there were 25,491 Methodist ministers and a total enrollment in church schools of more than 6 million children.

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Church School Lesson

by Charles M. McConnell
Professor of Rural Theology, Boston University

What is the Basis of Christian Liberty?

June 14 — Galatians 2: 1-10, 19-21

Paul's letter to the Galatians has been called the Magna Carta of the Christian religion.

There are many Christian scholars who believe that the great ideas set forth in this letter made Christianity a world religion instead of a narrow Jewish sect. Jesus was a Jew. Paul called himself "a Hebrew of the Hebrews." But the early non-Jewish converts to Christianity, especially outside Jerusalem, were not accepted as valid Christians.

Liberated from Judaism

Jews before the birth of Jesus had come to think of God as being concerned chiefly with them. They were "the chosen people" and salvation was to be found in "the law and the prophets."

The issue was whether or not the Gentiles had to observe the Jewish religious customs before they could become Christians. Paul broke this tradition and liberated the Gentiles from the bondage to Judaism. They no longer had to come under and obey all the requirements of the law of Moses.

Here is the real issue at stake in finding the basis of Christian liberty. The saving power of Christ is available to anyone under the invitation, "Whosoever will may come." We are saved when we can say and prove by actual living, "I live; yet not I but Christ liveth in me."

"Christ Liveth in Me"

It is possible to reach this point in our living. This is the basis of any Christian liberty worth having.

This means that the spirit of Christ replaces the natural, human, imperfect, tainted evil spirits which "frustrate the grace of God," as Paul stated it.

Many Christians and churches are now in a state of frustration and hysteria. To meet this, we are trying the old process of appeasement and adjustment.

The Pauline procedure of conversion is a better way to meet the sin and subversive forces which threaten our survival and salvation.

The experience which Paul had on the way to Damascus to persecute Christians would go far toward restoring the vigor and progressive spirit which we once had as a Christian church.

The "Pink Fringe"

There is a "Committee for the Preservation of Methodism" worried about what has been called the "pink fringe." The question raised by this jittery and well-meaning group is this: "What shall we do about it?"

It is a very good question to ask about the kind of Methodists who have made The Methodist Church the spear-head of a mighty social reform movement in the world for a half century. If we do the right thing about the men and women who have borne the burden in the heat of the dangerous days at great cost to themselves and have fought social evils with superb courage, we shall honor them and heed their call to meet the challenge of evil.

It might turn out that it is social progress instead of a "pink fringe" that this self-appointed committee is now trying to stop.

The forty-five page pamphlet published by this committee bearing the title, "Is There A Methodist Pink Fringe?" lists the names of hundreds of Methodists who have stood in the forefront of the church's long fight for social justice and real Christian liberty for a generation.

It is very clear to me that the real fringe the committee calls "pink" is not Communism at all, but social progress.

Looking For What?

A clergyman was recently asked by some members of his congregation about the investigation of subversive activities in his church. His timely reply was this: "I can answer the question only when I know just what the investigators are looking for."

This goes for the questions raised about the Methodists named in the pamphlet about the pink fringe. If it is Communism which is being investigated, we are willing and eager to join and become a publishing member.

If it is the exercise of Christian liberty to oppose and root out social injustice and a worship of the dead past, I for one am very definitely against all such committees of "preservation."

NOTES DICTATED BY GSM 5-23-53 RE ONE METHODIST VOICE

"Former professor of Columbia University." Mr. Craft dignifies me. I was instructor in economics at Columbia College in Columbia University from 1929 to 1935. Instructors are dust beneath the feet of professors.

American Friends Service Committee meeting, September 9, 1952. This was a meeting arranged by the Quakers, through their Greensboro, N. C., office, to discuss and plan ways of preventing war. Perhaps 25 or thirty people came. A couple of the ladies called "Minute Women" made their way in also, though quite uninvited. They were courteously received, despite everyone's knowledge that they were "plants." We can only suppose that the description of the alleged incident comes from our friends the Minute Women.

What is described touches no recollection in me, but my wife, who was present, remembers that toward the end of the meeting someone did ask a question generally along the lines: "How are we to advocate peace when, for the slightest word, one is called a Communist?" Mrs. Mitchell thinks that the chairman turned to me for advice on the question. I was a natural choice, because, as an economist and advocate of some things not universally popular, I am naturally confronted with the problem that the questioner had raised. I haven't been able to reconstruct what my answer was, but I know that next day I was of the opinion that the thing most needed and most likely to do good was more information about foreign affairs, and in all probability, I talked about that as a suitable force to bring to bear. Nobody accused me of being a member of the Communist Party, and it is ingenious dishonesty to twist out of the alleged and grossly misrepresented bit of the meeting the statement , "Dr. Mitchell did not deny that he was a member of the Communist Party."

Perhaps the best thing ~~would~~ to be said about the matter is that nothing, reported as this was reported, is to be believed at all.

Charge that NEW SOUTH, the Council's small monthly publication "was, consciously or unconsciously, borrowed from the old official organ NEW SOUTH of the now defunct Communist-originated and Communist-inspired organization, known as the Conference for Human Welfare." NEW SOUTH has been the title of the Council's publication since 1946. Mitchell became executive director of the Council in 1947. Nobody in the Southern Regional Council staff ever heard before that the Communists or the organization correctly known as the Southern Conference for Human Welfare ever put out a magazine called NEW SOUTH, "consciously or unconsciously"—Poppycock!

Charge that a dozen or more of the leaders in the former Southern Conference for Human Welfare "are either now or have been on the policy board of the SRC." We do not know with any accuracy whom this charge is supposed to reach. But anent the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, (see McGill's editorial).

Charge that Mitchell was endorser and sponsor of the Brookwood College at Katonah, N. Y. Maybe so. I certainly went there once or twice to teach a class. That would have been about 1930 or 31. Brookwood was then a widely respected workers' education center.

Charge that Mtichell "is affiliated with the notorious Communist organization, Civil Rights Congress." Untrue, though Mitchell was one of the sponsors of the first meeting of what became the Civil Rights Congress in 1946. This was the time when a movement was under way to repeal the Norris-LaGuardia Act which forbade the use of injunctions in most labor disputes. I was asked to be a sponsor of an emergency meeting to form an organization to combat the movement to make these injunctions legal again. The great majority of those whose names were put to the invitations sent me were sound Americans with the good interests of the country at heart. I was, and am still, opposed to the use of injunctions in labor disputes. On the assumption that the proposed organization would work effectively against

the use of injunctions, I [redacted] permitted my name to be used as a sponsor for the emergency meeting. Within a few months it became apparent that the resulting Civil Rights Congress was strongly influenced by Communists, and a year or so later, when the organization asked me again to be a sponsor of some meeting it was having, I refused. I never joined the Civil Rights Congress, am not and have never been a member of it.

Charge that Mitchell was head of Region 8 of the PAC, which embraced the State of Alabama. Mitchell was from February 1944 until about May 1945 regional director for the CIO Political Action Committee. The region embraced--Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Tennessee, Mississippi, and for part of the time Louisiana.

No responsible person supposes that the Political Action Committee was Communist-dominated. I certainly ran my region as a straight trade union program. The mysterious Mr. Morgan in Brother Craft's paper is not identified.

GSM

MEMO TO HCF May 25, 1953

The answer on the business about the National Civil Liberties Union is well given in the Bishop Oxnam statement.

GSM

Hutchins Announces Retirement

Superintendent A. J. Hutchins of the Canton city administrative unit has announced his retirement effective June 30, this year.

Mr. Hutchins went to Canton as superintendent in 1924 after he had served five years as principal of Asheville High School.

In commenting on the announcement of his retirement, the Canton *Enterprise* says:

"Coming here when there was only one building for the entire city school system, he has seen the schools expand and new buildings spring up, not only in Canton, but throughout the township when small rural schools became consolidated units with grade school buildings in various communities, and a central high school for all students.

"He has led in a number of moves for better educational advantages, including the special election for consolidation, and later elections for expansions and improvements throughout the system."

The Asheville *Citizen* adds:

"Mr. Hutchins deserves to be called 'educator' with all the dignity, competence and devotion to duty which the term should imply. He has earned his retirement in what is perhaps the most worthwhile of all professions."

Ryukyuan Educators Study State's Schools

Three prominent Ryukyuan educators spent three weeks in North Carolina, March 9-27, studying the State's public school system.

Eiko Kinjo, Chief of the Social Education Section, Education Department, Government of the Ryukyu Islands; Ryoken Tohara, Principal of Okinawa Technical High School; and Eikichi Oyafuso, Principal of the Oyama Primary and Junior High School, Ginowanson, Okinawa, were in this country for 90 days as guests of the United States Army. They were accompanied to North Carolina by the Rev. Daniel T. Kim, Minister of the Korean Methodist Church, Washington, D. C., as interpreter.

During their stay in the State, the visiting educators interviewed various members of the State Department of Public Instruction and made trips to a number of Tar Heel public schools and institutions of higher learning. They also visited meetings of the General Assembly which was in session.

Board Members Hear New Aid Concept

"The time has come," according to Frank E. Bass, Vice-Chairman of the Legislative Commission of NEA, who addressed the National School Boards Association 1953 Convention, "to change our whole conception of the purpose of federal aid to education."

He showed how, formerly, educators sought federal aid in order to meet a series of national emergencies, including first the depression, then the defense effort, and in more recent years the World War II emergencies, postwar shortages of materials and teachers, and finally the wave of war babies that is now upon us.

But these bases, as a means for securing federal aid, according to Mr. Bass, have been too shortsighted for all of their necessity. "Federal aid as a handout to the schools is a dead issue," he said. "Let's stop going to the Congress and to the public as if schools were the recipients of public relief. Rather, let us look beyond the immediate necessity for school buildings and increased teachers' salaries to the place of American public education in a nation whose government is a shared responsibility of federal, state and local authorities."

From this new perspective, Mr. Bass proposed that all concerned should work toward a national policy which will reaffirm the right and obligation of the states and communities to provide an adequate public education for every American child.

On the subject of subversive activities in schools, he recommended that local and state boards be allowed to take care of it. "Otherwise we will surrender what we have guarded so jealously for more than 160 years—the right to State and local control of education."

Freedom of Dissent

"I believe that the community is already in the process of dissolution where each man begins to eye his neighbor as a possible enemy, where nonconformity with the accepted creed, political as well as religious, is a mark of disaffection; where denunciation, without specification or backing, takes the place of evidence, where orthodoxy chokes freedom of dissent; where faith in the eventual supremacy of reason has become so timid that we dare not enter our convictions in the open lists to win or lose."

—Judge Learned Hand.

Yount Becomes NCEA President

Superintendent M. E. Yount of the Alamance County administrative unit was elevated to the presidency of the North Carolina Education Association at its annual meeting held in Asheville, March 26-28. He had been vice-president during the current year.

Mrs. E. N. Meekins, teacher in the Garner, Wake County, schools was named vice-president; and Superintendent Earl Funderburk of the Elizabeth City schools was named State director for the National Education Association.

Superintendent Yount served as principal of schools in Wake County, Hickory and Statesville before becoming superintendent of Graham city schools. In 1927 he was elected to the position which he now holds.

Editorial for Board Members

Nationwide enrollment in public and private schools and colleges during 1952-53 is estimated at 34,693,000, more than one-fifth of the total population.

Public and private elementary schools alone will enroll approximately 1,600,000 more pupils than in 1951-52.

Sixty-one per cent of the nation's classrooms are now overcrowded.

One hundred fifty-eight thousand, six hundred new teachers are needed this year, and it is estimated that there will be a shortage of 52,600. Teacher-training institutions are not graduating enough people to fill the need.

Fifty-three thousand new classrooms are needed this year to take care of the enrollment increase.

One of every five pupils attends school in a building that does not meet minimum fire safety conditions. There has been an average of more than 2,100 school fires per year over a 15-year period.

These statistics are taken from the U. S. Office of Education's report, made public late last year.

How can you, in your local school district, in your capacity as a member of the Board of Education, lend your own personal weight toward meeting the crisis in education which these figures so graphically present? The national picture is, after all, but an expanded panorama of local situations, and locally the challenge must be met. It is not "they", but *we* who must act!

LOOKING BACK

5 Years Ago

(N. C. Public School Bulletin, May, 1948)

E. E. Sams, Superintendent of Lenoir County for the past 28 years, recently announced his retirement effective at the close of his current two-year term of office in April, 1949.

Marie McIver, Supervisor of Negro Elementary Schools of the State Department of Public Instruction, died May 7 at her home in Weldon following several months illness.

Hattie S. Parrott, Associate in the Division of Instructional Service, State Department of Public Instruction, recently announced her resignation to become effective on July 1 of this year in order to devote more time to other professional work.

R. H. Lathan, formerly superintendent of Asheville, Winston-Salem and Weldon schools, died in Asheville on April 2.

10 Years Ago

(N. C. Public School Bulletin, May, 1943)

As this number of this publication goes to press the following new superintendents have been elected for the next two-year term:

Alleghany—Miss Clyde Fields
Ashe—A. B. Hurt
Concord—R. B. McAllister
Currituck—E. C. Woodard
Jones—B. B. C. Kesler
Polk—N. A. Melton
Asheboro—F. D. McLeod
Laurinburg—D. K. Pittman
Tyrrell—W. J. White

15 Years Ago

(N. C. Public School Bulletin, May, 1938)

Approximately 25,000 boys and girls will finish the high schools of the State within the next few weeks.

On Monday, April 25, the citizens of Raleigh by a 1,374 majority voted a 17-cent property tax levy to supplement the State funds for the operation of the public schools in that unit.

Two 12-year old girls, Wanona Rash and Fern Templeton, from Union Grove High School, Iredell County, won the State-wide debating championship recently held at Chapel Hill.

Tribute to Teachers

I think most of you know of my admiration for the teacher, for the person who believes something and tries to impart it to young minds. In my all too short association with scholarly people I have found them to be intellectual leaders of Americanism. They have been able to explain Americanism, the values of the heart, of freedom, and what the mind must do to support those values.

In short, I have found teachers, I have found universities in general engaged in this one thing: how to bring up, how to teach, how to develop fine citizens to serve in a free democracy.

That I conceive to be their basic purpose and as long as they do it this Nation shall remain free and I, for one, will always be a witness that the great and vast body of these teachers, these administrators, these people living in universities, are the very foundation, the real refuge and bulwark of democracy and freedom in our country—the thing to which I at least attempt to devote my life.

—Dwight D. Eisenhower.

California and New Jersey Begin Educational TV

On February 1 the New Jersey Department of Education began experimental telecasting of guidance, English, social studies, and science programs on a closed circuit to two high schools in New Brunswick and Highland Park. Additional programs were launched for elementary pupils and parents.

One day later, Los Angeles' Channel 28 began daily programs (also closed circuit) as rehearsal for full scale telecasting, expected to begin in late March or April. Three types of programs are planned: in-school, adult education, and community service.

Educational TV in New York ran into opposition from N. Y. State Society of Newspaper Editors, meeting February 9 in Syracuse. Garth A. Shoemaker of Elmira, N. Y., claimed the state had no more justification for operating TV stations that it would to run a chain of newspapers.

In Atlantic City February 14, the National School Boards Association adopted a resolution calling on FCC to give educators an additional year to apply for 242 TV channels now reserved until June 2. —*Scholastic Teacher.*

MAKING TODAY'S NEWS

Burke. The Burke County Board of Education today issued a laudatory resolution for its senior member, Marshall S. Arney of Morganton, who is completing this month a record of service to the county school system which began nearly 24 years ago. Morganton News-Herald, March 9.

Rocky Mount. A study of state and federal income taxes will be concluded next week by a special class at Rocky Mount high school with the appearance of four speakers. Rocky Mount Telegram, March 13.

Salisbury. The Salisbury city school board yesterday voted to adopt a 6-3-3 year school system to be put into effect as soon as adequate facilities can be provided. Salisbury Post, March 18.

Edgecombe. The Battleboro School Board has announced the completion of its new, completely modern school auditorium and has set Friday evening, March 27, as the date for the dedication of the new structure. Rocky Mount Telegram, March 19.

Greenville. High spots on the legislative scene, as far as schools are concerned, were discussed last night by State Superintendent of Public Instruction Dr. Charles Carroll when he spoke here to city teachers. Greenville Reflector, March 10.

Wilson. Miss Helen Stuart, an adviser in the physical education division of the State Department of Public Instruction, gave demonstrations this week at the Lee Woodard gymnasium on how to teach physical education in the schools. Wilson Times, March 21.

Pitt. The first chapter of a Future Teachers of America Club in a high school of Pitt County has been organized in the Farmville High School with 13 charter members. Greenville Reflector, March 20.

Yadkin. The Yadkin County Board of Education has completed an inventory of present building needs and submitted it to Dr. Charles F. Carroll, State Superintendent of Public Instruction. Winston-Salem Journal, March 25.

Albemarle and Stanly. A broad attempt to inform the members of the senior classes of Albemarle high school and the high schools of the Stanly County system concerning education and the public school system will be launched Tuesday, March 24, with the first program of the series at the Albemarle high school. Albemarle News and Press, March 20.

Jas. A. Mackay
1245 Ridgewood Dr. N. E.
Atlanta, Ga.

One Methodist Voice

"A Voice and Not An Echo"

VOLUME 3 | CLAYTON, GEORGIA, MAY, 1953 | NUMBER 6.

Mitchell's Record of Affiliation With Communist Fronts Necessitates Removal of SRC from Wesley Memorial Now

George S. Mitchell accord- to Page 1, of the House Committee's Report on Southern Conference For Human Welfare dated June 16th, 1947, is listed as a member of the Board of Representatives in the roster of officials. Despite the assertion of recent editorials in the "siamese-journalistic-twins" of Jim Cox's monopolized Atlanta press and some liberal ecclesiastical apologists for the continued presence of SRC in a Methodist Church in the heart of Dixie that the Southern Conference of Human Welfare was originally Simon pure in its Americanism, IT was Communist originated.

Paul Crouch who was a member of the Communist Party for some 17 years but renounced his every affiliation and sympathy with the Party in 1942 testified under oath that the SOUTHERN CONFERENCE FOR HUMAN WELFARE was a Communist organization from its conception and birth. On page 189, "Testimony of Paul Crouch" on May 6, 1949 before the House Committee On Un-American Activities, to Mr. Louis J. Russell Senior Investigator's question, "Was the Southern Conference For Human Welfare conceived as a Communist organization by the Communist Party itself"? Mr. Crouch said under oath, "It was, very definitely so".

To the question, "Can you describe the background of the conception of the Southern Conference For Human Welfare"? Mr. Crouch under oath said as recorded on page 189 of the above mentioned Bulletin, "Yes. The **PREPARTORY** steps which led up to the Southern Conference for Human Welfare began with a Conference in Chattanooga, Tenn.; I believe the date was about December of 1937, but I am not sure of the exact month. **It was attended by Earl Browder, national secretary of the party" (Communist).** He continued under oath, "According to the information I received, Browder had emphasized that the **PARTY** shold get on the band wagon, as the phrase was used, and should look around for some large mass organization to build in the South".

Mr. Crouch under oath confirms the following in regard to the organization of which George S. Mitchell, now Executive Secretary of the Southern Region Council, was an executive member:

(Continued on page two)

METHODIST PREACHERS SET PROGRAM TO SOCIALIZE AMERICA THROUGH CHURCH PROGRAMS AND PULPITS

The so-called "Christian Social Action Movement" which is an out-growth of the "Chicago Call To Action Conference" held in Chicago, 1932, appears to be neither Christian or Methodist. The Executive Committee is filled with Methodist preachers the Chairman being the Reverend Gilbert S. Cox, pastor now of the Grandview Methodist Church, Dubuque, Iowa, who is an avowed Socialist and a constant contributor to the ADULT STUDENT.

In his introduction of the Marxian "Leaders' Handbook" he says, **"—Capitalism, Fascism, and Bolshevism there is neither motive nor method in harmony with OUR interpretation of the Christian Gospel—".**

The "Chicago Call To Action Conference" was Karl Marx to the core. It was a meeting planned to spawn the egg of Marxism which was to hatch out in the Methodist Church socialism pure and simple. This of course took place before we "poor, dumb" Southern Methodists put our necks into the ecclesiastical yoke of a dacadent Methodism which is now forcing us to pull the cart which is overloaded with un-American ideologies. Unification perfected a legal and organizational unity but the rank and file of Southern Methodists are not in harmony with the left-wing economic teaching of a great host of Northern leadership who long ago repudiated the 24th Article of our Holy Articles of Religion.

These Methodist preachers attending the Conference who claim to be both disciples of Jesus and Karl Marx set a pattern to change the existing American economic order by using the pulpit and literature of the Methodist Church. They said:

(1) **"PASTORS** must definitely challenge the existing capitalistic order. This must be done frankly, positively and courageously".

(2) One preacher exposed his technique to deceive American Methodists when he said, "I have been **PREACHING** a straight social gospel, but I have not used the term 'socialism'. If you do not", he con-

(Continued on page two)

-EDITORIALS-

THE NORTH GEORGIA CONFERENCE

I don't get the thrill out of going to annual conference that I use to get. I shall never forget my first one. It met at the First Methodist Church in Atlanta. I was admitted into full connection. Dr. John S. Jenkins, great pulpiteer was my presiding elder in the processes of joining the conference and assisting the Bishop in the making of my first appointment. I l felt like I was in the hands of my friend. Brothers DeBardeleben, Felton Williams and Henry Jones made talks on the conference floor for me. It made me feel good. Uncle Nath Thompson came to me and informed me that he wanted me at Alpharetta to build a new Church. Bishop Beauchamp said to me, "You are coming from a Church that puts great emphasis upon the work of the Holy Spirit, and I hope you will bring His presence with you. I heard dear old Brother Sherman England sing, "Savior, More Than Life To Me" while he stood on the Conference floor and shook hands with brethren just a few hours before he slipped away to that "Good Land". Each pastor made his report from the floor of the Conference. I went away from that conference actually believing that the Bishop and the Presiding Elders listened to the Lord in the making of my appointment. That was twenty-four years ago. That was when we were in the Methodist Episcopal Church, South and when we in the North Georgia Conference practiced the intenerant episcopacy.

THE 64 DOLLAR QUESTION

Georgia Methodists are asking, "Why don't those in charge remove the Southern Regional Council from the fourth floor of Wesley Memorial Church Building"? The door was shut in the face of the Warren A. Candler Chapter of the Circuit Riders,Inc., an organization composed of loyal Georgia Methodists. None of its members have ever belonged to a Communist front. Why slam the door in the face of them, and then protect the SRC whose Board of Directors has been honeycombed with wobblying, fellow traveling Communist fronters? Georgia Methodists want to know why.

There are some members on the Board of Directors of SRC whose patriotism has never been questioned. They were not aware of the official company they were keeping. Their names were used because they, as we, believe in right racial relations. They were just too busy to know what was going on. They, we believe, would like to clean house but to do so would be most embarrassing.

The Board of Trustees of Wesley Memorial Church which is elected by the North Georgia Conference has the authority and responsibility. The pastor is not to be blamed for no action. The Chairman of the Board of Trustees is in position to take immediate action. He is the powerful Ed Mackay who has acquired lots of power in the few years he has been a member of the North Georgia Conference. Many in the North Georgia Conference have marveled at what manner of man he is, who came to us when the "appointmental pickings" looked a little greener to him in our Conference. It is our considered opinion that the majority of the Board members are not satisfied with SRC's occupancy in old Wesley Memorial. We sincerely believe that Georgia Methodists would be spared from further

(Continued on page two)

One Methodist Voice

(Unofficial but not unorthodox)

A monthly publication (except July and August) for those who believe in Evangelical Methodism, Americanism and the peculiar heritages and cherished traditions of the Southland.

BLAKE CRAFT ..... Editor

Subscription, per year $1.00

Entered as second-class matter at the post office at Clayton, Georgia under act of Mar. 3, 1879, as amended by act of June 11, 1934.

EDITORIALS—(continued)

(Continued from page one)

embarrassment if Dr. Mackay were to turn loose the influence of his unique powers to sweep Wesley Memorial clean of every vestige of the Southern Regional Council.

Why doesn't he do it? We do not know. It may be because of his endorsement of the un-American FEPC. The Southern Regional Council has been a sort of headquarters for the propagandizing of that iniquitious legislation. It could be because of Mackay's ideologies on the racial question. At the annual North Georgia Conference in 1948 he opposed a resolution which requested the Editor of our Church School literature to cease the publication of literature which was obnoxious to Southern Methodists and which violated the spirit of our agreement in unification. This resolution was introduced by Professor Jack Lance, the associate Conference lay leader and was signed by a host of prominent ministers. It may be because of his opinion that it is better to let such a condition exist than to stir it up. At the Atlanta Methodist Preachers' Conference in the early weeks of 1950 he did oppose our Resolution which condemned the Methodist Federation For Social Action partly on the grounds that it was better not to admit that something was wrong in our Methodism.

We trust that the good Doctor of Religion does not refuse to act, as entirely too many churchmen today, on the theory that it is perfectly all right for Methodists to be affiliated with as many Communist fronts as they desire so to be.

We reiterate what we said so strongly in the April issue of OMV—There is no place in a Methodist Church for the offices of any organization which has Communist fronters on its Board of Control. The Southern Regional Council should be put out of Wesley Memorial without further delay. If the Board is derelict in its duty to vacate the offices of SRC, the coming session of the North Georgia Conference can. We believe that it will.

SOCIALISM SPAWNED

(Continued from page one)

tinued, "call it socialism you can say what you will and win approval'.

(3) In order to change our economic order they further suggest the necessity of feeding Socialism to our children and youth. They say, "The ENTIRE program of the Church SHOULD be so planned that as an outcome of the regular program there will be developed in **CHILDREN, YOUNG PEOPLE** -- those attitudes and practices of cooperation, which constitute citizenship in the Christian social order".

(4) "We shall cooperate" they say "in EVERY way with the Methodist Federation For Social Action and with all "OTHER" agencies of the Church which by their nature can be of service in the propagation of the social Gospel". The "SOCIAL GOSPEL" to them always means the abolition of our free enterpise.

They deplore the fact that our system of education has supported the "system of capitalistic-nationalistic individualism". These Marxian Methodists with ministers of other denominations say, "Our task is to get underneath the victims of our present order and lift up and get above and press down". They boldly proclaim that, "Natural resources, water power, the major means of communication and TRANSPORTATION, and progressively, the major means of production MUST be transferred from private to public CONTROL." They declare that, "While socialism and Christianity are not identical, SOCIALISM builds upon the basic principles of the Christian religion".

They pledge themselves to "challenge the basic assumptions of the capitalistic system". They asserted that the declarations of principles and the economic aims of the Socialist Party most nearly coincided with their economic views.

There are many familiar Methodist preachers whose names are found on the Executive Committee and list of delegates. Among them are district superintendents, a Church Editor, members and a Secretary of a General Board It is almost trite to say that the Methodist Federation was well represented at this Chicago conference. And, of course, no one it seems now, will be shocked to know that there were some Communist fronting Methodist preachers in the group.

Among the Bibliography of the LEADERS HANDBOOK such left wing and Communist publications are proudly listed: "The Soviet Challenge To America"; "Soviet Russia"; "The Challenge of Russia"; "Decay of Capitalist Civilization"; "Little Blue Book on Socialism"; "Why I Am A Socialist"; "Is Capitalism Doomed"? and many others.

GEO. SINCLAIR MITCHELL—

(Continued from page one)

Paul Crouch was a member of the Southern Conference For Human Welfare while he was a member in good standing with the Communist Party. Howard Lee of Alabama was a member of the Communist Party while he participated in the **FIRST** and second conferences of the Southern Conference For Human Welfare. John P. Davis was, and had been a member of the Communist party several years before he attended the founding of the new organization. Such Communists as Jack Stachel, Earl Browder, Rob Hall, Ted Wellman and Paul Crouch made visits to New York to confer with Party big wigs as to the plans and strategy to be followed in the Southern Conference For Human Welfare.

In April, 1938 a few months after the inception of this Communist organization, Paul Crouch went to Birmingham to take over the duties of the editor of the NEW SOUTH. The first two issues were published in the name of the Communist Party, but is was quickly seen that to continue that, the Communists Party would not be able to fool gullible and so-called liberal Southerners in to the fold of the Communist front known as the Southern Conference For Human Welfare. It was then published by the New South Publishing Company. The contributing editors for the New South which was the official organ of the INFANT organization known as the Southern Conference For Human Welfare who were members of the Communist Party were Donald Burke; Jack Strong, whose real name was Jack Sapphire (Don't have any evidence as to whether he is a brother-in-law to Kingfish); Ben Davis, Jr., R. F. Hall; Ted Williams; James W. Ford; Bart Logan and Henry Winston. The New South in the early stages was subsidized by William Weiner, the head of the Central Committee of the Communist Party. **The Alabama district of the Communist Party was given grants by the Central Committee in its organizational work to build the Southern Conference For Human Welfare.** Joseph S. Gelders, Communist Party leader in Birmingham, Ala., was a prominent member of a little committee in that city which helped work out the details of the organization that Stalin's crowd was preparing to launch to "improve" the South.

After the decision was made to organize the "CONFERENCE" within the PARTY by the district bureau in consultation with Earl Browder and the Central Committee, Gelders carried on the negotiations. He visited Washington, D. C., He succeded in meeting President and Mrs. Roosevelt, and succeeding in getting an invitation to Hyde Park, where he posed as a New Dealer, the President and Mrs. Roosevelt had no knowledge he was acting for the Communist Party. He then visited Mrs. Virginia Durr in Alexandria, Va., who was very enthusiastic for it, though she know it was started by the Communist Party. The initial funds for the organizational work for the Southern Conference For Human Welfare were furnished by the Communist Party. In later stages monies were raised from "liberal" groups and persons.

It seems that the foregoing is ample proof that the Communists not only designed and built the Southern Conference For Human Welfare but sat in the driver's seat.

Index IX of the House Committee On Un-American Activities lists members of the "Southern Council" of the Southern Conference For Human Welfare (1938-39) by states and includes under North Carolina **"George Mitchell, FSA Raleigh".** From the record GEORGE S. MITCHELL was affiliated with the SCFHW at least ten years. It is with good reasoning that he could not be a member of that Communist front for ten years and be so naive to not know that Stalin's crowd was running the show. **No person who was in the planning circles of it for ten years ought to be permitted office space in a Methodist Church unless he has repented of the sins of his fellow traveling.**

More Of Mitchell's Record of Affiliation With Notorious Communist Fronts

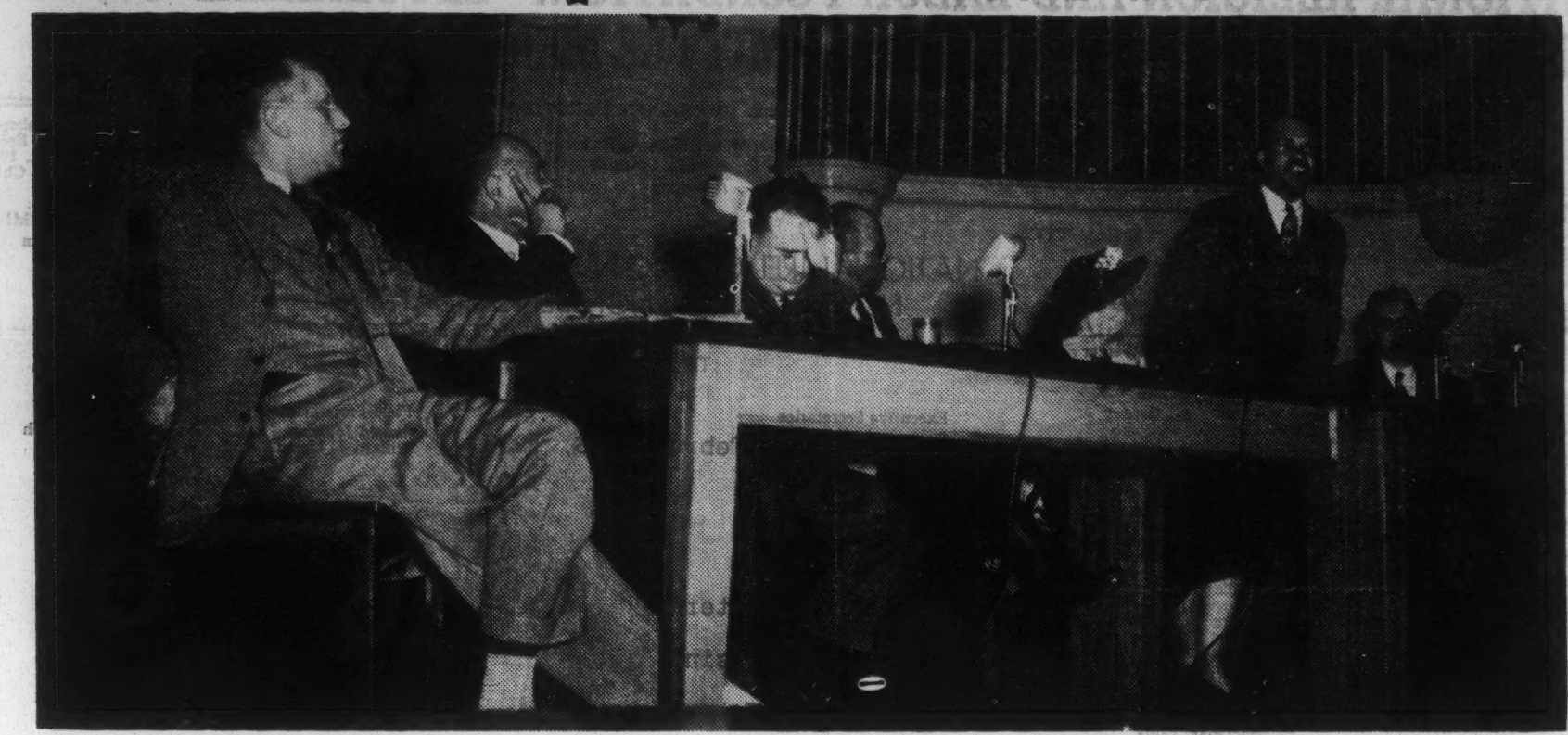
(The April issue of OMV carried the record of his affiliation with other Communist fronts.)

GEORGE S. MITCHELL was a Signer of the **Scottsboro (Ala.) Protest** which was played up by the Communist Party, for propagandizing their iniquitous cause. One Communist in speaking of this case said, "Hell, we don't care anything about those black boys—we are only interested in keeping it stirred up so we can send speakers down there to further our cause—". The **"Scottsboro Defense Committee"** which instigated protests to the trial of the Negroes is a communist front says the House Committee On Un-American Activities. The California Committee cited it "as a Communist created and controlled front organization". The Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities said it is a "United front under the guidance of the Communist Party",

MITCHELL was sponsor of Committee of 1000 and signer of petition to Congress to abolish the House Committee On Un-American Activities according to the September 27, 1948 issue of the New Republic. He was on the Board of Representatives of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare the now deceased communist front organization. Mitchell in 1931 was a lecturer for the left wing and off color **RAND SCHOOL.** He opposed

(Continued on page three)

A "SCENE" AT AN ATLANTA CONFERENCE OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL WITH HEADQUARTERS IN BELOVED WESLEY MEMORIAL



The speaker in the above picture is W. L. Prattis, editor of the COURIER, Negro National Weekly published in Pittsburgh, Pa., who is lashing out his tirade against the South. In his speech he referred to our historic cultural and cherished traditional patterns as "the crumbling bastions of Anglo-Saxon racism". As he reached the heights of Negro oratory which every true southerner has appreciated, he shouted out, "We smell victory in the air and we are looking for the WHITES of their eyes". In an Atlanta Church and under the sponsorship of SRC standing between Mrs. M. E. Tilly, prophetess of racial mixture in her Southland and Col. A. Abbott Rosens, now on the staff of the Anti-Defamation League, sort of a Jewish Ku Klux which has out "kukluxed" the Ku Klux Klan, goes to town in his speech which is to stir up strife and trouble in Georgia. As he gained momentum in his speech against the South he asked them to move their chairs to one side so he could have enough room to easily gesticulate. Despite his inflamatory remarks the thunderous ovation was almost deafening. He sat down but the wild acclaim given him by the mixed crowd in a church in the heart of Dixie brought him to his feet. From his expression in this picture, the able editor of The Atlanta Constitution is apparently embarrassed.

Atlanta Meeting of the Southern Regional Council Set Program to Destroy Our Necessary Cherished Traditions Of The South

Some 300 white and Negro persons met in the annex of the Lutheran Church on Peachtree, Atlanta in 1948 to discuss ways to break down our segregation laws and for the forcing of the adoption of a national FEPC. While there were a few well meaning colored and white persons who were interested in the promotion of right racial relations, the majority of the leaders was composed of the same crowd who take part in other off color meetings in Atlanta.

As the meeting got underway, a photographer leveled his camera and took a shot at the mixed crowd. At the unexpected flash of the bulb there was some commotion as several of the white women were heading for the door but they made their exit too late. Their picture had been taken. As the photographer started to take another shot, George S. MITCHELL one of the leading lights of the Southern Regional Council grabbed the photographer and shouted, "Did you make that picture"? When the photographer replied "Yes", Mitchell grabbed him by the arm and started shoving him toward the door. "You will have to leave the building now", Mitchell said excitedly, "because some white ladies are leaving because of pictures being made of the mixed audience."

On the outside a reporter asked MITCHELL, "Just what kind of a meeting is this"? Mitchell replied, **"This is just a little political meeting and we deliberately chose this building to hold it in to give it an air of religious sanctity and we don't want any pictures made of it".**

MORE OF MITCHELL'S AFFILIATIONS—

(Continued from page two)

the use of injunctions in labor disputes according to the New York Times April 1, 1946. The advertisement appearing in the paper was prepared and instigated by the **"National Federation for Constitutional Liberties"** which the House Committee says that, **"the Federation was among a maze of organizations which were spawned for the alleged purpose of defending civil liberties in general but actually intended to protect Communist subversion from any penalties under the law".**

SUBSCRIBE TO ONE METHODIST VOICE TODAY.

METHODIST FEDERATION TO HOLD ANNUAL CONVENTION IN CHICAGO

The forty-fifth Anniversary Convention of the Methodist Federation For Social Action will begin Monday, June 1, at Palos Park Community Center, Chicago according to a call sent out by the Executive Secretary, **the Reverend Jack R. McMichael, member of California-Nevada Methodist Annual Conference and a member of the Communist Party in the United States.**

In his letter the Federation's fanatical interests in the repeal of the McCarran-Walter Act and for Presidential Clemency for the traitorious Rosenbergs are expressed. "Among outstanding leaders", says McMichael, "who will be with us there are: Prof. Kermit Eby, Dr. Lucious Porter, Dean John B. Thompson, Dr. Harry F. Ward, Mrs. Earl Willmott." Ward and Thompson are "outstanding" in their Communist associations. Prof. Ebby is also a Communist fronter.

A Texas Steward—"What can the future hold for a Church, whose leaders faithfully follow the Communist line, use the Church to propagate their socialistic drival, and teach the youth that it is wrong and sinful to love their native land enough to defend it and their own freedom from tyrants who would enslave us".

SRC SPEAKER DEFENDS COMMUNIST AFFILIATIONS

PRATTIS in his column in the Courier, May 23, 1953 captioned "THE HORIZON" defends the notorious Communist fronter Mary McLoed BETHUNE for her many affiliations with subversive and Communist front organizations. Prattis says, "She is said to have belonged to more than twenty—. So what? Maybe she did. But what did that mean? Did that mean that Mary Mcleod Bethune was disloyal to her country, or is subversive? INDEED IT DID NOT."

Editor PRATTIS who was a sort of keynoter for an Atlanta Conference held by the Southern Regional Conference evidently thinks that no one should be criticised for having fellowship with fellow travelers and card-toting Communists in more than a score of Moscow inspired and originated and controlled subversive organizations. Prattis then "borrows" one of the Commies' tactics to dodge the real issue by saying, "We hope no one will be frightened --- because we are all so busy these days looking for Communists under our beds".

A Georgia Preacher—"There is a definite need for your publication. Our Church is becoming such a conglomerated regimentation that someone needs to make protest loud and long. There are many of us who would like to do so but we are helpless".

FACSIMILE OF LETTER SIGNIFICANT OF THE PRO-SOVIET ATTITUDE OF THE "NATIONAL RELIGION AND LABOR FOUNDATION." LETTERHEAD CONTAINS NAMES OF OFFICERS, NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS.

The National Religion and Labor Foundation which follows the Socialist pro-labor, anti-private enterprise line called a **Pittsburgh convention in 1948 of radical labor leaders** and "liberal" preachers to create interest in what they called "A socialism --- which strives to combine **individual freedom** and **common economic security"** which "is more in keeping with the **Judeo - Christians** of a good **human community** than is Capitalism". The economic theorists of the cloth declared, "that our economic life, and particularly our 'free enterprise' system, which we have defined as 'relatively unregulated privately-owned enterprise' is subject to God's judgement". **It is heartening to learn that these modernists believe in the judgment of God.**

In the official letter appearing on this page notice their revolutionary thinking. Some will say this was the way they thought before the recent war. But this leftist organization hasn't changed since the Soviet Union's threat to the free world, and not one preaher including Bishop Oxnam or Dr. Luther A. Weigle has gone to the mourners' bench of Americanism and professed faith in our free economy.

HONORARY PRESIDENTS

J. E. Hagerty, President Catholic Conference on Industrial Problems and Director, School of Social Administration, Ohio State University.

Sidney Hillman, President, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

Francis J. McConnell, Bishop, New York Area, Methodist Episcopal Church, and President, 1929-32, Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE

Grace Abbott
Jane Addams
Donald B. Aldrich
Roland H. Bainton
E. Wight Bakke
A. G. Baldwin
Bernard J. Bamberger
W. R. Barnhart
John C. Bennett
John O. Biddle
Dwight Bradley
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Charles S. Brown
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Abraham Cronbach
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Gardiner M. Day
William Horace Day
Sherwood Eddy
Robert B. Eleaser
A. B. Elliott
Phillips Elliott
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James Gordon Gilkey
Elizabeth Gilman
William E. Gilroy
Israel Goldstein
Herbert D. Graets
Harold Gray
Ernest Graham Guthrie
Herman J. Hahn
Powers Hapgood
S. Ralph Harlow
Erdman Harris
Hornell Hart
A. A. Heist
Arthur E. Holt
John Hope
Walter M. Horton
Lawrence T. Hosie
Lynn Harold Hough
Allan A. Hunter
Paul Hutchinson
Cecelia I. Jeffrey
Paul Jones
Howard A. Kester
A. Roger Kratz
Maynard O. Krueger
George S. Lackland
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Alex Lyall
Louis L. Mann
J. B. Matthews
Oscar E. Maurer
Jacob Mirviss
Darwin J. Meserole
Herbert A. Miller
Ethelwyn Mills
H. W. Morgan
Charles Clayton Morrison
Claud Nelson
Richard Niebuhr
Kelly O'Neall
G. Bromley Oxnam
Kirby Page
William Pickens
Arthur Pound
Helen E. Price
F. J. Schlink
Clarence Shedd
Guy Emery Shipler
E. B. Shults
Tucker P. Smith
Edmund D. Soper
George Soule
T. Guthrie Speers
George Stewart
Alfred W. Swan
Ronald J. Tamblyn
Wellington H. Tinker
Ernest F. Tittle
Henry P. Van Dusen
H. J. Voorhis
John Warford
Wellman Warner
Luther A. Weigle
Robert Whitaker
Eliot White
Walter White
J. Stitt Wilson
L. Hollingsworth Wood
Winnifred Wygal

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Herman A. Brautigam
P. H. Callahan
Allan K. Chalmers
Eleanor Copenhaver
Jerome Davis
Sidney Goldstein
William P. Hapgood
Hubert C. Herring
John Haynes Holmes
Edward L. Israel
Berton E. Kile
John A. Lapp
Douglas C. Macintosh
A. J. Muste
Reinhold Niebuhr
Frank Olmstead
A. Philip Randolph
Alva W. Taylor
Edward Thomas
Norman Thomas
Charles C. Webber
Stephen S. Wise

Office Secretary
Helen Louise Porter

NATIONAL RELIGION AND LABOR FOUNDATION
NON-SECTARIAN, NON-DENOMINATIONAL
304 CROWN STREET, NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT
TELEPHONE: 8-6667

Executive Secretaries
George A. Douglas
Francis A. Henson

Field Secretaries
Arnold Johnson
Willard E. Uphaus

February 16, 1933.

Mr. John E. Waters,
Box 242,
Madison Wisconsin.

My dear Mr. Waters:

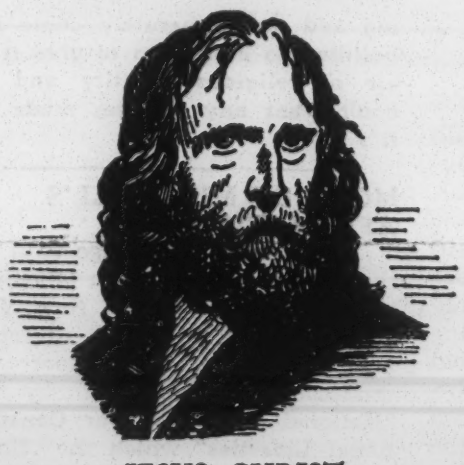
I regret that the Foundation is unable to help you carry forward the work you outline in your letter. We believe that the primary job today is one of achieving economic justice. We believe that this will require revolutionary changes in our social and economic order. Therefore, instead of attacking Soviet Russia, we are anxious to appreciate the contributions which it has made and, at the same time build here in this section of the world an order that has all of the values of the one that is being created in the Soviet Union, without the sacrifice of other important values.

Very sincerely yours,
Francis A. Henson
Francis A. Henson,
Economic Adviser.

To the right is facsimile of the cartoon of Jesus by Art Young of the staff of Communist-atheist "NEW MASSES" (Now suppressed by the United States Government for its subversive policies) which appeared in the November, 1932 issue of "ECONOMIC JUSTICE" the official Bulletin of The National Religion And Labor Foundation of which Bishops Oxnam and McConnell, Kirby Page, and a host of other ministers were affiliated with at that time.

REWARD

For Information Leading to the Apprehension of—



JESUS CHRIST

WANTED—For Sedition, Criminal Anarchy, Vagrancy, and Conspiring to Overthrow the Established Government.

Dresses poorly, *said* to be a carpenter by trade, ill-nourished, has visionary ideas, associates with common working people, the unemployed and bums. Alien—believed to be a Jew—ALIAS 'Prince of Peace,' 'Son of Man', 'Light of the World' &c. &c. *Professional Agitator,* Red beard, marks on hands and feet the result of injuries inflicted by an angry mob led by respectable citizens and legal authorities.

It Looks Like That They Carried Their "Brotherhood" Practice Too Far.

PAUL R. CHRISTOPHER
STATE DIRECTOR TENNESSEE

COURTNEY K. SHILL
ASSISTANT STATE DIRECTOR

Organizing Committee

216 FLATIRON BUILDING
KNOXVILLE 17, TENN.

NATIONAL OFFICE
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

JOHN V. RIFFE
NATIONAL DIRECTOR

ORAL L. GARRISON
SECRETARY-TREASURER

RECEIVED
JUN 2
Southern Regional Council

ADDRESS REPLY TO:

June 1, 1953

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear George:

Your letter of May 29th received, along with a copy of the publication mentioned.

You surely may say, speaking for me as a member of the Board of Directors, that you consider my loyalty and integrity above reproach.

Sincerely,

Paul R. Christopher

Paul R. Christopher

PRC:llr

MOREHOUSE COLLEGE

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

June 1, 1953

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

RECEIVED
JUN 2

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

You have my o.k. to say what you propose to say about the Council and us in your letter of May 29. I hope the Methodists will take this man in hand.

Sincerely,

Benjamin E. Mays

Benjamin E. Mays
President

BEM:H

GENERAL

The method which Craft has used in assembling and presenting his allegations against the SRC is by now a familiar one. The following points should be noted:

(1) He does not give any sources for his statements about the individuals attacked, except for two instances in which he cites the Daily Worker and another in which he mentions a former member of the Communist Party.

(2) Some of his "dossiers" on past and present Board members bear a close resemblance to the assortment of unverified reports, rumors, miscellaneous clippings, and old letterheads which comprise the "raw files" of the House Un-American Activities Committee. Although the Committee itself has stated that it cannot vouch for this unchecked and unevaluated material, unscrupulous individuals have been able to secure copies of it and use it for their irresponsible purposes.

(3) Although the past and present Board members of the SRC number 130, he comments on only 11 current Board members and 6 ex-Board members.

(4) He weaves in long, irrelevant passages about Communist activities and individuals that are in no way related to the SRC. This sort of purely verbal association is evidently designed to lend the appearance of substance to his unsubstantial charges.

(5) He cites perfectly innocent and respectable associations in such a way as to convey the impression that they are improper or subversive.

(6) As evidence of the irresponsibility of Craft's material, he lists as a Board member of the SRC one "Harry Stanley Brav." No such person has ever served on the Board, though Rabbi Stanley R. Brav, of Vicksburg, Mississippi, was a highly valued Board member until he moved out of the South in 1948.

(7) Craft makes no distinction as to the time, the nature, or the termination of the various affiliations of which he accuses directors and staff members of the SRC. It is no secret that Communist-front organizations have frequently made use of names without the permission or approval of the persons so named. It is also well known that many organizations which were entirely sound at the beginning were later infiltrated by Communists and Communist sympathizers; therefore, the time of joining and the time of withdrawal are of great importance to any real understanding of the association. It is obvious that any such understanding is alien to Craft's purpose.

June 2, 1953

MEMORANDUM

The April issue of One Methodist Voice, published by the Rev. Blake Craft of Clayton, Georgia, charges that the Board of the Southern Regional Council is "honeycombed with Communist fronters." The paper then undertakes to support this charge by a series of misstatements, innuendoes, and a record of alleged associations of past and present Board members. The conclusion which Craft wishes to leave with the reader is stated in an editorial on page 2: "The Southern Regional Council with its Board of Directors top heavy with fellow travelers and Communist fronters is unknowingly to some of its members aiding the Russian Cause to stir up the Negro question in the South. That is what pleases the Kremlin. The Red hand of Russia reaches into Georgia."

This charge is wholly false, as are most of the "facts" offered in support of it. The object of the author clearly is to discredit and embarrass the leadership of the North Georgia Conference of The Methodist Church--particularly, the Methodist board which administers the Wesley Memorial Building, where the SRC rents office space. A full understanding of his motives and methods can be gained from his personal background, the history of his relationships within the Church, and his previous utterances, through One Methodist Voice and otherwise. However, since the sole purpose of this memorandum is to demonstrate the false and libelous nature of the publication, these personal and denominational aspects will not be discussed here.

THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

The following brief account of the Southern Regional Council's history and make-up will give some idea of the far-fetched nature of Craft's attack.

LEAD ARTICLE, BEGINNING ON PAGE 1, ONE METHODIST VOICE

1. The first paragraph consists of a general indictment of the SRC unsupported by facts. The SRC is alleged to be carrying on an obnoxious program from a "point of advantage and influence"--i.e., the Wesley Memorial Building. It may be noted, in passing, that all stationery, publications, and news releases of the SRC bear the address 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.; the SRC has never sought in any way to capitalize on the location of its offices.

2. Dr. Mitchell is described as "a former professor of Columbia University and a notorious Communist fronter." He is neither. He was an instructor in economics at Columbia from 1929 to 1935, though it is hard to see what relevance this is supposed to have.

3. The next paragraph attributes to an anonymous "reliable source" an account of a meeting held at the Atlanta YWCA, September 9, 1952, under the sponsorship of the American Friends Service Committee. According to this account, the chairman is supposed to have said, "We have a member of the Communist Party here, let's hear what he has to say to that," after which Dr. Mitchell was called upon. The paragraph concludes with the statement that,"Dr. Mitchell did not deny that he was a member of the Communist Party."

This entire paragraph is as false in fact as it is vicious in implication. Attached are copies of signed statements by three persons who were present at the meeting and who declare unequivocally that no such incident took place. More than a dozen other reputable persons who were present can testify to the same point.

4. It is stated the SRC's publication New South was "consciously or unconsciously borrowed from the old official organ, New South, of the now defunct Communist originated and Communist inspired organization known as, 'The Conference for Human Welfare.'" This can only be described as hate-inspired nonsense. The SRC's publication was named New South in 1946 by the Executive Committee, after lengthy consideration of many possible titles. Neither the Committee nor the staff had ever heard of another publication of that name; the Southern Conference for Human Welfare (if that is the organization meant) never published anything by that title, to the best of our knowledge. The phrase "New South," as most schoolboys know, is taken from an historic address by Henry Grady. Apparently, Mr. Craft would attribute the origin of this famous phrase to the Communists!

5. In this paragraph and elsewhere in the paper, Craft makes much of the fact that several SRC Board members were at one time affiliated with the late Southern Conference for Human Welfare. This is one of the most shopworn methods used to discredit liberal-minded Southerners. Commenting on an attack upon Dr. Rufus E. Clement (almost identical with that in One Methodist Voice), The Atlanta Constitution editorialized on May 12, 1953:

Ralph McGill, editor of The Constitution, who led the exposure of the Southern Conference in its latter years, was an incorporator of the SRC, and has been a close friend of its work ever since. During the few years of their co-existence, the two organizations were widely considered rival agencies, markedly different in ideology and approach to Southern problems. To suggest, as Craft does, that the SRC was related to, or sympathetic with the left-wing element in the Southern Conference is to fly in the face of incontrovertible facts.

6. Craft declares, "Mitchell was an endorser and sponsor of Brookwood College at Katonah, New York, which the American Federation of Labor put a ban on it because of the school's Communistic affiliations." Dr. Mitchell recalls that he taught a class at Brookwood College on one or two occasions in 1930 or 1931. Brookwood was then a widely respected workers' education center. Craft does not give the date when the AFL allegedly "put a ban" on the institution.

7. Craft charges that Dr. Mitchell "is affiliated with the notorious Communist organization, Civil Rights Congress." Dr. Mitchell's comment follows:

> "Untrue, though in 1946 I permitted my name to be used in a newspaper ad as one of the sponsors of the first meeting of what became the Civil Rights Congress. This was the time when a movement was under way to repeal the Norris-LaGuardia Act, which forbade the use of injunctions in most labor disputes. I was asked to be a sponsor of an emergency meeting to form an organization to combat the movement to make these injunctions legal again. The great majority of those whose names were put to the invitation sent me were sound Americans with the good interests of the country at heart. I was, and am still, opposed to the use of injunctions in labor disputes. On the assumption that the proposed organization would work effectively against this practice, I permitted my name to be used as a sponsor for the emergency meeting. Within a few months, it became apparent that the resulting Civil Rights Congress was strongly influenced by Communists, and a year or so later,

when the organization asked me again to be a sponsor of some meeting it was having, I refused. I never joined the Civil Rights Congress, am not and have never been a member of it, and have never attended any of its meetings."

8. The last paragraph makes no point at all, apparently having been added for suggestive effect. Dr. Mitchell was from February 1944 until about May 1945 regional director for the CIO political Action Committee, covering the states of Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Tennessee, Mississippi, and for part of the time, Louisiana. No responsible person supposes that the Political Action Committee was Communist-dominated; the charge was certainly never made against Dr. Mitchell's office. Craft does not identify the mysterious "Mr. Morgan" or explain what a telephone call to him is supposed to have meant.

PAGE 3, ONE METHODIST VOICE

1. The first paragraph states Mrs. Tilly was "a sponsor of the Mid-Century Conference for Peace held in Chicago, May, 1950" and proceeds to discuss in detail the leftist record of persons described as her "fellow sponsors." Mrs. Tilly did not sponsor or attend the so-called "Mid-Century Conference for Peace and has never even heard of the individuals described as her "fellow sponsors."

2. Paragraph 2 states: "According to the letterhead of the Communist front known as THE COMMITTEE FOR PEACEFUL ALTERNATIVES TO THE ATLANTIC PACT, Mrs. M. E. Tilly is listed as a member of the Executive Board." The first time Mrs. Tilly heard of this charge was in June 1951. She promptly sent a registered letter to the Committee for Peaceful Alternatives, demanding that her name be removed from its letterhead, if it was being so used.

3. Paragraph 3: "Mrs. Tilly was also asponsor of the National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax which is cited as a Communist Front by the California Committee on Un-American Activities." Mrs. Tilly, along with a great many other leading Americans who oppose any tax on the right to vote, was at one time affiliated with this organization. It is interesting that the California Committee, which is notorious for its loose allegations, should be the authority for the charge that this organization was a Communist front. So far as is known, no responsible Federal agency ever declared it to be so during the period of Mrs. Tilly's membership.

4. Paragraph 4: "She was a sponsor of the National Citizens Conference on Civil Liberties, according to the Daily Worker, April 16, 1948." This doubtful source to the contrary, Mrs. Tilly did not sponsor or participate in anything called the National Citizens Conference on Civil Liberties.

5. Paragraph 5: "Mrs. Tilly was one of the initiators of the National Committee to Repeal the McCarran Act and appears as Mrs. M. E. Tilly on the letterhead while her signature appears with other signers of an open letter to all Congressmen as Dorothy Tilly." What is the point? Is the fact that Mrs. Tilly signed her name in two different ways supposed to be

subversive? No allegation is made against the Committee to Repeal the McCarran Act. In any case, Mrs. Tilly resigned from the Committee--for quite other reasons--more than a year ago.

6. Paragraph 6: "Mrs. M. E. Tilly's name appears on the official roll of the Methodist Federation for Social Action several years as an executive member." That is true. Mrs. Tilly withdrew from the MFSA in 1949.

7. Paragraph 7: "Mrs. M. E. (Dorothy) Tilly of Atlanta, Ga., is listed as a member of 'The National Citizens' Political Action Committee.'" When this organization was founded in 1944, it commanded the respect and participation of a host of reputable citizens. There was no suggestion that it was anything but a sincere and honest movement. Only in its latter days--well after Mrs. Tilly and other influential citizens had ceased to be active in it--did the NCPAC fall under Communist influence, and shortly thereafter it was merged into a left-wing organization with which Mrs. Tilly had no connection whatever. Since the NCPAC has been out of existence for years, Craft's use of the present tense to suggest a current affiliation is either inexcusable ignorance or downright deceit.

8. Paragraph 8: "Mrs. Tilly's name appears on the letterhead of the 'American Civil Liberties Union' as a member of the national Committee that was used in October, 1951, which the California Committee on Un-American Activities says it may be definitely classed as a Communist front or 'transmission belt' organization." Mrs. Tilly's affiliation with the American Civil Liberties Union requires neither defense nor apology. It is a well established fact that the ACLU is a non-Communist organization. One can only wonder at the reliability of Craft's source in view of the following statement which appears in a document issued by the House Un-American Activities Committee on February 17, 1952 (quoted by Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam in the Washington Post): "The American Civil Liberties Committee has never been cited as Red-dominated, or as Communist, by any official organization charged with the duty of investigating subversive activity."

Same paragraph: "She has been a member of the National Board, 'Americans for Democratic Action.'" Craft does not explain what this is supposed to mean. The Americans for Democratic Action is a militantly anti-Communist organization.

Same paragraph: "She was listed as one of the signers of a statement on Korea, released by the Communist inspired 'Committee for Peaceful Alternatives--' as shown in the Daily Worker of July 28, 1950, the official organ of the Communist Party in the U. S." Mrs. Tilly has never signed any statement on Korea. The half-truth behind this charge may be the fact that in February 1950 Mrs. Tilly joined a number of religious leaders in signing an open letter to the President. This letter urged the President to work for a practical agreement on international control of atomic energy--an objective which has been an official part of U. S. policy since 1945. The Korean war had not begun--or even been foreseen--in February 1950.

9. Paragraph 9: "Mrs. Tilly, according to the Daily World, April 6, 1952 addressed a three days' Women's Conference on World Peace at Daytona Beach, Florida called by the notorious Communist fronter Dr. Mary McCleod Bethune founder of the National Council of Negro Women." This characterization of Mrs. Bethune is an unwarranted smear of a great American woman who has won national and international honor for her many constructive activities. Mrs. Tilly was present at the meeting in question, along with leading representatives of Protestant, Jewish and Catholic church women; the vice-chairman of the World Council of Churches; and the National Committeewomen of both the Democratic and the Republican Parties.

BOARD MEMBERS

Eleven current Board members of the SRC are accused of Communist-front affiliations. These persons were elected to the Board in consideration of their recognized worth and service to the South and the Nation. The high positions of public esteem which they occupy are enough alone to discredit this implied attack on their loyalty. In any case, men of the stature of Dr. Charles S. Johnson, Dr. Rufus E. Clement, Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, Dr. F. D. Patterson, Dr. Will Alexander, and the rest, require no defense by us.

The same may be said of the two persons who hold no position in the SRC but are attacked as having taken part in SRC activities--i.e., Dr. Channing Tobias and Mr. Frank McCallister.

It may be noted that at least two of these persons have had occasion to repudiate these same charges in more important connections. In the Senate hearing on his appointment as delegate to the United Nations, Dr. Tobias was confronted by the same kind of irresponsible attack as appears in One Methodist Voice. After hearing his testimony, the Senate committee unanimously confirmed his appointment, as did the full Senate in a subsequent session. Dr. Rufus E. Clement was similarly attacked by certain members of the Stlanta City Executive Committee who sought to have him disqualified as a candidate for the Board of Education. Following a hearing at which Dr. Clement testified, the Committee dropped the charges and Dr. Clement was overwhelmingly elected by the people.

Six ex-Board members are mentioned in One Methodist Voice. Two of these, to our knowledge, have been identified with leftish or Communist infiltrated movements--largely, however, in the last four years, when they were no longer members of the Board of SRC. In any case, these two former Board members--out of a total of 130--participated only in the early years of the SRC and played no significant part in the policy-making activities of the Board.

A D L
Southern Office

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH

Director
Alexander F. Miller

11 PRYOR ST., S.W., ATLANTA 3, GA.

May 19, 1953

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mr. Fleming:

My attention has been called to the April, 1953 issue of the publication, "One Methodist Voice". To say that I found the material in this publication shocking, is to indulge in understatement. I have known the work of the Southern Regional Council intimately for the last several years, and I have been well informed about the activities of Dr. George Mitchell, the director of the Council.

I have always regarded the Southern Regional Council and Dr. Mitchell as being in the forefront of the enemies of communism, not only in this country but even more importantly in the international arena. By attempting to extend the horizons of democracy, you have been contributing materially to the constant battle which the American way of life must consistently wage against the totalitarianism of the Soviets.

It so happens that I was present at the meeting held at the Atlanta YWCA on September 9th, 1952 under the sponsorship of the American Friends Service Committee, and which is described in "One Methodist Voice". The purpose of this meeting was a highly admirable one, one which any person with religious convictions must admire -- and that is the attainment and advancement of peace. During the course of the discussion, attention was directed to the fact that an important enemy of peace is communist Russia and that the intransigence of the Soviet leaders is a tremendous obstacle to the achieving of international understanding.

The description of this meeting as contained in "One Methodist Voice" leaves me completely bewildered. Dr. Mitchell was never by direct statement nor by implication identified as a communist or as a spokesman for communism. Dr. Mitchell never indicated by statement or by implication that he is a communist or a spokesman for the communists. I was present during the entire session and I have a good and retentive memory. I never heard the words uttered ascribed either to Dr. Mitchell or to the Chairman.

Sincerely yours,

Alexander F. Miller

afm/bw

Atlanta, Georgia
May 19, 1953

Mr. Harold Fleming
% Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

I have recently seen a printed sheet which charged that at a meeting at the Atlanta YWCA, sponsored by the American Friends Service Commission, the presiding officer made the statement, "We have a member of the Communist Party here." The printed sheet stated that this information was furnished by a "reliable source."

I wish to state that I was present at the meeting and at no time during the meeting did the presiding officer or any other person in the room make the statement or any statement that could have been construed to mean the same thing. In fact, it seemed to me that the members of the group showed real concern for the values of democracy and Christianity, as applied to human relationships.

Yours very truly,

Julia White

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST
IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Southeastern Office
ERNEST J. ARNOLD, Director
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Atlanta 3, Georgia

18 May 1953

Dr. George Mitchell
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

The ONE METHODIST VOICE, April 1953, reports that you are singled out as a Communist at a meeting in the Y.W.C.A., September 9, 1952. I attended this meeting and remember that Mr. Roosa, from Greensboro, was presiding most of the time. I am sure that Mr. Roosa never made the statement "we have a member of the Communist Party here, let's hear what he has to say to that." I feel very definitely that some one is putting words into the mouth of Mr. Roosa as well as misquoting you. I hope some protest will be made.

Sincerely yours,

Ernest J. Arnold

EJA:em

LIST OF ALL PERSONS WHO HAVE SERVED ON THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS, 1944-MAY 1953

Name	Address	Term
Abram, Morris B.	Healey Bldg.,Atlanta, Ga.	1949-52
Alexander, Will W.	Route 3, Chapel Hill, N. C.	1944-52
Ashmore, Harry A.	Arkansas Gazette, Little Rock, Ark.	1951-55
Ames, Mrs. Jessie D.	Box 73, Tryon, N. C.	1944-49
Atwood, Rufus B.	State College, Frankfort, Ky.	1945-50
Beittel, A. D.	Talladega College, Talladega, Ala.	1949-51
Birnie, Mrs. C. M.	864 Hunter St., SW, Atlanta, Ga.	1949-53
Brown, Charlotte H.	Palmer Memorial Institute, Sedalia, N. C.	1944-53
Brown, Wilson M.	State Planters Bank, Richmond, Va.	1947-51
Butler, A. T.	1719 Taylor St., Columbia, S. C.	1949-53
Brav, Rabbi Stanley	9 Avon Fields Place, Cincinnati	1945-48
Burnham, Louis E.	526 Masonic Temple Bldg., Birmingham, Ala.	1945-49
Bond, Horace M.	Lincoln College, Pa.	1944-45
Bridges, Francis R., Jr.	Tallahassee, Fla.	1944
Carter, Hodding	504 Arnold Ave., Greenville, Miss.	1945-52
Christopher, Paul R.	216 Flatiron Bldg., Knoxville, Tenn.	1949-55
Clark, Felton	Southern University, Baton Rouge, La.	1946-50
Clary, Rev. G. E.	610 Victory Dr., Savannah, Ga.	1949-53
Clay, Emily	1020 Granada St., Clearwater, Fla.	1946-49
Clement, Rufus E.	Atlanta University, Atlanta, Ga.	1944-53
Clingman, Bishop Charles	421 S. 2nd St., Louisville, Ky.	1945-48
Coker, James L.	Sonoco Products, Hartsville, S. C.	1949-53
Cole, William E.	Univ. of Tennessee, Knoxville, Tenn.	1944-50
Comer, Donald W.	Avondale Mills, Birmingham, Ala.	1949-50
Crate, Mrs. James S.	2410 Inwood Dr., Houston, Texas	1949-52
Dabney, Virginius	Times-Dispatch, Richmond, Va.	1944-51
Dabbs, James M.	Mayesville, S. C.	1947-53
Daniel, R. P.	Fla. Natl. Bank Bldg., Jacksonville, Fla.	1945-49
Davidson, Herbert M.	News-Journal, Daytona Beach, Fla.	1948-52
Delpit, Ernest	3631 2nd St., New Orleans, La.	1944-48
Dent, A. W.	Dillard Univ., New Orleans, La.	1944-52
Duncan, O. D.	Oklahoma A&M College, Stillwater, Okla.	1944-52
Dunlap, Davisson	Barnett Bldg., Jacksonville, Fla.	1952-53
Deer, Rev. Lewis H.	Pulaski Heights Christian Church Little Rock, Ark.	1951-53
Easom, P. H.	Dept. of Education, Jackson, Miss.	1945-47
Ellison, J. M.	Virginia Union University, Richmond, Va.	1948-52
Foreman, Clark	935 G Pl., N.W., Washington, D.C.	1944-49
Gibbs, W. W.	816 Ingraham Bldg., Miami, Fla.	1951
Gillman, Charles H.	95 Merritts Ave., Atlanta, Ga.	1944-51
Goode, H. D.	405½ N. De Villiers, Pensacola, Fla.	1944-48
Griffin, John A.	Emory University, Ga.	1945-52
Haas, Leonard	Haas-Howell Bldg., Atlanta, Ga.	1944-52
Hamilton, Mrs. Grace T.	239 Auburn Ave., NE, Atlanta, Ga.	1944-51
Hancock, Gordon B.	Box 6056, Richmond, Va.	1944-52
Havens, Mrs. Henry	2845 Corinthian Ave., Jacksonville, Fla.	1944-49
Haworth, D. Swan	First Baptist Church, Lumberton, N. C.	1949-52
Henderson, Jacob R.	816 Playlane, NE, Atlanta, Ga.	1945-49
Herbert, R. B.	Palmetto Bldg., Columbia, S. C.	1944-47
Jackson, Luther P.	(Deceased) Petersburg, Va.	1944-49
Jackson, Maynard	437 Mitchell St., SW, Atlanta, Ga.	1945-49

Jaffe, Louis I.	(Deceased) Norfolk, Va.	1944-50
Jemison, Rev. D. V.	1605 Lapsley St., Selma, Ala.	1946-50
Johnson, Charles S.	Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn.	1944-52
Johnson, Guy B.	Box 652, Chapel Hill, N. C.	1951-55
Jones, David B.	Bennett College, Greensboro, N. C.	1946-50
Long, John	Southern Christian Institute, Edwards, Miss.	1949-52
Looby, Z. A.	419 4th Ave., N., Nashville, Tenn.	1944-48
Mantinband, Rabbi Charles	808 Mamie St., Hattiesburg, Miss.	1949-53
Marmion, Rev. W. H.	2612 W. 17th St., Wilmington, Del.	1947-50
Matherly, Walter J.	Univ. of Florida, Gainesville, Fla.	1944
May, Armand	Amer. Assoc. Cos., 451 Stephens, SW, Atlanta	1945-53
Mays, Benjamin E.	Morehouse College, Atlanta, Ga.	1944-53
Milner, Clyde	Guilford College, N. C.	1948-52
Milton, L. D.	212 Auburn Ave., NE, Atlanta, Ga.	1944-53
Mitchell, Arthur W.	Box 670, Petersburg, Va.	1950-54
Moore, Bishop Arthur J.	63 Auburn Ave., NE, Atlanta, Ga.	1944-51
Moron, Alonzo	Hampton Institute, Hampton, Va.	1949-53
Mynders, Alfred	Chattanooga Times, Chattanooga, Tenn.	1945-52
McDowell, E. A.	Southeastern Baptist Seminary, Wake Forest, N.C.	1944-49
McNamara, Msgr. T.J.	222 E. Harris St., Savannah, Ga.	1944-51
Newbold, N. C.	N.C. Dept. of Educ., Raleigh, N. C.	1944-52
O'Connell, Rev. V. J.	St. Louis Church, St. Paul, Minn.	1949-52
Odum, Howard W.	Univ. of N.C., Chapel Hill, N. C.	1945-52
O'Hara, Archbishop Gerald P.	222 E. Harris St., Savannah, Ga.	1944-50
Palmer, E. W.	Kingsport Press, Kingsport, Tenn.	1948-52
Parrish, C. H.	Univ. of Louisville, Louisville, Ky.	1945-53
Patterson, F. D.	Tuskegee Institute, Ala.	1944-53
Paty, Raymond	T.V.A., Knoxville, Tenn.	1944-50
Penick, Bishop E. A.	802 Hillsboro St., Raleigh, N. C.	1945-53
Pollard, J. C.	Sommers, Va.	1944-53
Preston, Edmund	Richmond, Va.	1944-45
Rainey, Homer P.	Stephens College, Mo.	1945-47
Rainey, Glenn W.	120 3rd St., NW, Atlanta, Ga.	1949-53
Raper, Arthur	Vienna, Va.	1948-52
Ratliff, Mrs. W. H.	Sherard, Miss.	1947-51
Ray, Edgar	Tampa Times, Tampa, Fla.	1946-50
Rayzor, Mrs. J. Newton	3207 Groveland Lane, Houston, Texas	1951-55
Reddix, Jacob L.	Jackson College, Jackson, Miss.	1944-48
Reid, Ira De A.	Haverford College, Haverford, Pa.	1944-48
Richardson, Harry V.	Gammon Theological Seminary, Atlanta, Ga.	1948-52
Robb, James L.	63 Auburn Ave., NE, Atlanta, Ga.	1944-45
Robinson, Mrs. E. U.	125 5th Ave., S., Franklin, Tenn.	1950-52
Rogers, G. D.	(Deceased), Tampa, Fla.	1944-51
Russell, Rev. Leon	Jarvis Memorial Church, Greenville, N.C.	1949-53
Russell, Rev. R. L.	(Deceased), Atlanta, Ga.	1944-50
Schaeffer, Rev. H. Brent	1525 Robinson St., Jackson, Miss.	1950-52
Seabrook, J.W.	Fayetteville, N. C.	1945-49
Shulhafer, Philip E.	2636 Dellwood Dr., NW, Atlanta, Ga.	1944-50
Smith, Charles	The Plains, Va.	1949-50
Spearman, Mrs. E. H.	1511 Laurel St., Columbia, S. C.	1945-53
Spencer, Frank W.	Box 136, Savannah, Ga.	1945-47

Staples, Thomas S.	Hendrix College, Conway, Ark.	1944-48
Stern, Edgar B.	2110 Amer. Bank Bldg., New Orleans, La.	1944-48
Strong, Mrs. A.M.P.	Box 503, Marianna, Ark.	1944-48
Stuart, J. G.	2030 Taylor St., Columbia, S. C.	1944-48
Sytz, Florence	Tulane University, New Orleans, La.	1944-52
Solomon, Crawford	Jacksonville Fla., 218 W. Church St.	1951-53
Thomas, L. E.	1035 N. W. 2nd Ave., Miami, Fla.	1951-54
Tilly, Mrs. M. E.	63 Auburn Ave., N.E., Atlanta, Ga.	1944
Twomey, Rev. L. J.	Loyola University, New Orleans, La.	1950-52
Trigg, Harold L.	St. Augustine's College, Raleigh, N. C.	1944-45 & 1947-55
Tydings, J. M.	808 Starks Bldg., Louisville, Ky.	1945-52
Washington, F. B.	Atlanta U. Sch. of Soc. Work, Atlanta, Ga.	1944-53
Wellons, R. D.	Pembroke, N. C.	1949-52
Wesley, Carter	Box 3086, Houston, Texas	1944-53
Wheeler, John H.	Mechanics & Farmers Bank, Durham, N. C.	1944-51
White, Goodrich C.	Emory University, Atlanta, Ga.	1944-50
Wilke, Rev. W. W.	2100 Wolfe St., Little Rock, Ark.	1950-51
Wilkins, Josephine	387 Milledge Ave., Athens, Ga.	1944-50 & 1950-54
Williams, John Page	5401 Tuckahoe Ave., Richmond, Va.	1951-54
Williams, Paul D.	3320 Gloucester Rd., Richmond, Va.	1944-55
Wright, Bishop R.R.	Philadelphia, Pa.	1948-52
Wright, Marion A.	Linville Falls, N. C.	1945-52
Wilcoxon, F. C.	Vicksburg, Miss.	1945-47
Williams, Aubrey	Southern Farm & Home, Montgomery, Ala.	1945-49
Whitsett, Rev. Dan C.	First Methodist Church, Sylacauga, Ala.	1951-53
Young, P. B.	Journal & Guide, Norfolk, Va.	1948-52
Zeuch, Mrs. Warren	850 Royal Palm Place, Vero Beach, Fla.	1945-53
Knight, Ryland	formerly of Atlanta	1944-
Lee, J. R. E.	(deceased), Tallahassee, Fla.	1944-

June 2, 1953

MEMBERS OF SRC EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, PAST AND PRESENT
(See list of Board Members for Identifications.)

Name	Term of Office
Mr. Francis R. Bridges	1944-1944
Mrs. Cassandra M. Birnie	1952-to date
Mr. Paul R. Christopher	1951-to date
Dr. Rufus E. Clement	1944-to date
Dr. A. W. Dent	1952-to date
Mr. John A. Griffin	1952-to date
Mr. Leonard Haas	1944-to date
Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton	1951-1951
Dr. Gordon B. Hancock	1944-to date
Dr. Charles S. Johnson	1944-1952
Dr. Guy B. Johnson	1948-1951
Mr. C. H. Gillman	1946-1950
Msgr. T. James McNamara	1944-1951
Mr. Alfred Mynders	1952-to date
Rev. V. J. O'Connell, S. M.	1952-1952
Dr. Howard W. Odum	1944-1945
Mr. Edmund Preston	1945-1945
Mr. Homer P. Rainey	1944-1944
Dr. Harry V. Richardson	1952-to date
Mr. Frank W. Spencer	1946-1946
Dr. Harold L. Trigg	1947-1951
Mr. Carter Wesley	1944-to date
Mr. John H. Wheeler	1949-1951
Miss Josephine Wilkins	1944-1950
Mr. Paul D. Williams	1945-1951
Mr. Marion A. Wright	1950-to date
Mr. P. B. Young, Sr.	1944-1949
Very Rev. Maurice V. Shean, C. O.	1953-to date
Rev. Andrew S. Turnipseed	1953-to date

MACALESTER COLLEGE
SAINT PAUL 5, MINNESOTA

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

June 12, 1953

Mrs. M. E. Tilly:
Southern Regional Conference
Room 432. 63 Auburn Ave., NE.,
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

I am shocked that anybody should make these attacks on you. I have just been through the same experience, due to the article by J. B. McGuire in the American Mercury. I am glad to report that I have won out all along the line, due primarily to the support given to me by the national officers of the Presbyterian Churc h USA. I hope you will use the same strategy, telegraph your national officers who have known you throughout the years, who know the Christian motive behind all your endeavors, and who will be happy to come to your defense. Do not give in a single inch.

I am sending you my file on the Committee for Peaceful Alternatives, which was originally the Committee for Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact. My own membership was confined, I think, to the Mid Century Conference on Peace, I am sending you my file on this Mid-Century Conference, because it contains the list of members of the Conference who initiated the Call. It does not seem to contain your name, but there may be two reasons for this (1) The list may be incomplete; and (2) Your membership may have been in the Committee on Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact, which preceded the Conference. In either event, however, I am sure that most of the people listed in what I have sent you were also interested in the movement to which you refer in your letter.

The most important thing to note about the Mid Century Conference on Peace and the Committee on Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact is that both preceded the invasion of Korea by the North Korean forces. The Mid Century Conference was held in Chicago on May 29-30-31, 1950, and the Korean invasion took place on June 26, 1950, and it was totally unexpected. In other words, persons like you and me who are interested in peace were making certain moves aimed at peace when the nation itself was at peace. Other considerations may be involved when the nation is at war, although so far as I know Senator McCarthy and Mr. Velde have not yet succeeded in making it a crime to speak and plan for peace even when the nation is at war.

Please return my file when you are finished with it. If there is anything further that I can do, please let me know.

Sincerely your friend,

Chas. J. Turck

Charles J. Turck

May, 1950.

Call for Mid-Century Conference

List of Signers 3/15/50

Emily Greene Balch

Dr. David D. Baker

Dr. Wade Crawford Barclay

Rabbi Jonah B. Caplan

Rev. Donald B. Cloward

Dr. Abraham Cronbach

Rev. Mark A. Cauber

Prof. Kermit Eby

Rabbi Alvin I. Fine

Prof. E. Franklin Frazier

Rabbi Robert Gordis

Bishop S. L. Greene

Prof. Georgia Harkness

Dr. Thomas Mann

Prof. Robert J. Havighurst

Rev. Prof. Charles W. Iglehart

Rev. Dr. D. V. Jemison

Jameson Jones

Rabbi Leo Jung

Rev. Dr. William B. Lampe

Rev. Prof. Halford E. Luccock

Donald L. Mathews

Prof. F. O. Matthiessen

Dr. Benjamin E. Mays

Dean Walger G. Muelder

Dr. John S. Nollen

Bishop W. J. Walls

Dr. Albert W. Palmer

Rt. Rev. Edward L. Parsons

Prof. Linus Pauling

Prof. George V. Schick

Rev. Franklin I. Sheeder

(Hon.) Odell Shepard

Prof. P. A. Sorokin

Dean John B. Thompson

Dr. Charles J. Turck

Prof. Oswald Veblen

Prof. Goodwin Watson

Peace

Committee for Peaceful Alternatives

158 WEST 56TH STREET • NEW YORK 19, N. Y.

TELEPHONE JUDSON 6-3882

File

Honorary Chairmen

MISS EMILY GREENE BALCH
Wellesley, Mass.

BISHOP W. J. WALLS
Chicago, Ill.

Vice Chairmen

RABBI ABRAHAM CRONBACH
Cincinnati, Ohio

REV. MARK A. DAWBER
New York, N. Y.

PROF. KERMIT EBY
Chicago, Ill.

DR. HALFORD E. LUCCOCK
New Haven, Conn.

DR. ALBERT W. PALMER
Altadena, Calif.

REV. FRANKLIN I. SHEEDER
Philadelphia, Pa.

DEAN JOHN B. THOMPSON
Chicago, Ill.

Secretary

MISS JULE T. BOUCHARD

March 17th, 1950.

Dr. Charles Turck, President
Macalester College
St. Paul, Minnesota

Dear Dr. Turck:

I want to take this opportunity to thank you for your gracious endorsement of the "MID-CENTURY CONFERENCE FOR PEACE" by indicating your willingness to become an initiating sponsor.

I am enclosing for your information the complete list of those whose signature will appear on the covering letter. The letter will then be sent to some 500 distinguished persons throughout the country for sponsorship.

You will note in the enclosed final draft Call many changes from the original copy. These changes were made on the recommendation and advice of many of the initiating sponsors. I do hope the final draft meets with your approval.

The consensus points to Chicago for the place where the conference will be held and May 29th, 30th and 31st for the time. I will most certainly keep you informed of our progress.

Please note dates!

We hope soon to call a meeting of all initiating sponsors, at which time Conference plans, program, speakers, etc. will be discussed.

Sincerely yours,

Jule T. Bouchard
(Miss) Jule T. Bouchard

JTB:jcb
encs.

Committee for Peaceful Alternatives

158 WEST 56TH STREET • NEW YORK 19, N. Y.

TELEPHONE JUDSON 6-3882

Honorary Chairmen

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Wellesley, Mass.

BISHOP W. J. WALLS
Chicago, Ill.

Vice Chairmen

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Cincinnati, Ohio

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New York, N. Y.

PROF. KERMIT EBY
Chicago, Ill.

DR. HALFORD E. LUCCOCK
New Haven, Conn.

DR. ALBERT W. PALMER
Altadena, Calif.

REV. FRANKLIN I. SHEEDER
Philadelphia, Pa.

DEAN JOHN B. THOMPSON
Chicago, Ill.

Secretary

MISS JULE T. BOUCHARD

March 15, 1950.

You have no doubt been shaken as we were by the sudden decision to produce the Hydrogen Bomb.

Protests against the production and use of the Bomb are flooding Washington. Yet the decision to produce the Bomb still stands. It has become a weapon of fear. It demonstrates our utter reliance upon military force as the corner-stone of our country's political policy. It promises total annihilation for the world and its peoples.

Appalling as the situation is, we assert with the deepest conviction that war is not inevitable. The need for survival dictates the need for peaceful alternatives.

It is our belief that Americans as well as all people throughout the world desperately want peace. We can and must prevent the cataclysm of another world war through the pressure of our opinion.

In the Senate, Senator Brien McMahon stated: "This is a time for soul-searching, for nation-wide and world-wide debate, and for the launching and maintaining of that moral crusade for peace which alone can save us and lead mankind along the righteous paths of security, abundance and liberty."

We are prepared to enter this crusade for peace. The enclosed Call indicates our thinking. Will you join with us in initiating this MID-CENTURY CONFERENCE FOR PEACE to which all people of all re-

ligious creeds, of all political opinions, regardless of race or color, may come to express their opinions and offer their solutions and plan for further peace action?

We are men and women of hope. By working together we believe our country and the world can be turned to peace and that mankind can enter an era of abundance and liberty.

Sincerely yours,

Emily Greene Balch
Emily Greene Balch

Thomas Mann
Dr. Thomas Mann

Bishop W. J. Walls

David D. Baker
Dr. David D. Baker

Robert J. Havighurst
Prof. Robert J. Havighurst

Albert W. Palmer
Dr. Albert W. Palmer

Wade Crawford Barclay
Dr. Wade Crawford Barclay

Charles W. Iglehart
Rev. Prof. Charles W. Iglehart

Edward L. Parsons
Rt. Rev. Edward L. Parsons

Jonah E. Caplan
Rabbi Jonah E. Caplan

D.V. Jemison
Rev. Dr. D.V. Jemison

Linus Pauling
Prof. Linus Pauling

Donald B. Cloward
Rev. Donald B. Cloward

Jameson Jones
Jameson Jones

George V. Schick
Prof. George V. Schick

Abraham Cronbach
Dr. Abraham Cronbach

Leo Jung
Rabbi Leo Jung

Franklin I. Sheeder
Rev. Franklin I. Sheeder

Mark A. Dawber
Rev. Mark A. Dawber

William E. Lampe
Rev. Dr. William E. Lampe

Odell Shepard
(Hon.) Odell Shepard

Kermit Eby
Prof. Kermit Eby

Halford E. Luccock
Rev. Prof. Halford E. Luccock

P. A. Sorokin
Prof. P.A. Sorokin

Alvin I. Fine
Rabbi Alvin I. Fine

Donald L. Mathews
Donald L. Mathews

John B. Thompson
Dean John B. Thompson

E. Franklin Frazier
Prof. E. Franklin Frazier

F. O. Matthiessen
Prof. F. O. Matthiessen

Charles J. Turck
Dr. Charles J. Turck

Robert Gordis
Rabbi Robert Gordis

Benjamin E. Mays
Dr. Benjamin E. Mays

Oswald Veblen
Prof. Oswald Veblen

Bishop S. L. Greene
Bishop S. L. Greene

Walter G. Muelder
Dean Walter G. Muelder

Goodwin Watson
Prof. Goodwin Watson

Georgia Harkness
Prof. Georgia Harkness

John S. Nollen
Dr. John S. Nollen

April 4, 1950

Miss Jule T. Bouchard
Committee for Peaceful Alternatives
158 West 56th Street
New York 19, New York

My dear Miss Bouchard:

April and May are the busiest months in a college president's year. For this reason, I cannot undertake to get together the Minnesota delegation to the Peace Conference. I am sorry.

Sincerely your friend,

Charles J. Turck

CJT:bam

Committee for Peaceful Alternatives

158 WEST 56TH STREET • NEW YORK 19, N. Y.

TELEPHONE JUDSON 6-3882

Honorary Chairmen

MISS EMILY GREENE BALCH
Wellesley, Mass.

BISHOP W. J. WALLS
Chicago, Ill.

Vice Chairmen

RABBI ABRAHAM CRONBACH
Cincinnati, Ohio

REV. MARK A. DAWBER
New York, N. Y.

PROF. KERMIT EBY
Chicago, Ill.

DR. HALFORD E. LUCCOCK
New Haven, Conn.

DR. ALBERT W. PALMER
Altadena, Calif.

REV. FRANKLIN I. SHEEDER
Philadelphia, Pa.

DEAN JOHN B. THOMPSON
Chicago, Ill.

Secretary

MISS JULE T. BOUCHARD

March 25, 1950

Dr. Charles Turck
President, Macalester College
St. Paul, Minn.

Dear Dr. Turck:

Enclosed you will find a copy of a letter which is going to other Minnesota sponsors of the Mid*Century Peace Conference.

Because of the leadership which you have so generously given to the national peace movement it will be most helpful if you could give some assistance to those who will try to organize a large and representative delegation from Minnesota to the Mid-Century Peace Conference.

Sincerely yours,

Jule T. Bouchard

(Miss) Jule T. Bouchard

JTB:RL
Enc.

COMMITTEE FOR PEACEFUL ALTERNATIVES [redacted]

HONORARY CHAIRMEN

Miss Emily Greene Balch
Wellesley, Mass.

Bishop W. J. Walls
Chicago, Ill.

VICE CHAIRMEN

Rabbi Abraham Cronbach
Cincinnati, Ohio

Rev. Mark A. Dawber
New York, N. Y.

Prof. Kermit Eby
Chicago, Ill.

Dr. Halford E. Luccock
New Haven, Conn.

Dr. Albert W. Palmer
Altadena, Calif.

Rev. Franklin I. Sheeder
Philadelphia, Pa.

Dean John B. Thompson
Chicago, Ill.

SECRETARY

Miss Jule T. Bouchard
1569 York Avenue
New York 28, N.Y.

March 25,1950

Dear Dr. Turck:

Please accept our thanks for becoming one of the sponsors of the Mid-Century Conference for Peace in Chicago, May 29 and 30th. You will be glad to know that we have received a tremendously favorable response indicating the deep desire for peace throughout our country.

The success of the Conference, however, depends on the presence of a large and representative delegation from your State. The Conference is only two months away and we are deeply concerned with its preparation. Therefore, the Program Committee set up by the Initiating Sponsors has suggested that I write to several of the leading sponsors in each State to take up this matter.

The following procedure suggests itself as a means of moving rapidly.

1. Would it be possible for you and several other of the leading Sponsors in your State(whose names are included herein and to whom we are also writing a similar letter) to convene a meeting to set up a State planning Committee? To such a meeting, which could be informal in character, and which should take place within the next two or three weeks, could be invited other Sponsors from your State as well as any other community leaders you may deem advisable.

NO

2. This State Planning Committee, as a means of building support for the Mid-Century Conference, could call a public State Planning Conference to be held by the week-end of April 29th at the latest. Such a Planning Conference could be both a public demonstration for peace as well as accomplish the following objectives:

   (a) build support for the Mid-Century Peace Conference through endorsements resolutions, etc.,

(b) set to work to organize a large and representative State delegation to the Conference.

(c) consider the holding of a large State Mid-Century for Peace Conference on a broad scale a month or six weeks following the Chicago Conference.

I hope the above organizational plan does not seem unduly rigid or impractical. It is suggested simply as an over-all plan which we hope would be suitable for you. However, any modifications or revisions that you might want to make in it will be completely at the discretion of you and the other sponsors since you are best acquainted with the situation in your own State.

Will you let us know what you think of these proposals and whether you believe you can help realize them in your State.

Sincerely yours,

Jule T. Bouchard

(Miss) Jule T. Bouchard
Secretary

JTB:pm

P. S. Please forgive my not writing you more personally, but I am sure you will understand that the urgency of the situation compels us to utilize this mimeographed form.

Other sponsors receiving this letter in your State:

MINNESOTA

Dr. Bernhard Christensen,
Pres. Augsburg College
Minn.

Geo. Mecklenburg,
5510 Edgwater Blvd.,
Minneapolis, Minn.

Mr. Kaz Kawata
2404 East 22nd St.
Minneapolis, 6, Minn.

C. Sheldon Hart,
Carleton College
Northfield, Minn.

I.M. Kolthoff
School of Chemistry
University of Minnesota
Minneapolis, Minn.

Maurice B. Visscher
1 Orlin Ave. S.E.
Minneapolis, 14, Minn.

James M. Youngdale
Benson, Minn.

Dr. Bernhard Christensen
President, Augsburg College &
Theological Seminary
Minneapolis, Minn.

COMMITTEE FOR PEACEFUL ALTERNATIVES TO THE ATLANTIC PACT

158 West 56th Street
New York City

HONORARY CHAIRMEN

Miss Emily Greene Balch
Wellesley, Mass.

Bishop W. J. Walls
Chicago, Ill.

VICE CHAIRMEN

Rabbi Abraham Cronbach
Cincinnati, Ohio

Rev. Mark A. Dawber
New York, N. Y.

Prof. Kermit Eby
Chicago, Ill.

Dr. Halford E. Luccock
New Haven, Conn.

Dr. Albert W. Palmer
Altadena, Calif.

Rev. Franklin I. Sheeder
Philadelphia, Pa.

Dean John B. Thompson
Chicago, Ill.

SECRETARY

Miss Jule T. Bouchard
1569 York Avenue
New York 28, N.Y.

March 5, 1950

Dr. Charles Turch
President, Macalester College
St. Paul, Minnesota

Dear Dr. Turck:

I am writing to you because I know that you are deeply concerned with the outcome of this world in conflict, and agree with Senator Brien McMahon, who once again this week raised his voice in behalf of peaceful alternatives to the ever-tightening atmosphere towards war.

It is our belief that the people of the United States are behind Senator McMahon in his cry for an effective peac program.

Since its inception last May, our Committee has been responsible for voicing this sentiment through statements (which were widely endorsed throughout the country by church leaders, educators, scientists, artists, labor leaders, youth groups, and community groups) issued against the armaments program, the atom bomb and the recent instrument of mass murder, the Hydrogen Bomb.

After considerable discussion at our last Executive Board meeting, held on February 13th, it was agreed that our next step must be the gathering of representatives of the people in a National MID-CENTURY CONFERENCE FOR PEACE.

We are fully aware of the many conferences already being planned on the use of the Hydrogen Bomb, as well as on broader proposals for peace. These are to the good. However, it is quite evident that most of these conferences are restricted within the limits of the church field, or are on a state or city level. The Conference we envisage would cut across lines of religion, profession, political creet, etc. We hope to have participating in this gathering leaders of the various peace and pacifist organizations, church leaders, rank and file clergy, together with representatives of labor, education, science, art, youth groups, and community organizations.

I am, therefore, enclosing a copy of a rough draft of the Call to this MID-CENTURY CONFERENCE FOR PEACE. We have to date received endorsements for initiating sponsorship of the enclosed covering letter from Bishop Walls, Miss Emily Greene Balch (honorary Chairman, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom), Dr. Abraham Cronbach (of the Hebrew Union College),

COMMITTEE FOR PEACEFUL ALTERNATIVES TO THE ATLANTIC PACT

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1569 York Avenue
New York 28, N.Y.

Prof. Kermit Eby, Dean John Thompson (of the University of Chicago), Dr. Thomas Mann, Prof. Linus Pauling (of the California Institute of Technology), Rev. Franklin I. Sheeder (Exec. Secy., Board of Christian Education and Publication of the Evangelical and Reformed Church), Dr. Albert W, Palmer (former Moderator of the Congregational Christian Churches of America) and Dr. Halford E. Luccock (Yale Divinity School).

We will be grateful for your approval of the Call, as well as any editorial corrections you may have to suggest. Won't you indicate your willingness to act in the capacity of initiating sponsor by signing the enclosed card and returning it to us as soon as possible.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

Jule T. Bouchard

(Miss) Jule T. Bouchard
Secretary

JTB:rl
uopwa-16
encs: (3)

P.S. May we express our appreciation to you for having joined in signing our Open Letter to President Truman protesting his decision to construct the Hydrogen Bomb. We were successful in securing the support of a large number of prominent Americans. I know you will be interested in the enclosed list of those who signed with you.

DRAFT CALL TO THE

MID-CENTURY CONFERENCE FOR PEACE

Life or death - that is the issue today.

The fateful decision to build the Hydrogen bomb, despite the anxiety of America's millions, dwarfs all previous dangers. It opens the door to a war of total annihilation of all mankind.

This door must be shut.

War must be ruled out as the arbiter of the fate of humanity.

The conscience of America will not permit us to evade this ultimate responsibility to humanity, to our nation, our loved ones and ourselves. We cannot stand passive before the threat of the world's destruction.

The Hydrogen bomb brings home to all of us the menace that up to now may have seemed remote. Not only can other nations be laid waste, but America itself and we, its people, can be destroyed.

The Hydrogen bomb means an end to military defense.

OUR ONLY DEFENSE IS PEACE.

We reject the philosophy of those who say that war is inevitable.

WE AFFIRM THAT PEACE IS POSSIBLE.

We declare that there is a peaceful alternative to the cold war.

We insist that the peaceful co-existence of the American and Soviet social systems is possible. No difference between nations can be so great that mutual annihilation is the only answer.

Therefore, we call upon the President and the Congress of these United States to undertake negotiations with the Government of the Soviet Union to secure the banning of the Bomb as a first step toward disarmament and the peaceful settlement of all outstanding differences and the eventual resumption of trade.

At the same time, and on the basis of a new American - Soviet

understanding, we call upon the United States delegation to the United Nations to be prepared to present positive proposals for peace through strengthening the United Nations as the greatest instrument for drawing all nations of the world into free cooperation.

Let us work together to attain these ends through meetings, conferences, sermons, resolutions, petitions - through all the traditional and historic means of expression whereby the people of America exercise their constitutional right "to petition the government for a redress of grievances".

Let us honor the Fifth Anniversary of the founding of the United Nations by rekindling the hope of peace for the world.

Let us transcend differences of faith, creed, race, political belief and occupation and unite in a great Crusade for Peace.

Let us assemble in a Mid-Century Conference for Peace on May 20 - 21 in our nation's capitol where in the American tradition of open discussion and the free examination of ideas, we who desire peace can plan a common course of action.

There is still time. Let us make the most of it!

COMMITTEE FOR PEACEFUL ALTERNATIVES
158 West 56th Street
New York City

LETTER TO INITIATING SPONSORS
MID-CENTURY CONFERENCE FOR PEACE

Dear

You have been shaken, as we were, by the sudden decision to produce the Hydrogen Bomb.

Protests against the production and use of the Bomb are flooding Washington. Yet the decision to produce the Bomb still stands. It has become a weapon of fear. It demonstrates our utter reliance upon military force as the corner-stone of our country's political policy. It promises total annihilation for the world and its peoples.

In the first half of this century we have suffered two world wars, with forty million dead, and millions more homeless and uprooted. Shall the second half of this century witness devastation and the unanswered pleas of millions for peace?

It is our belief that we in the United States and our brothers throughout the world desperately want peace.

With the deepest conviction we assert that war is not inevitable. Appalling as the situation is, the need for survival dictates the need for peaceful alternatives. We can and must prevent the cataclysm of another world war through the pressure of our opinion.

In the Senate, Senator Brien McMahon stated "This is a time for soul-searching, for nation-wide and world-wide debate, and for the launching and maintaining of that moral crusade for peace which alone can save us and lead mankind along the righteous paths of security, abundance and liberty."

We are prepared to enter this crusade for peace. The enclosed Call indicates our thinking. Will you join with us in initiating this Mid-Century Conference for Peace to which peoples of all religious creeds, of all political opinions, regardless of race or color, may come to express their opinions and offer their solutions and plan for further peace action?

We are men and women of hope. By working together we believe our country and the world can be turned to peace and that mankind can enter an era of abundance and liberty.

Sincerely yours,

the mother duck goes for a swim.

Atlanta Journal 6/25/53

Atlanta Journal 6/25/53

Methodists Blast Pastor's Publication

Rev. Blake Craft of Clayton Denies Slander, Says Press Freedom Censored

By SARAH MYRICK

A stern resolution condemning One Methodist Voice, a periodic publication edited by the Rev. Blake Craft of Clayton was passed overwhelmingly at the North Georgia Conference Thursday morning.

The resolution came after an attack by the Rev. Mr. Craft that he had been denied his freedom of the press and the right of a Methodist minister to express freely his opinion on matters relating to his church.

The Rev. Mr. Craft Wednesday was granted a requested sabbatical leave. On the conference floor Thursday morning, he contended the bishop had not given him an appointment.

In reply, Bishop Moore explained to the conference that he could not get a church to accept the Rev. Mr. Craft unless he would cease to "slander his brethren."

* * *

THE RESOLUTION declared "that One Methodist Voice does not speak for nor represent the spirit nor the mind of North Georgia Methodists."

It declared "complete confidence" in the Christian integrity and patriotic loyalty of our brethren who have been attacked by One Methodist Voice."

Bishop Moore called the publication a "disturbing influence." He said, "We do not want our church to be the center of the disturbance."

"We told Brother Craft that we might persuade a church to accept him if he would desist from slandering his brethren.

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"BROTHER CRAFT," he said, "replied that he must follow his conscience. I said, 'Brother Craft, that is right, follow your conscience. But I did not see how that can be construed to mean continuing to criticize your brethren.'

"He believes he is being persecuted. I stand in your presence and his to say that is not true. We have tried to co-operate with him and to give him an appointment, but he has refused to co-operate."

As the bishop concluded the conference gave him a rising ovation.

Following the resolution and Bishop Moore's reply the Rev. Mr. Craft said:

"I will be glad to stop my paper any time if the bishop will appoint a committee to help me study the church."

The bishop made no reply.

The Rev. Mr. Craft is former pastor of East Lake Methodist Church and a church at Jonesboro. He was a chaplain in the Navy from 1941 to 1945.

* * *

THE CONFERENCE Thursday morning approved a $290,596 budget for world service and finance.

Of the amount, $152,722 will go to the general and jurisdictional budget. The conference budget was set at $127,874.

The Methodists, meanwhile, approved an Expansion Day budget of $195,000, and voted a $5 retirement pay raise to superannuated ministers.

Methodist Expansion Day, which combines nine causes into one budget and campaign, will again be observed Sunday March 7, 1954. The goal of $195,000 is the equivalent of $1 per member.

Largest appropriation—$55,000—will go for new churches and church sites. The budget provides $50,000 for schools and colleges; $16,000 for Wesley Foundations and student recognition day; $23,000 for Camp Glisson; $5,500 for Paine College; $20,000 for Golden Cross; $1,500 for Methodist Information; $17,000 for Day of Dedication, and $4,000 for Methodist Student Day.

* * *

THE INCREASE in retirement pay from $30 to $35 per service year will be met by churches paying 15 per cent into the pastor's fund instead of the present 13 per cent.

The Rev. W. Candler Budd, pastor of Glenn Memorial Methodist in Atlanta, pleaded for the increase. He said that other conferences in the Southeast pay from $31 to $48 per service year to retired ministers.

Arthur L. Gilmore of Atlanta, manager of Camp Glisson, reported that $25,000 is needed by the camp to provide added facilities and to complete projects underway.

Designed

Atlanta Constitution 6/26/53

Methodist Resolution Condemns Publication

By LAURA BARRE
Constitution Staff Writer

The North Georgia Methodist Conference passed a resolution Thursday condemning One Methodist Voice, a periodic publication edited by the Rev. Blake Craft, Clayton, and expressing confidence in the "Christian integrity and patriotic loyalty" of the ministers attacked in the publication.

The resolution followed a statement by the Rev. Mr. Craft that in order for him to receive an appointment, "to which I am justly entitled," Bishop Arthur J. Moore had required that he cease editing the controversial publication.

He charged that his right as a Methodist preacher to speak and to use his pen according to his conscience were on trial.

"POLITELY REFUSED"

Bishop Moore replied that he had suggested the Rev. Mr. Craft as a pastor for several churches and all the churches had "politely but firmly" refused to accept him. Finally, the bishop said, one church agreed to take him on condition that he cease publication of One Methodist Voice.

"I have been publishing the paper for three years," the Rev. Mr. Craft said, "exposing teachings of socialism, a world federalism and a treasonable pacifism within the Methodist church. I have pointed out how some of the leading officials have Communist front affiliations.

"Not one man has made any demand on me to ask me to retract anything I have said. I take that to mean they think what I say is true."

In their resolution, the ministers said "we have sought sincerely to practice Christian charity toward members of our fellowship. For more than two years, however, this spirit of charity has placed North Georgia Methodism in the position of seeming to approve, or, at least, to condone, the spirit and statements contained in One Methodist Voice. We now believe the time has passed when silence is Christian.

"We therefore declare that One Methodist Voice does not speak for, nor represent the spirit nor the mind of North Georgia Methodists.

"COMPLETE CONFIDENCE"

"We declare our complete confidence in the integrity of our brethren who have been attacked by One Methodist Voice, such as Bishop Arthur J. Moore, Bishop Bromley Oxman, Dr. E. Stanley Jones, Dr. Lester Rumble, Dr. Nat G. Long, Dr. E. G. Mackay and Mrs. M. E. Tilley.

"We declare our opposition to the use of the name "Methodist" by such independent organizations and publications as the Methodist Federation for Social Action (unofficial) and One Methodist Voice (unofficial)."

Sid Williams, a layman from Austell, moved to table the resolution condemning the publication, but his motion failed for want of a second.

FAVORED RESOLUTION

M. G. Dunaway, a layman from Rockmart, said the laymen favored the resolution as strongly as did the ministers.

The Rev. W. J. Culpepper, Warrenton, moved that the conference re-affirm its love for the Rev. Mr. Craft and request him to re-consider his relationship to the conference and to his brethren. The motion was passed.

"I will stop publishing my paper," Craft replied, "when the bishop appoints a committee to work with me to study what is going on in the church."

The bishop made no reply.

THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION
For 86 Years The South's Standard Newspaper

ESTABLISHED 1869
The Chattanooga Times

6/26/53

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Rev. Blake Craft Gets A Deserved Rebuke

The North Georgia Methodist Conference is to be congratulated for turning thumbs down on that package of prejudice published by the Rev. Blake Craft under the title "One Methodist Voice."

Mr. Craft's protest that his freedom of press is being violated has no foundation in fact. No one is trying to keep him from circulating his views. The Methodist denomination is within its rights in denying him the right to proclaim those views from the press or from the pulpit in the name of Methodism. The church must do something to prevent careless, selfish use of the fine word "Methodist" by those individuals or organizations with special axes to grind.

It is significant that when the Rev. Mr. Craft proffered his services on his own terms, Bishop Arthur J. Moore, head of the conference, reported that the churches to which the pastor had been offered "politely but firmly" had declined him.

* * *

Chattanooga Times 6/26/53

North Georgia Conference Rebukes Publisher of 'One Methodist Voice'

ATLANTA, June 25 (AP)—The North Georgia Methodist Conference today overwhelmingly condemned a newspaper, "One Methodist Voice," published by the Rev. Blake Craft of Clayton.

Craft was given a year's sabbatical leave by the conference yesterday.

Bishop Arthur J. Moore of Atlanta said it had been impossible to find any Methodist church in Georgia which would accept Craft as its pastor.

The otherwise calm, orderly meeting was thrown into momentary confusion today when Craft asked for the floor.

He said that since he had been granted a leave some of his friends didn't understand the move and he wanted to explain.

Thereupon he read a copy of a telegram he had sent Moore in which he accused the bishop of refusing to give him an appointment.

Moore then rose to answer Craft's charges. He explained that the Methodist Conference cabinet, composed of bishops and district superintendents, had tried to work out an appointment for Craft.

He said the minister wrote to him early in June asking for a new assignment when appointments were announced at the current conference.

The bishop added that he had contacted chairmen of the board of stewards in several churches in Georgia asking that they receive Craft as minister but in each case was turned down.

Then the cabinet met with Craft and, in a "friendly discussion" asked him to name some churches which would receive him. Craft named one, but this church also refused to accept him. Moore continued, unless he would stop publishing "One Methodist Voice."

Craft told the cabinet he must follow his conscience and the members agreed but, said Moore, they didn't see how he could construe that to mean he should continue to criticize his brother ministers.

Moore said the cabinet had tried to work with Craft "but he has refused to co-operate."

When Moore finished, the convention gave him a standing ovation.

The Rev. J. C. Callaway of Athens, secretary of the cabinet, called on each member of the cabinet to stand and confirm the bishop's sentiment. They did.

The conference then adopted a resolution introduced by Dr. Dow Kirkpatrick, Athens pastor. It condemned "One Methodist Voice" and said:

"It does not speak for nor represent the spirit nor the mind of north Georgia Methodists" and declared "complete confidence in the Christian integrity and patriotic loyalty of our brethren who have been attacked by "One Methodist Voice."

The resolution said the paper had attacked such men as Bishop Moore; Bishop Bromley Oxnam of Washington; Dr. E. Stanley Jones, Methodist missionary; Dr. Lester Rumble, Augusta minister; Dr. Nat G. Long, Atlanta pastor; Dr. E. G. MacKay, district superintendent of the Decatur-Oxford district, and Mrs. M. E. Tilley, prominent Methodist worker of Atlanta.

The conference yesterday voted to raise retirement pay of ministers from $30 per service year to $35.

ATLANTA JOURNAL - June 25, 1953

Methodists Blast Pastor's Publication

Rev. Blake Craft of Clayton Denies Slander, Says Press Freedom Censored

By SARAH MYRICK

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DID M'CARTHY APPROVE?

CHARL. TIMES 7/6/53

Methodists in this region can get an idea of the smear-content of an article entitled "Reds and Our Churches" in the July American Mercury when they are informed that one of the Protestant clergymen tarred with Communist taint is Paul B. Kern, highly respected and widely beloved Bishop, who has just retired.

The article was written by J. B. Matthews, staff director for Senator McCarthy's subcommittee. Three Democratic members of the subcommittee have termed Matthews' article "a shocking and unwarranted attack" against the American clergy, and asked that the subcommittee meet as soon as possible to take action.

Another member, Senator Potter, Republican of Michigan, says that he thinks Matthews should be fired. Other Republican members of the subcommittee are Senators Dirksen and Mundt.

Apparently on the committee a majority favor disciplinary action against Matthews. If fired, he will pop up somewhere else. He helped Allen Zoll prepare his attack on Yale, Harvard and the University of Chicago. And if Matthews is fired, McCarthy will probably replace him with someone else who will fit into the McCarthy campaign.

Most of the article seems to be a condemnation of Protestant clergymen who are supposed to have subscribed to the "World Peace Appeal" in 1950, and presumably that is why Bishop Kern is smeared as leftist. It might be pointed out that world peace does not become shameful merely because Russia, however insincerely, seemed to advocate it in the 1950 movement. Many Americans who detest Communism, as practically all Protestant clergymen do, refused to condemn a world peace proposal. Bishop Kern had good company, for eight Protestant Episcopal bishops are named along with him, including Bishop Lawrence.

Matthews says "the largest single group in supporting the Communist apparatus in the United States today is composed of Protestant clergymen." He thinks that 5,000 Protestant clergymen are leftists.

It is not enough to fire Matthews, whose background was such in fascist causes that he should never have been hired in the first place.

He should be asked if he can name a single Protestant clergyman who is an actual Communist. A man cannot be a Christian minister and subscribe to the Russian type of Communism, which denies the existence of a God, and we doubt if there are many American ministers who are so misguided.

The Matthews attack is a snide libel on the Protestant clergy and the subcommittee should ascertain if Senator McCarthy knew of its contents and sanctioned its publication.

THE CHATTANOOGA TIMES:

'Of Whom Shall I Be Afraid?'

Mark Ethridge, native southerner and publisher of the Louisville Courier-Journal, let loose with both barrels in a commencement address to the graduates of Kentucky State College. There is room only to quote a part of this challenging address, on the subject "Of Whom Shall I Be Afraid?" And one must omit his conclusions which showed that we are copying the methods of the Ku Klux, of Hitler and of Communism.

BY MARK ETHRIDGE

(In an address to Kentucky State College graduates on June 2, 1953).

There are those who call it, superficially, I think, McCarthyism. That is flattering the evil genius of the senator from Wisconsin too much; he is only an arch-angel of darkness, not the devil himself. Our illness goes deeper than any one man. It is a malady of the soul that summons all the evil forces of the Inquisition, of the Cheka, of Hitlerism, of Stalinism, of the Ku Klux Klan, and all those nauseous forces which claim dominion over the conduct and the souls of other

(Norman Bradley, associate editor, whose comment from Tennessee press customarily fills this space on Thursdays, is on vacation. The column will be resumed on his return.)

men. The danger is that in our hysteria to achieve what we regard as security, we tear out the real roots of security—man's confidence in himself and in other men; in our hunt for subversives, defined by those who have arrogated to themselves the right to judge what is subversive and what is 100 per cent American, we create real subversives: Those who would whittle away ancient and hard-won liberties; and we set in motion forces so dangerous that frequently they can be stopped only after they have left deep scars upon all of us, or as the French discovered in their revolution, only after a nation is sated with blood-letting and vengeance.

* *

What are the attributes of that mood of the moment of which I am talking? Let me be more specific than I have been. It is that spirit in Congress which has expressed itself in the McCarran Internal Security Act of 1950 and the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act of 1952—both of them, in their way, expressions of fear of fifth columns; both are narrowing the concept of the competition of these ideas so nobly expressed by Holmes. It is the spirit that gave rise to the recent revision of the Government's internal security program under which employes may be released for almost any reason, with their only real appeal to the head of the department in which they serve. That program is a violation of all the concepts of justice as far as the individual is concerned; it is the substitution of presumption of guilt for presumption of innocence. The Eisenhower Administration will not be glorified by future Toynbees if its achievement is to be written in terms of giving oil and other rights back to the states, but of depriving the individual of protection that has become a part of our instinct for, and our structure of, justice.

* * *

This evil spirit of which I speak is that which tends to elevate in esteem

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* * *

This evil spirit of which I speak is that which tends to elevate in esteem confessed traitors who turn informers on others; the spirit which makes congressmen and senators, drunk with power, bully and browbeat those who appear before them if they have held views in the past which do not meet the orthodoxy of the moment; it is the spirit of the Inquisition in which poor dupes of the past, mostly gullible artists or emotional reeds of one kind or another, parade before the altar of Congress to shrive their souls and try to save their jobs; it is the spirit which made our own Kentuckian, Mildred McAfee Horton, the leading figure, as someone said in a letter to The New York Times, of a new playing of Kafka's "The Trial," in which the accusers are unknown and who never enters the courtroom where his case is decided.

It is the spirit, in which groups, sitting in judgment upon what should be said, or thought, or read, or written, fire a librarian in Oklahoma for subscribing to the Nation; cancel a speech by Mary McLeod Bethune, a great and noble woman, because someone has whispered she is subversive; boycott Copland's music; arraign Sarah Lawrence and Vassar College as hotbeds of radicalism; drive Canada Lee, John Garfield and Larry Adler, to mention only a few, from the American stage; drum a man like John Carter Vincent, guilty at most of mistaken judgment, if indeed he was even that—guilty certainly, as I can testify, of a devout passion for the welfare of mankind—out of public life, and, on the anonymous reports of anonymous scandalmongers, almost drive out "Chip" Bohlen, the man who knows more about Russia than any man in the foreign service.

* * *

The catalogue is long, and could be longer. The danger is that such a spirit moves in ever-widening, concentric circles until at the end every man tends to regard himself as the only authority on what is 100 per cent Americanism. Minorities which stand to lose most by intolerance are inclined to join the pack. The Catholics want to prevent the showing of "The Miracle." Jewish groups don't like "Oliver Twist"; a Negro bishop protests "Green Pastures." The American Legion tries to prevent performances of "The Death of a Salesman" because its author was listed in Red channels. The mood to dictate to other peoples what their rights and their standards of culture shall be is a by-product of the spirit of which I have talked. It could be wished that all such gestures would have as ridiculous a denouement as the McCarthy-inspired ban on Russian works on the Voice of America. Edward Barrett, lately the able director of the International Information program, says that in late March of this year a Voice of America producer asked the librarian for a recording of the "Song of India," to be played upon the request of some Indians. The record was not available, the librarian explained, "because you see, it's by Rimsky-Korsakov, and we are supposed not to use anything by Russians." . . . .

Edward Crankshaw sounded an eloquent warning in his recent Cracks in the Kremlin Wall, when he said:

"I can think of only one way in which the Kremlin may still conquer us, that without war. It is by so frightening us (but it is we who allow ourselves to be frightened) that for fear of the enemy within we transform our own society imperceptibly into an apparatus of totalitarianism indistinguishable from the society of Soviet Russia—a system which may not be criticized, whether the British parliamentary system or the American

al center, an exposition spokes-

Bishop Scores Brochure By Grass Rooters

CHARLESTON - SOUTH CAROLINA - "NEWS AND COURIER" - SEPT 29

The following statement was issued by the Right Rev. Thomas N. Carruthers bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Diocese of South Carolina, upon his return from the Episcopal general convention in Honolulu:

"If the Charleston Grass Roots League had been looking for a way to embarrass the Bishop of South Carolina and the thirteen fine clergymen, laymen, and women elected to represent the Diocese of South Carolina in General Convention at Honolulu they could not have chosen a better method than the one they used: preparing the brochure "Red Infiltration of the National Council (Episcopal Church)" and apparently mailing it to all members of the Convention throughout the United States. The brochure first came to my attention aboard the S.S. Lurline between Los Angeles and Honolulu and this is the first opportunity I have had to reply.

"The convention took no official notice of the pamphlet. Not one of the eight hundred bishops and deputies, clergymen and laymen, considered it of sufficient importance to bring it before either house of the Convention. They evidently followed the advice of a deputy in one of our national weeklies: "For the Deputies' Wastebasket." But it caused great embarrassment to the South Carolina people. Members of the Convention came to us for explanations: Who wrote this pamphlet? What is the Grass Roots League? What is its purpose? Is it an organization of the Church? Is it a subversive organization intent upon destroying the Church? How could the cultured City of Charleston bring forth a brochure like this? What kind of bishop are you to allow such a thing? A delegate facetiously asked me, 'When will you be available to autograph copies?'

"What the motive was in making this attack on our church—its National Council and its clergy—and smearing it in the community, is difficult to understand. Our church is national in extent, covering the entire United States. That it should contain varying views on the race question is to be taken for granted. Branding as "communist" those who disagree with the League on this matter certainly adds nothing to the solution of this problem. To undermine the confidence of people in their church leaders is to strike a blow at the very foundation of society. Still more amazing is the choice of some of the persons singled out in the brochure for attack: Cynthia Wedel, probably the most popular woman in the Episcopal Church, teacher at Kanuga Adult Conference last summer, presiding officer at the National Woman's Auxiliary Triennial Convention in Honolulu; Dr. Theodore Wedel, frequent visitor to Charleston, one of our ablest theologians, chosen by his fellow deputies, laymen and clergymen, at Honolulu to be president for the second time of the House of Deputies of General Convention.

"The brochure's picture of the National Council is a distortion of the worst kind. To brand the National Council as a communist front is ridiculous. The National Council is elected by the representatives of the people of the Church: the House of Bishops, the House of Deputies, the Woman's Auxiliary, the Provincial Synods. It is, therefore, fully representative of the whole church. Membership on it is considered a high honor. It has had among its members in recent years such bishops as Oliver J. Hart, Bishop of Pennsylvania, and Horace W. B. Donegan, Bishop of New York; such clergymen as George Alexander, rector of Trinity Church, Columbia, South Carolina; such laymen as Champion Davis, President of the Atlantic Coast Line Railroad and Dr. Edward McCrady, vice-chancellor of the University of the South, Sewanee; and such women as Mrs. Francis O. Clarkson of Charlotte.

"The attempt to classify the executive body of the Episcopal Church as a communist front to the intelligent Episcopalian is absurd. Among the uninformed and the gullible both in and out of the Church it can do great damage."

Page 2 + 3

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Miss Anna Holden
1590 N. Decatur Rd., NE
Atlanta, Ga.
2/4/55

The Statesman

A Recorder of Georgia Governmental Affairs—Municipal, County and State

Published in the Interest of ALL the People

Vol 2 ... 1 | HAPEVILLE, GA., THURSDAY, APRIL 1, 1954 | Copy 5c

He Talmadge Says:

Th committee of the Democratic Party of Georgia will meet at the State Capitol on Tuesday, May 25, I am informed by its Chairman, James S. Peters, of Manchester. At this meeting the committee will adopt rules and regulations for the statewide Democratic Primary to be held this year. Entries for all State officials will be opened at this time.

One of Georgia's distinguished editors has written in time past that **"politics is a struggle for power and is not an exact science."**

Shifting Scene No truer words were ever spoken. The political scene is a constantly changing picture. Those who are avowed candidates today may not be tomorrow and vice versa. In time of flux, rumor ofttimes is substituted for fact by even the well-meaning.

The Georgia Constitution provides that a governor, after serving a full term, cannot succeed himself. I will not be a candidate for governor but in view of the fact that this is a political year and pressures move in all directions, I think that I should make my policy clear to the people of Georgia.

The present administration has moved forward in teamwork and harmony with all of the State officials, with the General Assembly and all citizens interested in the progress of this State. I am gratified that efforts have been made to draw me into the governor's race on one side or another by friends of avowed candidates. It is a clear indication of the success of our administration for the

NAACP Blasts Three Southern Gov's Stands On Segregation

Talmadge Warns Schools Would Fall On Adverse Decision In Georgia Case

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An all-out battle on segregation in the South was launched at a series of meetings attended by high officials of the NAACP in Georgia, Alabama and Mississippi.

Walter White, executive secretary of the organization, and **Thurgood Marshall**, general counsel, sparked the gatherings to raise funds for more lawsuits and to secure additional members.

White, addressing a rally in his honor in Atlanta, frothed at the mouth because of Governor Talmadge's announcement that he will use whatever force is necessary to prevent a mixing of the races in Georgia schools.

The NAACP leader contended that "enlightened Southern opinion" will reject the leadership of Talmadge and Byrnes and that Southerners "will bow down and accept a decision outlawing segregation."

Regardless of the nature of the decision handed down by the U. S. Supreme Court, White said, the NAACP has just begun its fight to

again and again until segregation is abolished."

Housing Next

If segregation is outlawed, he said, the NAACP will launch a fight against segregated housing to prevent continued segregation through gerrymandered school districts.

Discussing the possible outcome of the Supreme Court test of segregation, White classified Southern people into three groups.

"The first class is composed of those who are determined to keep segregation at all cost. Governor Talmadge of Georgia, Governor Byrnes of South Carolina and Governor Hugh White of Mississippi are foremost in this group. These people will resort to tactical delays to combat an anti-segregation ruling by the Supreme Court," he elaborated.

"The second class is composed of the people 'in between.' These are the people who would be mildly opposed to ending segregation or any form of change, but who would peacefully accept the dictates of the Court.

"The third group of people are those who are aware that segregation is close to its end. They feel that ethically and economically the doctrine of 'separate but equal' would be impractical."

White predicted the latter two groups will outweigh and overcome the former, forcing a mixing of the races throughout the South.

Gowen Hit

The NAACP chieftain scoffed at the proposal of Gubernatorial Candidate Charles Gowen to confer on county school superintendents the authority and responsibility of assigning pupils to separate schools.

"He should see a lawyer," White quipped.

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Suits Ready

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White and Marshall addressed the kickoff meeting of the Atlanta NAACP chapter launching a campaign for 10,000 new members and $20,000 for political purposes. **Campaign Chairman W. S. Cannon** said we intend to "prove to the world that we want our freedom and are willing to pay for it." All negro churches in Atlanta observed "Walter White Day" Sunday, March 21, and made pledges and cash contributions to the organization for its fight on segregation.

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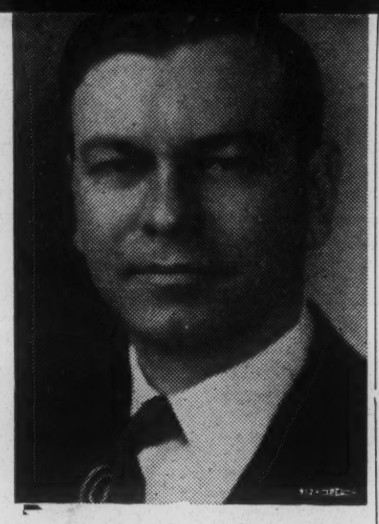

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Three Points The Atlanta press last week has raised three points upon which I should like to make my position crystal clear:

1. That certain State officials are alleged to have solicited funds for the benefit of gubernatorial candidates; and,

2. That employees of the State have been sampling public opinion or conducting what is commonly termed "political polls;" and,

3. "Rumors" have it that I am "committed" to this candidate or that candidate for governor.

Let us take these up one by one and dispose of them in the order in which they are presented:

1. I condemn wholeheartedly the solicitation of funds or any other political activity by employees who are under State Merit System regulations which prohibit it. I think it is bad policy and also should not be indulged in by those who are not covered by the system.

2. The so-called "political polls" constitute an ancient art and always have been with us around campaign time. No one questions the fact that every American citizen under our Constitution has the unqualified right to speak his mind and ask questions about any public issue which he might desire. Whether the so-called "political polls" are honorable or dishonorable, depends upon whose interests are being served.

3. It is only natural that when several friends of a governor have ambition, that mutual friends try to draw the chief executive into the fray on one side or another. Such activities cause the operation of a constant "rumor mill."

Speak For Self **No one is authorized to speak for me on any subject.**

I do my own talking.

I make up my own mind.

When I get ready to issue a political statement, I shall be forthright about it so that, as has always been the case, there will be no doubt in anyone's mind exactly where I stand.

The Democratic Primary will be held on Wednesday, September 8.

This means that the election is more than six months away.

We will not know who the final candidates are and what their platforms will be until after the entries close, July 3rd.

It is folly to say that political commitments can be made

(Continued on Page 4, Col. 1)

Gov's Stands On Segregation

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The NAACP leader contended that "enlightened Southern opinion" will reject the leadership of Talmadge and Byrnes and that Southerners "will bow down and accept a decision outlawing segregation."

Regardless of the nature of the decision handed down by the U. S. Supreme Court, White said, the NAACP has just begun its fight to destroy segregation. If the NAACP loses and segregation is upheld, he disclosed, his organization "will go back to the courts of law and the courts of public opinion again and again and again until segregation is abolished."

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Thurgood Marshall, general counsel for the NAACP, also predicted acceptance of a ruling destroying segregation, saying "the people of Georgia will accept the decision—they are just as lawful as people in any other state." He contended Governor Talmadge isn't "speaking for anybody but himself."

"Within 10 years we can break down legal segregation in this country," the negro lawyer said. "Those who will stand up and be counted on the side of freedom can help make museum pieces of jim-crow signs by backing the NAACP with green money."

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Marshall later went to Montgomery, Ala., where he urged 4,500 delegates to the convention of the Alabama State Negro Teachers Association to reject Southern pleas that they proceed slowly toward civil equality. He called such proposals "a sirene call." He laughed at threats of bloodshed if segregation is outlawed.

"They said the same thing about negroes voting in primaries," he said. "Yet in the last election 1,-

(Continued on page 3, col. 1)

Abraham Lincoln On Judicial Legislation

"If the policy of the Government, upon vital questions affecting the whole people, is to be irrevocably fixed by decisions of the Supreme Court, it is plain that the people will have ceased to be their own rulers, having turned their government over to the despotism of the few life officers composing the Court."

—ABRAHAM LINCOLN

Expanding Industry Keeps Labor Force On Production Jobs

A bright ray of hope appeared on the Georgia economic horizon last week.

State Commissioner of Labor Ben T. Huiet reported that for the first time this year the number of jobless persons filing claims for job insurance in Georgia dropped. He said it "may be a straw in the wind."

This undoubtedly can be traced to Georgia's industrial growth and the establishment of new industries within the state.

Mr. Huiet states that a special effort is being put forth in all the 33 State Employment Service Offices to fill every available job opening. During the first week in this month employers hired 2638 persons through the local offices.

"Some employers who have been able to furnish only a little work to their employees and who were filing partial claims for them while working on short time have now resumed full time employment and are no longer filing claims," Huiet said.

"The usual seasonal up turn which occurs about this time of the year should further brighten employment prospects in Georgia," he added.

Some 270 new or expanded plants with $50,000 or more initial investment began operations in Georgia during the past 12 months. These plants have furnished employment to approximately 14,800 and brought 50 million additional dollars in payrolls with them.

While the population of Georgia has continued to increase at a normal rate, the non-farm employment in the State has risen more rapidly. Non-farm employment in Georgia averaged 786,600 in 1950 and this total rose to over 917,500 an increase of 17% in December of 1953.

"Total wages and salaries of Georgia workers last year amounted to 2.8 billion dollars. With the expanded and new industrial plants coming into the state and assuming that the normal seasonal pattern is followed, the 1954 figure would be expected to exceed the 3 billion mark," he **concluded.**

We've Only Begun To Fight For An Adequate Constitutional Amendment

By FRANK E. HOLMAN

(Former President, American Bar Association)

The fight for an adequate constitutional amendment to protect American rights and the American form of government against the dangers of treaties and other international agreements has only just begun. The first round is over, but only the first round. If necessary, it will be a twenty-round bout.

A motion for reconsideration of Senator George's text of Amendment has been duly made in the Senate. If successful (which only takes a majority vote) and the George substitute is thereafter finally passed, the matter then will go to the House of Representatives in that form, where efforts can be made to strengthen the George text.

If this procedure does not succeed, Senator Bricker has said that he will immediately introduce, after proper consultation with his supporters, a new resolution for a constitutional amendment on treaties and other international agreements, and in one or the other of the foregoing circumstances the second round of the great fight will begin. Often the greatest victory comes after the loss of one or more initial skirmishes.

The great constitutional debate in the Senate on the various proposed texts of a constitutional amendment has served to educate millions of Americans and alert them to the dangers of "treaty law". Except for the unconstitutional interference of the President in a purely legislative process of government, an adequate amendment could have been passed. It would have been passed anyhow except for such Republicans as Senators Wiley, Ferguson, Knowland, Saltonstall, Upton, and Flanders who chose to placate the State Department and follow the Dulles-Acheson school of internationalism—who were joined in their

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 2)

NAACP Sets Plans

(Continued from page 1)

350,000 negroes voted in primaries."

Savannah Conference

As a prelude to the Atlanta meeting, the Southeastern Regional Conference of the NAACP was held in Savannah.

One fact is clear from both the Savannah and Atlanta meetings. The same little, anti-white primary, anti-county unit, anti-segregation crowd, who are opposing Governor Herman Talmadge for his insistence upon maintaining separate schools in Georgia, are following the line laid down in a resolution adopted by the NAACP conference in Savannah.

According to the Pittsburgh COURIER, the 200 delegates attending from seven Southern states voted that:

"every utterance of Governors White, Talmadge and Byrnes be condemned for advocating the abolition of the public schools in their respective states if the Supreme Court rules against segregation because this type of thinking is un-Christian, uncivilized and undemocratic."

Socialistic Trend Seen

One of the speakers at the Savannah NAACP meeting foresaw and predicted the development of a socialistic society in the South in the event of a court ruling overthrowing educational segregation. Clarence Mitchell, director of the NAACP's Washington Bureau, said such a decision would turn the South into **"one of the most liberal and progressive areas of the world."**

That thought was echoed and amplified by a negro educator and the associate director of the Ford Foundation.

Benjamin E. Mays, president of Morehouse College in Atlanta and a columnist for the Pittsburgh Courier, predicted that the negro race will be the winner even if the Supreme Court upholds the doctrine of "separate but equal" facilities. He reasoned that such a decision "will be tantamount to saying to the nation that you must spend billions of dollars and spend it quickly to try to do the impossible—make two things equal in every area of life." He ventured that it would provoke "thousands of suits" over the nation demanding equality in swimming pools, golf courses, parks, travel, recreation, restaurants, waiting rooms and the like.

And if segregation should be declared unconstitutional, Mays said, the ruling will be **"the first step toward integrated citizenship."**

Mixed Society

Speaking in St. Louis, Robert M. Hutchins of the Ford Foundation said racial segregation in schools is "doomed for economic and legal as well as for moral reasons." He stated that "the burden of double facilities cannot be maintained." He predicted a ruling overturning separate facilities for the races will be accepted without violence.

Phillip Hammer, executive secretary of the Committee of the South and former director of the **Atlanta Metropolitan Planning Commission**, meanwhile foresaw doom for separate schools and observed that efforts to circumvent an adverse court decision "won't last as long as the white primaries."

"I believe an attempt will be made in at least three Southern states for a system of private schools," Mr. Hammer said.

"But the threat is primarily a politically motivated one. The legislatures will not go through with it should it be put before them."

Citing the "tremendous social feeling that separate schools are prohibitively costly and difficult to maintain."

Clement Eats

Atlanta's negro member of the Board of Education, **Dr. Rufus E. Clement**, later in the week had lunch with and spoke to members of the **Atlanta Junior Chamber of Commerce.** He predicted Southerners will take "a sober second thought" and become convinced that supporting separate but equal schools for negroes in "an economic impossibility."

"In spite of the law and decisions of the Supreme Court you and I know that schools for negroes and whites are not equal, by almost any yardstick you might want to use," he said.

"If the South should attempt to provide two equal school systems for whites and negroes it would become bankrupt. It simply would not be able to finance them."

As proof of his contention that an end to segregation would be accepted, the negro educator claimed negroes are being admitted to colleges and universities "in 12 of the 17 Southern states" without incident. He claimed the final answer to the issue of segregation revolves around two questions:

"Are we a law-abiding people? Are we willing to give a sober second thought to the problem or are we willing to be pushed pell mell into making decisions before we know all the facts?

"And do we have the wise leadership in the South that will help the people make that sober second thought? I am sure we do. I would rest my case on the leadership of thoughtful Southern citizens."

Mixed Society Seen

The same day a white educator, **Dr. Guy B. Johnson** of the University of North Carolina Department of Sociology, told the Southern Sociological Society of which he is president there will be **a gradual mixing of the races in the South** regardless of how the Supreme Court rules. He cited as his authority a survey made by the

mean Georgia would be left without power to levy taxes for educational purposes.

He explained this as follows:

"Our State Constitution in Article VII, Section II, Paragraph I provides that the powers of taxation over the whole state shall be exercised by the General Assembly for certain named purposes only, among which is "for educational purposes."

"That same Article of our Constitution in Section IV provides that the General Assembly shall NOT have power to delegate to any county the right to levy taxes except for certain definite purposes among which is 'for educational purposes, as provided in Article VIII of the Constitution of Georgia.'

"ARTICLE VIII of our State Constitution is the foundation stone of our public school system. It provides:

" 'The provision of an adequate education for the citizens shall be a primary obligation of the State of Georgia the expenses of which shall be provided for by taxation. Separate schools shall be provided for the white and colored races.

"From a studied examination of the above cited provisions of our Georgia Constitution, it is perfectly clear without any doubt that the authority of counties to levy taxes for the support of mixed schools is specifically barred by Article VIII. While it is not as clear in reference to state taxation, the best legal opinion is that the power of the state to tax under such circumstances is similarly limited.

"IF THE SUPREME COURT of the United States should decide—contrary to a long line of established and heretofore unquestioned decisions — that such 'separate schools' are violative of the Constitution of the United States, then the State of Georgia, by the force and effect of that decision of the United States Supreme Court, and the counties of Georgia, would be left without any power under the terms of our State Constitution to levy taxes for educational purposes.

"This means that an adverse decision of the United States Supreme Court in a Georgia case would of itself destroy our public school system in this State and it would prohibit the General Assembly from levying taxes for support of mixed schools."

Talmadge then concluded:

"If the public school system of the State of Georgia is ever harmed, it will not be by my hands, which have fought for and nurtured it to the highest state of perfection ever known in history, but will be by the Supreme Court of the United States whose members might fail to regard the evil and unending harmful effects of a purely political decision."

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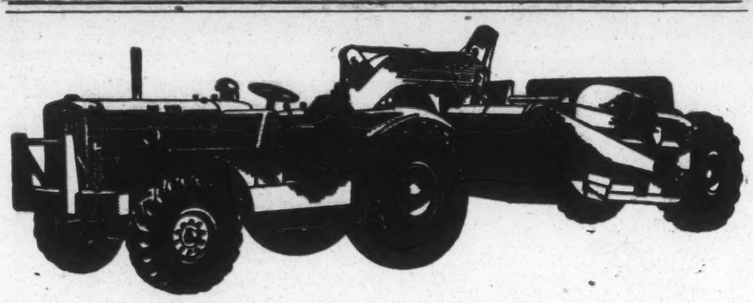

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impossible—make two things equal in every area of life." He ventured that it would provoke "thousands of suits" over the nation demanding equality in swimming pools, golf courses, parks, travel, recreation, restaurants, waiting rooms and the like.

And if segregation should be declared unconstitutional, Mays said, the ruling will be "the first step toward integrated citizenship."

Mixed Society

Speaking in St. Louis, Robert M. Hutchins of the Ford Foundation said racial segregation in schools is "doomed for economic and legal as well as for moral reasons." He stated that "the burden of double facilities cannot be maintained." He predicted a ruling overturning separate facilities for the races will be accepted without violence.

Phillip Hammer, executive secretary of the Committee of the South and former director of the **Atlanta Metropolitan Planning Commission**, meanwhile foresaw doom for separate schools and observed that efforts to circumvent an adverse court decision "won't last as long as the white primaries."

"I believe an attempt will be made in at least three Southern states for a system of private schools," Mr. Hammer said.

"But the threat is primarily a politically motivated one. The legislatures will not go through with it should it be put before them."

Citing the "tremendous social effect" of an adverse decision on segregation, Hammer urged quiet acceptance of the same, saying:

"This problem could be met by rational thinking on the part of all racial groups involved. It could be met without any violence and probably will be."

During the summer of 1953, Mr. Hammer took a three-months' leave from his duties as chief of the Committee of the South to direct an intensive study for the Ford Education Foundation Fund. This study was concerned with segregation in the schools of the South.

The group studied segregation as it exists in the various states, some 17 in number with 70% of the entire negro population within the United States.

Propaganda Pamphlet

The Southern Regional Council, an organization with the principal purpose of bringing about a mixing of the races, has issued a pamphlet for distribution to school and church groups entitled, **"The Schools and the Courts."** The publication has three main points:

"1. a court ruling against segregation in the public schools would simply mean that children must be admitted without regard to race to the schools serving their district.

"2. under the segregated housing arrangements found in most Southern cities, few schools would be effected . . . rather integration would grow in the schools along with increased integration in the community as a whole.

"3. in parts of the South where the negro population is small there appears to be a growing

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know that schools for negroes and whites are not equal, by almost any yardstick you might want to use," he said.

"If the South should attempt to provide two equal school systems for whites and negroes it would become bankrupt. It simply would not be able to finance them."

As proof of his contention that an end to segregation would be accepted, the negro educator claimed negroes are being admitted to colleges and universities "in 12 of the 17 Southern states" without incident. He claimed the final answer to the issue of segregation revolves around two questions:

"Are we a law-abiding people? Are we willing to give a sober second thought to the problem or are we willing to be pushed pell mell into making decisions before we know all the facts?

"And do we have the wise leadership in the South that will help the people make that sober second thought? I am sure we do. I would rest my case on the leadership of thoughtful Southern citizens."

Mixed Society Seen

The same day a white educator, **Dr. Guy B. Johnson** of the University of North Carolina Department of Sociology, told the Southern Sociological Society of which he is president there will be **a gradual mixing of the races in the South** regardless of how the Supreme Court rules. He cited as his authority a survey made by the Society.

Predicting the U. S. Supreme Court will "hold against segregation in the public schools," Johnson declared "there will be no mass mingling of the races in Southern city public schools."

The speaker said he based this on the fact that urban negroes have their own distinct communities and "have no consuming desire to go to school with white pupils . . .

"Mixing of the races will, however, come about sooner in the rural schools because the burden of trying to finance equalized country schools would be too great."

Governor Issues Warning

Meanwhile many prominent lawyers throughout the State have written expressing agreement with a statement made recently by Governor Talmadge pointing out that under the Georgia Constitution public schools will be abolished immediately upon the issuance of an adverse ruling by the Supreme Court in a Georgia case. Such a decision, he said, would

among which is 'for educational purposes, as provided in Article VIII of the Constitution of Georgia.'

"ARTICLE VIII of our State Constitution is the foundation stone of our public school system. It provides:

" 'The provision of an adequate education for the citizens shall be a primary obligation of the State of Georgia the expenses of which shall be provided for by taxation. Separate schools shall be provided for the white and colored races.

"From a studied examination of the above cited provisions of our Georgia Constitution, it is perfectly clear without any doubt that the authority of counties to levy taxes for the support of mixed schools is specifically barred by Article VIII. While it is not as clear in reference to state taxation, the best legal opinion is that the power of the state to tax under such circumstances is similarly limited.

"IF THE SUPREME COURT of the United States should decide—

bly from levying taxes for support of mixed schools."

Talmadge then concluded:

"If the public school system of the State of Georgia is ever harmed, it will not be by my hands, which have fought for and nurtured it to the highest state of perfection ever known in history, but will be by the Supreme Court of the United States whose members might fail to regard the evil and unending harmful effects of a purely political decision."

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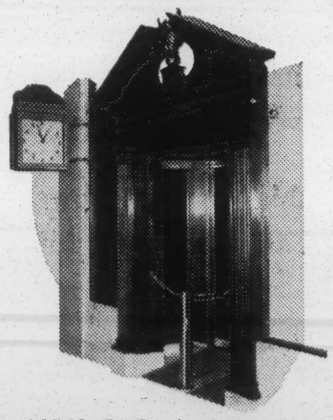

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The Statesman

A Recorder of Georgia Governmental Affairs—Municipal, County and State

Published in the Interest of ALL the People

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Senate Committee Hears Charges Of Communist Activity In South

SCEF Officials, Durrs Stoutly Deny Accusations

Former Communists Testify Under Oath; Two Miamians Invoke Fifth Amendment

NEW ORLEANS—Two officials of the Southern Conference Education Fund and a former member of the Federal Communications Commission stoutly denied sworn accusations of communism leveled at them by two former communists before a Congressional hearing here last week.

Two prominent Miamians invoked the fifth amendment in refusing to answer committee queries about red ties.

The charges were made at a hearing conducted by Sen. James O. Eastland (D-Miss.) for the U. S. Senate Internal Security Committee by Paul Crouch, a former high official and organizer for the American Communist Party and now an agent for the U. S. Immigration Service, and John Butler, a Dallas, Texas, nursery operator.

They made charges against Aubrey W. Williams, president of the SCEF and director of the National Youth Administration during the

Communist Party?" Williams replied:

"No, never."

Asked, "Have you ever accepted Communist discipline?" he answered:

"No, never knowingly."

He passed up the question—"Do you still think that it is all right for a Communist to be employed by the United States Government?"

Crouch, when asked "During the time of your membership in the Communist Party, did you have an occasion to make the acquaintance of Williams?" answered:

"Yes, sir. I met him several times. The first meeting with Wil-

"He was introduced to me as a party member. Alton Lawrence introduced him to me as a member of the party."

Asked: "Do you state here and now, without equivocation, and to your certain knowledge that Mr. Dombrowski is a Communist and a member of the Communist party?"

Butler turned and, facing Dombrowski, stated flatly:

"I do."

When Dombrowski took the stand he refused to reveal the names of the contributors to the SCEF which he directs. He invoked the first, fifth, sixth and eighth constitutional amendments as grounds for his stand.

Asked if he were or ever had been a communist, Dombrowski replied, "I never have." He denied having ever seen Butler or that "anyone ever introduced me as a communist." He did admit being a Socialist while a student at Union Theological Seminary.

Dombrowski admitted signing a petition requesting clemency for the 12 top Communist leaders convicted in New York but refused to tell how he received the petition or whether he knew the identity of his co-signers. He gave a long defense of his action and concluded:

"I see no reason for imprisoning people for a long time for

Committee Counsel Richard Arens interrupted his cross-examination of Crouch to ask:

"Is Mr. Durr a Communist?"

"I do not know whether he still is, " Crouch replied.

"Do you know that he was?"

"Yes."

Durr insisted upon being sworn as a witness and denied Crouch's accusation as "absolutely false."

"I am not a Communist, I have never been a Communist and I have no intentions of ever becoming a Communist."

The following questions and answers between committee lawyers and Durr then ensued:

Q—Were you not president of the National Lawyers Guild in 1948?

A—Yes and I'm proud of my association with the Guild.

Q—Did you know that it was cited by a special committee of the House Un-American Activities Committee as a communist-front organization?

A—I know it had subsequently been attacked by the House Un-American Activities Committee. I had consistently attacked the activities of the House Committee since the days of Martin Dies as a threat to the country.

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State Carries 85% Of School Load, Gov. Tells G. E. A.

"Present Federal-State-Local Tax Burden About All People Can Stand"—TALMADGE

Georgians are paying about all the taxes—federal, state and local—they can possibly stand, Governor Herman Talmadge told the annual convention of the Georgia Education Association meeting in Atlanta last Friday night.

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He added that the State government is providing 85% of the cost of operation of the common schools and advised the educators that they "must look to their local city and county governments for any future sizeable outlays of funds."

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They made charges against Aubrey W. Williams, president of the SCEF and director of the National Youth Administration during the early terms of the late President Franklin D. Roosevelt; Dr. James A. Dombrowski, executive director of the SCEF; Clifford J. Durr, a Montgomery, Ala., attorney and former FCC member; Miami Attorney Leo Scheiner; Miami Contractor Max Schlafrock; and Mrs. Durr, sister-in-law of U. S. Supreme Court Justice Hugo Black.

Williams, Dombrowski and the Durrs categorically denied any red affiliations under oath. Scheiner and Schlafrock invoked the self-incriminatory clauses of the Fifth Amendment as grounds for refusing to answer questions regarding their background and activities.

Citations Possible

Senator Eastland said contempt citations or perjury charges may be brought by the full committee to determine whether the accused or the accusers lied under oath and punish those who refused to answer questions. He said the hearings will be continued in Birmingham in June.

Williams, editor of the Southern Farm and Home Magazine published at Montgomery, Ala., objected to testifying on grounds that the subpoena against him was issued in violation of the constitutional guarantee of freedom of the press. He was questioned regarding his affiliation with the Southern Negro Youth Congress, the Workers Alliance, the American Committee for the Foreign Born, the American Youth Congress, the Civil Rights Congress, the Civil Rights Committee, the Atlantic Pact, the Mid-Century Conference for Peace, the National Negro Congress, the American Crusade to End Lynching, the East Information Center, the Progressive Citizens of America, and the World Peace Appeal.

He replied that he was "a sponsor of many things." He said he could "not recall" any identification with most of them. He acknowledged affiliation with the Progressive Citizens of America, the Civil Rights Congress and the Civil Rights Committee but said he had asked his name be stricken from the membership of the latter.

Williams Denial

Asked, "Are you now or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?" Williams replied:

"No, never."

Asked, "Have you ever accepted Communist discipline?" he answered:

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Crouch, when asked "During the time of your membership in the Communist Party, did you have an occasion to make the acquaintance of Williams?" answered:

"Yes, sir. I met him several times. The first meeting with Williams was in the Department of Commerce in Washington. There I met him in the rear of the platform at a meeting. I was introduced to Williams by Herman Benjamin, a charter member of the Communist Party and one of the chief national leaders.

"At that meeting I was introduced as the district organizer and vice president of the Unemployed League. I talked to him about the Unemployed Leagues. Mr. Williams said something to me about the merger giving a powerful organization.

"On the second occasion I met him it was in Birmingham in connection with the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. That was at the city auditorium in 1938, I believe. At that time Williams was passing through.

"During the conversation I reported to Williams on the concentration of the Workers' Alliance and the Farmer's Union and the work being done. Williams asked the questions and commented but I don't remember what he said enough to quote him."

Crouch then was asked:

"Did Williams accept the discipline of the party?"

Crouch answered:

"Williams' record shows that it always coincided with the interest of the party. I would not have made statements to him unless I had been informed that he was a secret member."

Former Red Testifies

Butler testified he had been introduced to Williams by Alton Lawrence, communist labor union leader, while attending the Southern Negro Youth Conference with Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt in 1942. He quoted Lawrence as saying, "I want you to meet Comrade Williams."

Butler said he met Williams again at Bessemer, Ala.

"I heard his name mentioned time and time again as a Communist member," he testified.

Williams challenged Butler to make his statements outside the hearing room and subject himself to a libel suit. Butler said he would comply.

Butler further testified that he had met Dombrowski in Birmingham in July 1942.

"He was introduced to me as a party member. Alton Lawrence introduced him to me as a member of the party."

Asked: "Do you state here and now, without equivocation, and to your certain knowledge that Mr. Dombrowski is a Communist and a member of the Communist party?"

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"I see no reason for imprisoning people for a long time for teaching. I would have mercy for Communists. I would have mercy for all people. That is the way I feel."

Dombrowski Explains

Dombrowski admitted that "communists may have participated in meetings" of the old Southern Conference for Human Welfare with which he also was affiliated, and that he was aware that "claims" had been made that the Conference "was the communist party's transmission belt."

He was asked about his affiliation with the American Committee for the Protection of Foreign-Born, the American Federation for Constitutional Liberties, the People's Institute of Applied Religion, the Southern Negro Youth Congress, the International Workers Order, the American Committee for Indonesian Independence, the American Civil Liberties Union, the American Continental Congress for Peace, the American Peace Crusade, the World Peace Appeal, and the Citizens Committee for the Preservation of Freedom.

To the question, "What's your policy? How do you take up with so many organizations?" he replied:

"If an organization has an objective and a program which seems to be a good one, I never hesitate to contribute."

Asked if he knew the organizations named had been identified as communist dominated or communist fronts by the U. S. House and California Un-American Activities committee, Dombrowski answered:

"It may seem strange to you, but there are still some people in the country who are not frightened by a label. I believe that America is losing what made it strong. People are beginning to be afraid to express an opinion that is different."

He said it would have made no difference in his attitude had he known the organizations had been cited.

Durr Questioned

Durr, who came to the hearing as attorney for Williams, was brought into the picture when Committee Counsel Richard Arens interrupted his cross-examination of Crouch to ask:

"Is Mr. Durr a Communist?"

"I do not know whether he still is, " Crouch replied.

"Do you know that he was?"

"Yes."

Durr insisted upon being sworn as a witness and denied Crouch's accusation as "absolutely false."

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The following questions and answers between committee lawyers and Durr then ensued:

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A—I do not recall but it wouldn't have made the slightest difference."

Durr denied he had been active with the Progressive Party of Virginia but admitted that his wife had been a candidate for the U. S. Senate on the Henry Wallace Ticket. He admitted attending the World Conference of Intellectuals of Poland in 1948 and the Waldorf Conference the next year but refused to name those with whom he attended.

Durr Restrained

On the final day of hearings Durr had to be restrained from attacking Crouch when he testified Mrs. Durr had 'full knowledge of the Communist conspiracy."

He charged that the Southern Conference for Human Welfare could not have been organized had not Joseph S. Gelders, an undercover communist who was intimate with President Roosevelt, persuaded Mrs. Roosevelt to speak at the initial organization meeting and obtained a letter endorsing it from President Roosevelt while Mrs. Durr talked Justice Black into speaking at the same meeting.

"They all told me that the President and his wife in no way suspected them of being communists, and none of my testimony should be interpreted to reflect on Black, but his sister-in-law had full knowledge of the Communist conspiracy," Crouch said.

Mrs. Durr denied that she is or has been a Communist but refused to answer any other questions unless allowed to read a prepared statement. Her request was denied.

Scheiner was described by Crouch as the man designated "to be the secret head the Florida Communist Party should it elect to go underground." He refused to answer questions on grounds of self-incrimination as did Schlafrock. Scheiner was ejected from the hearing when he attempted to read a prepared statement.

Also ejected was Myles Horton, founder of the Hilander Folk School of Monteagle, Tenn., which was identified by Crouch "as a recruiting agency for the Communist Party." Both Williams and Dombrowski admitted connections with the school.

Gov. Tells G.E.A.

"Present Federal-State-Local Tax Burden About All People Can Stand"—TALMADGE

Georgians are paying about all the taxes—federal, state and local—they can possibly stand, Governor Herman Talmadge told the annual convention of the Georgia Education Association meeting in Atlanta last Friday night.

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He added that the State government is providing 85% of the cost of operation of the common schools and advised the educators that they "must look to their local city and county governments for any future sizeable outlays of funds."

The governor reviewed the manifold educational progress which has been made during the course of his administration but warned that the five segregation cases now before the Supreme Court might place all of these gains in jeopardy in the event of an adverse decision by the Court.

Governor Talmadge frankly stated that "no amount of gerrymandering or legal fiction" can delay the enforcement of such a decision in a proper case involving Georgia.

He declared that he would be loathe to see Georgia's educational system shifted from a public to a private base, but he declared that he would recommend that step to the Georgia Education Commission "as a lesser evil than that of mixed schools."

The Commission, the governor said, was created at his request to evolve a definite and final plan of action to meet any adverse decision which might be handed down by the Court.

Foundation Program Continued

He pledged to continue the Minimum Foundation Program with its merit raises for improved qualifications and seniority "unabated insofar as the resources of the state will permit" and strive "with might and main" to make further increases and improvements in keeping with the ability of the state to do so.

However, he cautioned that his first consideration during the remainder of his term will be "to guard jealously Georgia's solvency and credit."

"Never again do I want to see Georgia's teachers hoodwinked by irresponsible political promises or paid in worthless scrip instead of dollars," he concluded.

Address Text

Following are excerpts from Gov. Talmadge's address to the GEA:

MISS BRADFORD, PRESIDENT CUTTS, PRESIDENT-ELECT SPRAYBERRY, DR. COLLINS, DR. CALDWELL, DISTINGUISHED EDUCATORS AND MY FRIENDS OF THE GEORGIA EDUCATION ASSOCIATION.

This is the fourth time during my term as Governor that you have extended me the courtesy of meeting here with you, sharing pride in the substantial gains that we have made working together and looking forward with confidence and hope to the future.

I recall that we met in 1949 at the Wesley Memorial Church here. You were kind enough to invite me over there—it was at the time we joined hands, you and I, to pull Georgia educational standards up literally by our bootstraps.

At that time Georgia rested squarely on the bottom of the barrel in over-all educational performance. Now I am happy to join with you in justifiable pride over the fact that the Minimum Foundation Program, fully implemented, has brought us a common school and University System educational and building program which is the envy of the whole South and which has created na-

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 1)

Talmadge Cites Marilyn Haar For Bravery

Governor Herman Talmadge announced Monday that he has recommended Miss Marilyn Haar of Savannah, 19-year-old daughter of the late State Representative Ernest J. Haar, to receive the 1953 Young American Medal for Bravery.

Miss Haar is credited with saving the lives of four persons besides herself when her father's yacht capsized in stormy seas off the Georgia Coast last July 3. She made repeated dives into the turbulent waters to find exits of escape for her mother, R. Maurice Seybold and Misses Virginia Davis and Lois McKeethan.

Her father and Mrs. Seybold perished in the disaster.

Two Young American Medals for Bravery are awarded each year by authorization of Congress to those American youths who have distinguished themselves by valiant deeds. The awards are presented by the President in ceremonies at the White House.

Governor Talmadge made his nomination to the U. S. Department of Justice where a selections committee will announce the winners sometime after April 30.

"The courage and decisive action of Miss Haar whose first thought in the face of death was the safety of her family and friends is in keeping with the highest ideals of the American tradition and Christian faith," Governor Talmadge's citation read.

"Her heroism is the epitome of the requirements set forth by the Congress for reward by receipt of the Young American Medal for Bravery. The people of Georgia are proud to call Miss Haar a native daughter and pray to the committee that her noble deeds be accorded the recognition they deserve."

Talmadge stated he had hoped also to recommend Polly Callenback, seven-year-old Tiger, Ga., schoolgirl, who saved her two younger brothers and a sister from their burning home. However, investigation disclosed that her brave deed was done in November 1952, thus eliminating her from consideration for the 1953 medal.

Morehouse Chief Denies He's V. P. Of Probed Group

AR CONST 3-10-64

Benjamin E. Mays, president of Morehouse College, named as a vice president of an organization being investigated by the Jenner committee for possible Communist activities, Tuesday denied he was an officer of the organization and said he had not been asked to testify at the committee's New Orleans hearing.

Mrs. Clifford J. Durr of Montgomery, wife of a former attorney for the Federal Communications Commisison, said she had ben subpoenaed along with Aubrey Williams, formerly of Georgia and a former director of the National Youth Administration. The Senate Internal Security subcommittee hearings on the Southern Conference Educational Fund have been set for March 15, 16 and 17.

"I am not a vice president of the Southern Conference Educational Fund," Mays said. "I am not a member of the board. I have no comment at all to make at this time. If I am called to appear before the committee I will make a statement then."

A subcommittee spokesman said subpoenas have been issued for all the officers except Mays so far.

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3-11-54

THE CHATTANOOGA

ATTORNEY GENERAL DIDN'T CITE GROUP

Aide to Subcommittee Issued Erroneous Statement on Welfare Conference

WASHINGTON, March 10 (AP)—The Justice Department said today the attorney general never cited the now defunct Southern Conference for Human Welfare as a Communist front.

The Senate Internal Security subcommittee is planning hearings at New Orleans next week on the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc., and a subcommittee aide said yesterday it had information that this group now includes the "majority of the leadership" of the former Southern Conference Human Welfare.

This aide, Frank Schroeder, erroneously stated that the Southern Conference for Human Welfare had been cited by the attorney general.

However, the House Un-American Activities Committee said it twice cited the conference as Communist-front, in 1944 and again in 1947.

Senate Resolution No. 32

Relative to congratulating Senator Jack B. Tenney on the anniversary of his birth

By Senators, Brown, Abshire, Berry, Breed, Burns, Busch, Byrne, Collier, Coombs, Cunningham, Desmond, Dilworth, Donnelly, Dorsey, Erhart, Gibson, Grunsky, Hoffman, Hulse, Ed. C. Johnson, Harold T. Johnson, Kraft, McBride, McCarthy, Miller, Montgomery, Murdy, O'Gara, Parkman, Regan, Sutton, Teale, Thompson, Ward, Way, Weybret, Dale C. Williams, and J. Howard Williams.

WHEREAS, Today is the anniversary of the birth of our highly esteemed colleague, Senator Jack B. Tenney; and

WHEREAS, The Honorable Jack B. Tenney, representing the most populous county in the State with its wide and varied interests and its multiplicity of claims for legislative attention, has distinguished himself by ably and efficiently presenting and championing those interests and claims in the Senate of California; and

WHEREAS, The Honorable Jack B. Tenney, during the last 18 years, has rendered conspicuous and valuable service to the people of the State of California as the chairman of important committees; and

WHEREAS, The Honorable Jack B. Tenney, as chairman of the Committee on Un-American Activities for nearly 10 years alerted the people of this State and of this Nation to the menace of communism; and

WHEREAS, The reports of the California Committee on Un-American Activities, written under the chairmanship of the Honorable Jack B. Tenney, have become historical documents of great value to the entire Nation as well as to the State of California and have been cited more than 500 times by the Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities and are still in constant use by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the intelligence units of the armed services, and other public agencies; and

WHEREAS, The Honorable Jack B. Tenney, although urged by the Senate to continue, declined reappointment to the chairmanship of the Committee on Un-American Activities in 1949 in order to devote more time to his other heavy duties; and

WHEREAS, In addition to all the above, the Honorable Jack B. Tenney is a man of diversified talents, geniality and conviviality, and one much beloved by his fellow Senators; therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate of the State of California, That its members congratulate the Honorable Jack B. Tenney upon this, his birthday, and wish him many more years of success and happiness, and many more years of public service; and be it further

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Senate is hereby instructed to present a suitably engrossed copy of this resolution to the Honorable Jack B. Tenney.

Resolution read, and, on motion of Senator Brown, unanimously adopted.

CERTIFICATION

This is to certify that the foregoing is an excerpt from the Senate Journal of April 1, 1954, and that the above Senate Resolution No. 32 was on that day adopted by the Senate with no votes being cast in the negative.

J. A. BEEK
Secretary of the Senate
State of California

April 8, 1954

COMPTON
HERALD AMERICAN
and The Compton Herald

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from— The Publisher
By Cliff Smith

The candidacy of 33-year-old Mildred Eberhard Younger is part of a definite campaign in this state to perpetuate the political dynasty of former Governor Earl Warren and to thwart the program of the present Governor Goodwin J. Knight. Certain vested interests who profited greatly financially from the Warren regime are not expected, of course, to give up without a struggle. The political bedfellows they are willing to accept in order to put over their campaign to elect a state senator from Los Angeles county into office is, however, really amazing. They are willing to put out of office a man of long experience and demonstrated great ability, Senator Jack B. Tenney, merely because he isn't a part of the plan to preserve the vested interests of the former regime.

Warren's position in public office, of course, was never a party position. It was based on a personal political machine, based on funds supplied by certain powerful interests. Politically it was operated on the theory that where Earl Warren's support came from was not important so long as he got elected. Principle didn't mean anything at all.

AT LEAST CONSISTENT

It can at least be said for the Communists, the fellow travelers and their obvious sympathizers, who have always opposed Senator Tenney, that they are at least consistent. His new opponents, however, have merely shifted their position because it suits their own ends.

This county now has an estimated population of 4,806,633, according to the latest figures of the county regional planning commission. At the present rate of growth it will be over 5,000,000 shortly after the next term for state senator will begin. Twenty-nine states of the 48 have smaller populations.

ENORMOUS TASK

This state senator has the enormous task of looking after the interests of this entire county in the upper house of the state legislature. No one else can speak for Los Angeles county on the floor of the State Senate. All of the bills which directly concern Los Angeles county individually must be carried by this one senator. He has to clear the legislation sent up to him from the 31 members of the State Assembly who come from Los Angeles county.

Obviously this is no easy job. It requires the greatest physical and mental stamina while the legislature is in session and a continuous year around study of the county's problems. One of the main difficulties faced by the senator from Los Angeles county during a regular session is just getting enough sleep in order to keep going.

EXPERIENCE BENEFIT

Senator Tenney is only able to do a thoroughly satisfactory job because of long experience. He has been in the legislature since 1937. The first few years of this service were in the Assembly so that by the time he became a senator he already had the background and training necessary to assume the heavy duties of being senator from Los Angeles county.

The difficulty with Mrs. Younger is that she has had no experience first in a less difficult political office. And as a result she will be dependent upon other persons who will have the power to control her vote without assuming the responsibility of the office.

FATHER LOBBYIST

Actually if she is elected the real state senator will be her father, Attorney Ray Eberhard, lobbyist for powerful interests in the state legislature. There is no question of his experience and adroit ability to further legislation he wants. He has been at it for more than a quarter of a century.

But we doubt if the people of Los Angeles county want to elect a figurehead for state senator and have the real power and influence exercised by an adroit lobbyist for powerful vested interests. That he was part and parcel of the old Warren royal family is indicated clearly by the fact that he was able to wangle municipal judgeship appointments for a daughter and the husband of the other daughter he now wants to make into a state senator.

OWN PLATFORM PROOF

Mrs. Younger's own platform, of which she is clearly not the author, is the most direct proof that we know of that this job of being state senator from Los Angeles county is one which requires previous training in public office or equivalent experience.

The planks in this platform are "immediate action towards smog control, simplification of local government, a long range water program, improvement of our inadequate public transportation system, speed up of freeway construction and further attention to school needs in the face of rapid population growth."

HIGHLY TECHNICAL

We would be willing to wager that the candidate knows little or nothing about any of these subjects with the possible exception of the last one. They are all highly technical and highly involved.

Anyone who has watched legislation at Sacramento knows, of course, that Papa Eberhard knows a lot about all of these subjects. But the people are not being asked to vote for Mr. Eberhard or the powerful interests behind him—or are they?

The name of the man who has the necessary training and experience should at least be on the ballot. And it will be in the person of Senator Tenney.

UNPLEASANT TASK

We would be the last to say that Senator Tenney has never made a mistake. No man who has held public office long has proved perfect. And when a man as Senator Tenney did has chosen to spend some years rooting out and exposing the filthy elements who would subvert and tear down our American government he cannot possibly come out of it without some mud on him.

This is why the voters need to be particularly discerning in a case of this kind. Otherwise they can easily get into office someone who would cover up and protect these subversive elements instead of exposing them. The reelection of Senator Tenney in this instance is particularly important as he faces the combined opposition of subversive elements seeking revenge plus certain self seeking powerful interests who want to make state government pay off for their own personal benefit.

CHATTANOOGA TIMES APRIL 11, 1954

$240,000 GRANT TO SRC

Announcement is made today of a $240,000 grant by the Fund for the Republic to the Southern Regional Council to finance an eighteen months program.

The Southern Regional Council, like its predecessor, the Southern Interracial Commission, is devoted to the belief that Southern people are best qualified to work out Southern problems.

Most of the $240,000 will be spent in twelve states by state divisions of the SRC, composed of leaders in each state who seek to work out problems in an atmosphere of cooperation and goodwill. We understand that each state division will be given the responsibility of employing its own professional staff, preferably from within its own borders.

The headquarters of the Southern Regional Council remains in Atlanta, under the able executive directorship of Dr. George S. Mitchell, with Marion A. Wright of South Carolina as president. Dr. Harold Fleming, who for several years has been furnishing informative articles on various Southern problems, is assistant director. The staff includes such outstanding persons as Mrs. M. E. Tilley, in charge of women's work. No woman is better known to the churchwomen of the South than Mrs. Tilley.

The most pressing problem with which the Council is likely to deal under the new $240,000 grant will have to do with the repercussions, if any, which may follow the forthcoming U.S. Supreme Court decision on segregation in public schools. The Council will assist each state division in meeting this issue in a spirit of good order and sound thinking.

The Council itself has not sought to bring pressure favoring any sort of an opinion from the courts. Whatever the Supreme Court decision may be, the Council and its state divisions will seek to work out the problems with respect for law and order in a manner to prevent strife and hasty action. And whatever is done under the $240,000 grant from the Fund for the Republic will be done by Southern people themselves.

THE ASHEVILLE CITIZEN APRIL 12, 1954

Enlivening a Strong Voice

For 10 years in its own name the Southern Regional Council, successor to the old Commission on Interracial Cooperation, has exercised a progressive yet moderating influence on human relations in the South. The Council's friends are delighted to learn that its good work not only will go on but will be extended through a $240,000 grant from the Fund for the Republic.

The Fund was established in 1952 by the Ford Foundation and is "concerned with preserving and extending those individual rights which are the essence of the American heritage." To the extent those rights have meaning in the remarkable development of the modern South, the Fund's confidence in the Council is well placed. Indeed, it has seemed to many persons that established and respected channels through which this Southern body works have long merited this precise encouragement.

The Southern Regional Council has no ax to grind and serves no master save the collective conscience of its members and directors. It uses fact-finding, conference and persuasion methods to open up areas of equal opportunity for Southerners. Its facts are reliable. Its approach is realistic. Its influence, for example, has been profound in the easing of racial tensions and for further and contributory example in the extension of the franchise, hiring of Negro policemen, dropping of racial barriers in professional associations, and in bringing equal educational facilities to more young Southerners.

The Council is headed by a Carolinian, Marion A. Wright of Linville Falls. His predecessor was the distinguished Richmond attorney and Catholic layman, Paul D. Williams. The executive director is George D. Mitchell. These men, with other men and women all over the South, have helped to make the Southern Regional Council a spokesman for the area's best traditions of tolerance, humanity, dignity and freedom. Thanks to this wise investment, that voice can speak with renewed assurance

Ashville Citizen
4/12/54

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FILE COPY
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
RM. 432, 63 AUBURN AVE., N. E.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

R D. Westbrooks
11 Pryor St., S.W.
Atlanta, Ga.
2/5/54

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The Statesman

Published in the Interest of ALL the People

A Recorder of Georgia Governmental Affairs—Municipal, County and State

No. 15 HAPEVILLE, GA., THURSDAY, APRIL 15, 1954 Copy 5c

almadge Tells Nation Of State's Advantages On New York Visit

Here Is Full Text Of Talmadge Speech To N.Y. Traffic Club

Following is the complete text of Gov. Herman Talmadge's luncheon address delivered to the New York Traffic Club last Wednesday:

PRESIDENT DENNIS, MEMBERS OF THE TRAFFIC CLUB OF NEW YORK AND MY FRIENDS:

To you of the Empire State I bring the warm greetings of the three and one-half million citizens of Georgia—The Empire State of the South.

I am not here as an apologist like some of my predecessors on the rostrums of the North and East.

Neither have I come as a critic.

I rather am here as an ambassador of a great state and a sturdy people.

All of us in the South, of which Georgia is the keystone and an important part, have made great progress in the last 20 years. The transition has been one from what

automobiles, chemicals, fertilizers, clay products, cement, furniture, leather goods, candy, wearing apparel, processed meats and food and refined sugar.

The value of our manufactured products is approximately four billion dollars annually.

Plants Lead South

● Georgia led the entire South in industrial development last year with 270 new or expanded plants each representing an initial investment of more than $50,000. These factories are affording new employment to 15,000 persons and are adding $50,000,000 a year in payrolls to the State's economy. A typical example of this excellent new industry is the Rayonier Corporation's $25,000,000 plant at Jesup which will manufacture synthetic fibers from wood cellulose made from South Georgia pine

Governor Presents South's Viewpoint On National TV Programs

Speaks to Traffic Club of N. Y., Key Executives of Top Am. Business

NEW YORK—Governor Herman Talmadge made a good will visit to New York City this week to boost Georgia's advantages for industrial and business development and to present the South's viewpoint to the nation.

The Georgia Chief Executive addressed The Traffic Club of New York at noon Wednesday. The organization is composed of 1,600 industrial traffic managers and representatives of rail, air, truck and steamship lines. He was invited as principal speaker before the Club's forum luncheon by President J. P. Dennis of The Texas Company.

During his stay in New York he appeared on three nationwide television programs and was interviewed by the nation's top jour-

feet without a subsidy. . . .

"It is constructed and equipped to facilitate loading and unloading in minimum time. The wharf charges are lower than those charged in many states and are comparable to those charged in others. Our personnel is satisfied and willing to work and we have had no delays—and anticipate none. Neither is any time lost because of bad weather. . . . These are factors which add up to considerable savings to shipper and

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The Ford Foundation this week made a grant of nearly a quarter of a million dollars to the Southern Regional Council, an organization which has as its principal purpose the elimination of segregation in the South.

Announcement of the grant came Sunday from the Fund for the Republic, a Foundation subsidiary.

Formerly, the Southern Regional Council was financed in the main by substantial grants from the Rosenwald Fund Foundation.

The Rosenwald Fund devoted its major activities, according to a statement made by Dr. Lessing J. Rosenwald, of Philadelphia, Chairman of its Board of Trustees, "to creation of equality between whites and negroes and to the promotion of interracial relations in the South."

Activity of Rosenwald Fund workers in the South during the late 30's and 40's was the first large-scale frontal attack on segregation.

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rected toward the complete elimination of segregation in Georgia and the South. That policy has been stated repeatedly in literature issued by the organization. It looks forward to an amalgamated region with no color distinction.

Excerpts from the Council's avowed statement of policy follow:

"The South of the future, toward which our efforts are directed, is a South freed of stultifying inheritance from the past. It is a South where . . . segregation will be recognized as a cruel and needless penalty on the human spirit, and will no longer be imposed . . . We have no illusion that it can be realized in the South quickly or easily or perfectly. Nor do we imagine that the Southern Regional Concil can play more than a modest

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I am not here as an apologist like some of my predecessors on the rostrums of the North and East.

Neither have I come as a critic.

I rather am here as an ambassador of a great state and a sturdy people.

All of us in the South, of which Georgia is the keystone and an important part, have made great progress in the last 20 years. The transition has been one from what was once considered the nation's number one "economic problem" to what is today considered the country's foremost opportunity.

Through toil and sweat today and planning and training for tomorrow, we, of Georgia, are pulling ourselves up by our own bootstraps. We have refused to leave our future to chance. Neither are we content to leave our reputation to erstwhile Southern purveyors of literary filth who would rather make a dollar than tell the whole truth.

We are deriving our strength through renewed faith in ourselves, our labors, our heritage, our destiny and our God.

The Georgia of today has come a long way from the ruinous devastation left by the War Between the States.

Our people are united as never before and are working tirelessly at the task of promoting job opportunities and a better living for all. As a result, Georgia and her sister states of the South are advancing at a faster rate than those in any other region.

We are diversifying our agriculture and balancing it with sound industry. Our doors are open wide to capital and labor so long as they come to join in full partnership in our development. We are extending a cordial welcome to this new Southward march.

Better Farm Methods

Georgia has corrected the mistakes of a one-crop economy based on cotton. We have dropped to sixth among the states in cotton production, although it is still our chief money crop. However, we have made our chief gains and are leading the nation in our harvests of peanuts, watermelons, pecans and pimientoes and our output of broiler chickens. We are second only to California in the growing of peaches and have increased our income from beef cattle 466 per cent in the past 12 years.

Our State ranks third in size among the leading textile manufacturing states of the nation and produces 75 per cent of the country's tire fabric. Its plants, in addition, are manufacturing cotton seed oil and meal, steel, machinery, automobiles, chemicals, fertilizers, clay products, cement, furniture, leather goods, candy, wearing apparel, processed meats and food and refined sugar.

The value of our manufactured products is approximately four billion dollars annually.

Plants Lead South

● Georgia led the entire South in industrial development last year with 270 new or expanded plants each representing an initial investment of more than $50,000. These factories are affording new employment to 15,000 persons and are adding $50,000,000 a year in payrolls to the State's economy. A typical example of this excellent new industry is the Rayonier Corporation's $25,000,000 plant at Jesup which will manufacture synthetic fibers from wood cellulose made from South Georgia pine trees.

These plants, for the most part, are locating in the smaller cities and towns, many of which previously had no industry. There they are being welcomed as new citizens and a valuable addition to the economy. They furnished for the first time ample opportunities to women workers in the towns and help round out the income of farm families. This new purchasing power means added markets for all kinds of manufactured products.

The word has spread and more and more firms are coming to Georgia. There is scarcely a major company which does not have a branch plant, warehouse or sales office in the State. The big companies have discovered that it is profitable business to process their goods in Georgia rather than shipping in as they are ordered.

These strides have meant corresponding increases in bank deposits and clearings and in the take-home pay and purchasing power of our citizens. They have been translated into new homes, a higher standard of living and the enjoyment of some of the better things of life.

State Leadership

There is no more accurate barometer of a state's progress than the accomplishments of its state government.

The old description used by some people when referring to Georgia of a Model-T Ford mired in the mud near a one-room schoolhouse overlooking eroded cotton fields does not apply today.

I am proud that I can report to you that during my term of office the State of Georgia has spent almost three-quarters of a billion dollars on permanent and lasting improvements.

The Georgia Legislature is appropriating 53 percent of our total annual revenue for educational purposes, a percentage unmatched by any other state in the Union. During my administration we have supplied more money for education than all preceding administrations combined since the public school system was founded in 1871.

We have added over one thou-

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 1)

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During his stay in New York he appeared on three nationwide television programs and was interviewed by the nation's top journalists at a press conference. Mrs. Talmadge was guest on two nationwide radio and television shows.

Talmadge's appearances were as guest for the Ted Collins "Cracker Barrel" interview on the **Kate Smith Hour** over the National Broadcasting Company Tuesday; on the **Longine's Chronoscope** of the Columbia Broadcasting System Wednesday, and the **Dave Garroway Show, "Today"** over the NBC-TV network, Thursday morning. Mrs. Talmadge was guest on the **Maggie McNellis Show**, a radio-television simulcast of the American Broadcasting Company, Tuesday, and Mutual Broadcasting System's **Martha Deane Show** Wednesday.

The Talmadge party included officials of the State Port Authority.

Transportation Cited

The Georgia Governor told the Traffic Club that the "most significant" factor in Georgia's tremendous current growth is its superior facilities for rail, air, highway and water transportation. He said the state is "the transportation and communications hub of the Southland" and as a result there is "scarcely a major company" which has not located a branch plant, warehouse or sales office within its boundaries.

Georgia, Talmadge said, is served by 37 railroads and 519 interstate motor carriers and the Atlanta airport is the "sixth busiest in the nation." The state is making "a comeback" as an ocean terminal, he stated, through the development of a state port at Savannah.

"Berth-for-berth it is the best-equipped ocean terminal in the South," the Georgia Chief Executive declared, "and is the nation's only state port standing on its own feet without a subsidy. . . .

"It is constructed and equipped to facilitate loading and unloading in minimum time. The wharf charges are lower than those charged in many states and are comparable to those charged in others. Our personnel is satisfied and willing to work and we have had no delays—and anticipate none. Neither is any time lost because of bad weather. . . . These are factors which add up to considerable savings to shipper and receiver alike."

Progress Detailed

Talmadge gave a detailed report of the progress made in Georgia during the past two decades and his six years in office. He told his hearers that he had come as "an ambassador of a great state and a sturdy people" rather than a critic or "an apologist like some of my predecessors on the rostrums of the North and East."

"Through toil and sweat today and planning and training for tomorrow, we, of Georgia, are pulling ourselves up by our own bootstraps. We have refused to leave our future to chance. Neither are we content to leave our reputation to erstwhile Southern purveyors of literary filth who would rather make a dollar than tell the whole truth.

"The Georgia of today has come a long way from the ruinous devastation left by the War Between the States. . . . The old description used by some people when referring to Georgia of a Model-T Ford mired in the mud near a one-room schoolhouse overlooking eroded cotton fields does not apply today."

Race relations in Georgia and the South, Talmadge explained, "are the best they have ever been in over half a century." He said Georgians believe that "unmolested and without outside dictation and interference, we can work out our problems to the best interests of all in Georgia."

Warns of Communism

He warned of the threat of communism and prescribed "certain positive steps" which must be taken to assure this country's future. He called for a bipartisan crusade to destroy communism in this country, the use of whatever force is necessary in the international struggle, the defining and limiting of federal taxation and giving of tax relief to individuals and business alike, the elimination of federal bureaucracy and return of government to the local level, the reaffirming of the doctrine of states' rights, the adoption of a sound, realistic federal budget, and a national resurgence of faith in God.

ANOTHER OIL WELL SLATED

W. E. Posey, LaFayette, Ga., has been granted a permit by the State Oil and Gas Commission to drill a test oil well on the property of Calvin Fowler in Walker County.

Ford Foundation Makes Grant For Destruction Of Segregation In South

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Activity of Rosenwald Fund workers in the South during the late 30's and 40's was the first large-scale frontal attack on segregation.

● The Rosenwald Fund also financed in part the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, an organization now defunct, but branded as a Communist-front by the House Committee Investigating Un-American Activities.

With the demise of the Rosenwald Fund, the Southern Regional Council lately has been existing on grants from individuals and certain out-of-state groups.

Since 1947, Dr. George S. Mitchell has headed up the Council as its Executive Director. Born in Richmond, Virginia, he came to Georgia in 1944 after lengthy federal government service in the Department of Interior, Department of Agriculture and Foreign Economic Administration during the New Deal years.

His first job after coming to Atlanta was Southeastern Regional Director of the CIO-Political Action Committee from which he became Director of Veterans Service of the Southern Regional Council.

Like the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, the principal aim of the Southern Regional Council, since its formation, has been directed toward the complete elimination of segregation in Georgia and the South. That policy has been stated repeatedly in literature issued by the organization. It looks forward to an amalgamated region with no color distinction.

Excerpts from the Council's avowed statement of policy follow:

"The South of the future, toward which our efforts are directed, is a South freed of stultifying inheritance from the past. It is a South where . . . segregation will be recognized as a cruel and needless penalty on the human spirit, and will no longer be imposed . . . We have no illusion that it can be realized in the South quickly or easily or perfectly. Nor do we imagine that the Southern Regional Concil can play more than a modest but creditable part towards its achievement. Yet it is the ideal toward which we strive and, short of which, we have a duty to remain dissatisfied, for it is nothing else than the American ideal."

—o—

A list of active officers of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare was published in the **SOUTHERN PATRIOT**, official organ of that organization, in its issue of December 1948. The list included the name of Dr. George S. Mitchell on its top-level **"Board of Representatives."**

Branding the Southern Conference for Human Welfare a Communist-front, the House Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report on that organization dated June 12, 1947 concluded:

"In the light of the fact that a significant number of the leading lights of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare are associated with organizations or campaigns for the defense of the

(Continued on Page 3, Col. 1)

Conserving Soil Concerns Us All

"Soil conservation is everybody's business," declared Gov. Herman Talmadge in an address before a recent meeting of the board of supervisors of the Ocmulgee Soil Conservation District at Perry. Said the farmer-governor:

"It cannot be said with reason or truth that soil conservation is a matter for only the farmers. Soil conservation is everybody's business. It concerns every one of us and demands our interest and attention. Those who might think otherwise, I challenge to name even one necessity of life which does not have its origin in the soil.

"It is the soil which puts the meat and potatoes on our tables. It is the soil which produces the clothing we wear and the automobiles in which we ride. It is the soil which yields the materials of which our homes are made."

Although the actual work of soil conservation and the application of needed soil-saving practices must be done by the farmer and agricultural experts, Talmadge said, the citizens who live in urban areas and work in offices and factories nevertheless have a "vital role to play." It is they, he emphasized, who must give a part to the support of soil programs.

Ford Foundation Finances Fight On Segregation

(Continued from Page 1)

Communist Party or individual Communists, or with organizations defending the Soviet Union, or its policies—issues which have nothing to do with the South—one is forced to the conclusion that, by and large, the common bond among its supporters is a certain degree of sympathy for the Soviet Union and/or the Communist Party, rather than any primary interest in human welfare in the South. One is further forced to conclude that the professed interest in Southern welfare is simply an expedient for larger aims serving the Soviet Union and its subservient Communist Party in the United States."

From records and official reports of the House Committee Investigating Un-American Activities, the name George S. Mitchell is identified with other Communist-front causes.

An announcement of the **Civil Rights Congress**, held in Detroit, Michigan, April 27 and 28, 1946, lists **Dr. George S. Mitchell**, Director of Veterans Service of the Southern Regional Council, as one of the sponsors of the congress.

According to citations by official government agencies of organizations found to be Communist-fronts, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, the **Civil Rights Congress of Michigan** was cited as subversive by Attorney General Tom Clark in a letter to the Loyalty Review Board released on June 1, 1948.

In commenting on the Civil Rights Congress, the Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities in its Report No. 1115, issued September 2, 1947, pp. 2 and 19, said that the group was **"dedicated not to the broader issue of civil liberties, but specifically to a defense of individual Communists and the Communist Party" and "controlled by individuals who are either members of the Communist Party or openly loyal to it."**

An advertisement which appeared in the NEW YORK TIMES of April 1, 1946 contained a statement opposing the use of injunctions in labor disputes.

This advertisement was prepared by the **National Federation for Constitutional Liberties.** One of the signers of this appeal was **George S. Mitchell**, economist, of Atlanta.

Citations by official government agencies of organizations found to be Communist or Communist-fronts, prepared and released by the Committe on Un-American Activities, brands the **National Federation for Constitutional Liberties** as "one of the viciously subversive organizations of the Communist Party" and gives the following citations:

"1. Cited as subversive and Communist. **(Attorney General Tom Clark, letters to Loyalty Review Board, released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948.)**

"2. 'Part of what Lenin called the solar system of organizations, ostensibly having no connection with the Communist Party, by which Communists attempt to create sympathizers and supporters of their program.*** It was established as a result of a conference on constitutional liberties held in Washington, D. C., June 7-9, 1940. *** The defense of Communist leaders such as Sam Darcy and Robert Wood, party secretaries for Pennsylvania and Oklahoma, have been major efforts of the federation.' **(Attorney General Francis Biddle, Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, p. 7687.)**

"3. 'There can be no reasonable doubt about the fact that the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties—regardless of its high-sounding name—is one of the viciously subversive organizations of the Communist Party.' **(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report March 29, 1944, p. 50; also cited in Reports, June 25, 1942, p. 20; and January 2, 1943, pp. 9 and 12.)**

"4. Among a 'maze of organizations' which were 'spawned for the alleged purpose of defend

of New York to form the Civil Rights Congress." **(California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, pp. 201 and 327.)**

● **It is interesting to note for the record that the names of some others who hold important posts in the Southern Regional Council have a consistent habit of cropping up in connection with groups which have been termed Communist-fronts by Congressional committees investigating Un-American activities.**

While the Council itself has never been branded as a Communist-front, it and its members have been in the vanguard of the fight to destroy our cherished heritages and traditions in the South.

—o—

That is what the federal income tax-exempt Ford Foundation is subsidizing and encouraging with the $240,000 grant made by it.

The Ford Foundation, as a charitable fiction, is relieved of taxation, including federal income taxes.

This means that the money which we in the South pay in federal income taxes, in effect, goes to support this organization which is working night and day to destroy our way of life.

It means that money which was made under the free enterprise system by one of the most rugged individualists in the history of our nation is going to subsidize a quest to mix the races in the classrooms of our schools.

It means that this money will be used to foster a system of controlled enterprise under which there will be no individual freedom.

● **The Ford Foundation** had better be using its resources to save Constitutional government and free enterprise in this country, rather than trying to destroy them.

● **For once our form of government is gone, there will not be any Ford Foundation.**

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NOTICE!

NOTICE OF CONSOLIDATED INSURANCE COMPANY
at Nashville, Tennessee, March 18, 1954

THIS IS TO NOTIFY THE PUBLIC

That the Consolidated Insurance Company, of Nashville, Tennessee, has withdrawn from the business of Health and Accident insurance in the State of Georgia.

*The said company has reinsured as of June 26, 1950 with The Commercial Benefit Insurance Company all policies issued by it in the State of Georgia, and has satisfied and paid all losses and claims of its policyholders therein, and on the 20th day of May, 1954, will make application to Hon. Zack D. Cravey, Insurance Commissioner of the State of Georgia, for leave to withdraw from the State Treasury the bonds deposited by the above-named company in the said Treasury as a guarantee fund for the protection of Georgia policyholders.

Consolidated Insurance Company
By J. B. Tindall, Jr., *Secretary*

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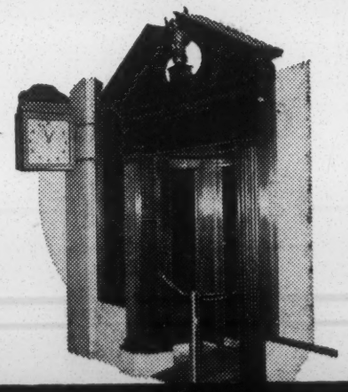

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Communist Party, rather than any primary interest in human welfare in the South. One is further forced to conclude that the professed interest in Southern welfare is simply an expedient for larger aims serving the Soviet Union and its subservient Communist Party in the United

by the Committee on Un-American Activities, the Civil Rights Congress of Michigan was cited as subversive by Attorney General Tom Clark in a letter to the Loyalty Review Board released on June 1, 1948.

In commenting on the Civil Rights Congress, the Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities in its Report No. 1115, issued September 2, 1947, pp. 2 and 19, said that the group was "dedicated not to the broader issue of civil liberties, but specifically to a defense of individual Communists and the Communist Party" and "controlled by individuals who are either members of the Communist Party or openly loyal to it."

An advertisement which appeared in the NEW YORK TIMES of April 1, 1946 contained a statement opposing the use of injunctions in

tations:

"1. Cited as subversive and Communist. (Attorney General Tom Clark, letters to Loyalty Review Board, released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948.)

"2. 'Part of what Lenin called the solar system of organizations, ostensibly having no connection with the Communist Party, by which Communists attempt to create sympathizers and supporters of their program.*** It was established as a result of a conference on constitutional liberties held in Washington, D. C., June 7-9, 1940. *** The defense of Communist leaders such as Sam Darcy and Robert Wood, party secretaries for Pennsylvania and Oklahoma, have been major efforts of the federation.' (Attorney General Francis Biddle, Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, p. 7687.)

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"4. Among a 'maze of organizations' which were 'spawned for the alleged purpose of defending civil liberties in general but actually intended to protect Communist subversion from any penalties under the law.' (Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities, Report No. 1115, September 2, 1947, p. 3.)

"5. 'One of the most important Communist-front organizations in the United States. While following the Communist Party line meticulously the organization has been helpful to Communists who wish to evade and defy Government agencies investigating subversive activities.' It 'recently' combined with International Labor Defense and the Metropolitan Interfaith and Inter-racial Coordinating Council

front, it and its members have been in the vanguard of the fight to destroy our cherished heritages and traditions in the South.

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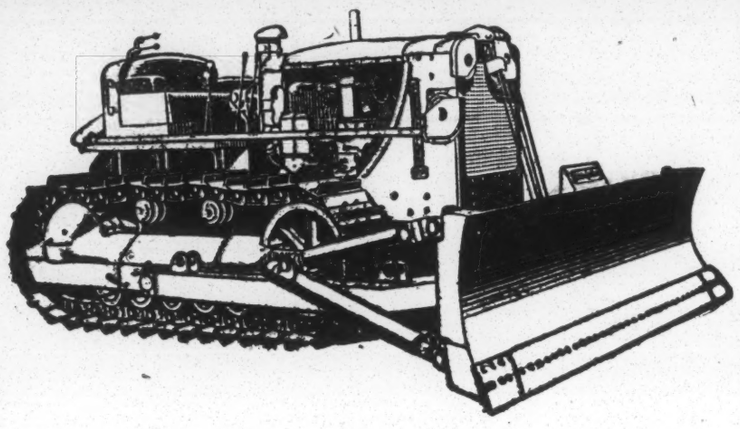
Consolidated Insurance Company
By J. B. Tindall, Jr., *Secretary*



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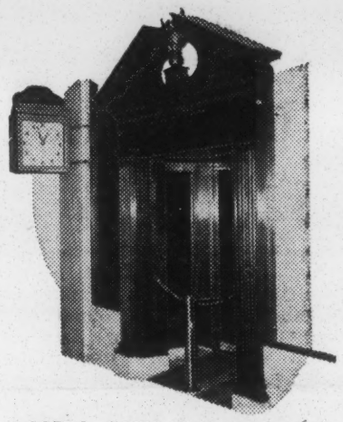

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Mrs. I. E. Bazzell of Mountain Creek, Alabama found her telephone so valuable she sent an unsolicited letter to The Progressive Farmer, through whose courtesy it is reprinted at the left.

A lot of people everywhere feel as Mrs. Bazzell does — that the telephone is their "best buy". On farms, in cities, day in and day out, *the telephone* serves in so *many* big and little ways. Yet its cost is small, less than a penny an hour for the average family.

SOUTHERN BELL TELEPHONE AND TELEGRAPH COMPANY

STATEMENT BY MR. LEONARD HAAS

ATLANTA ATTORNEY AND MEMBER OF THE
EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

April 16, 1954

The Southern Regional Council was incorporated under the laws of the State of Georgia in 1944. The incorporators ~~were~~ included Bishop Arthur J. Moore, Ralph McGill, and Rufus E. Clement. Since that time its membership, board and executive committee have included Georgians, as well as other Southerners of standing and integrity. Attempts to link the Southern Regional Council with the Southern Conference for Human Welfare or other similar organizations are completely unfounded.

The Council in the past ten years has worked temperately and constructively for better race relations. It has represented an effort by Southerners themselves to build cooperation and mutual trust between the races.

The grant from the Fund for the Republic was given specifically in order to make possible state organizations, with their own independent boards, officers and staff. In Georgia, this means that Georgians themselves will establish and direct the activities made possible by this state's portion of the grant. The regional office in Atlanta will continue to perform fact-finding and coordinating functions that will assist the various state groups.

This is an opportunity for Southerners of both races to work together effectively on race relations programs of their own choosing. Anyone who is opposed to this course must be opposed to local initiative and progress in the field of human relations.

Dr. George S. Mitchell, the executive director of the Southern Regional Council, is able and respected, and his integrity is beyond question. His conscientious work has won him many honors. Only last year he received the annual award of the Catholic Committee of the South for his "signal contributions to thw welfare and progress of the South."

FROM ATLANTA CONSTITUTION Saturday, April 17, 1954

TALMADGE'S PAPER RAPS FORD GRANT

Gov. Talmadge's political weekly, The Statesman, Friday charged that Southern income tax money is, in effect, being spent to foster a fight on Southern segregation.

An unsigned article criticized a recent grant of approximately $25,000. by the Ford Foundation to the Southern Regional Council. It called the foundation "a charitable fiction."

The council was organized in 1944 to work for better race relations. Marion Wright of Linville Falls, N. C. is president; Dr. Rufus Clement of Atlanta is chairman of the executive committee, and Dr. George Mitchell of Atlanta is executive director. There are both white and Negro members.

The paper said the Ford Foundation is exempt from federal income taxes. Thus the money which Southerners pay in federal income taxes, in effect, goes to support an organization working "to destroy our way of life," the paper said.

Leonard Haas, Atlanta member of the council's executive committee, said the organization represents an effort by Southerners to build cooperation and mutual trust between the races. The foundation money was specifically marked for local organizations to work along these lines, he added.

E ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

Metropolitan Atlanta News

SATURDAY MORNING, APRIL 17, 1954

Staff Photo—Dallas Buck

UATE—Betty Baron (left) fastens ernathy at graduation exercises Fri- students of Piedmont Hospital School emony was held at Central Presby-

WS

y Rotary Meet ear Chicagoan

titution State News Service

s of Chicago, Ill., secretary of Rotary eduled to deliver the feature address conference of District 240, Rotary opens at Radium Springs Sunday h Tuesday.

Sunday eature Leon-

A morning session Tuesday and a luncheon at which Atlanta Constitution columnist Leo Aikman will speak will conclude the conference.

Heading the card at Tuesday's morning session will be the presentation of district governor nominee Frank Twitty of Camilla, who l speak on Rotary in 1954-55.

other feature of the meet will honoring of district members with at least 15 years of tendance. Receiving pins l be:

ce Sr., Albany; ultrie; Howard Wilbur Brown

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Emory Team Tells of New Heart Drug

A new drug from rhododendron leaves that may help control high blood pressure in man was described Friday by two Atlanta doctors before the National Society for Medical Research, meeting in Atlantic City.

Dr. Arthur P. Richardson and Dr. Neil C. Moran of the Emory University Medical School presented findings of their study of "andromedotoxin," the material from rhododendron leaves that has proved effective in lowering blood pressure in animals.

Spotty Dog Hunted; Suspected of Rabies

Nine-year-old Teddy Odell, 63 Lafayette Dr., N. E., will have to have antirabies shots beginning Monday unless the dog that bit him in front of his house is found by then. City Health Department officials said.

The animal, which may be rabid, was described as medium-sized, white with black spots and a fully black head and short haired like a bird dog.

Health Department spokesmen asked anyone knowing the whereabouts of such a dog in the Lafayette drive area to call Teddy's mother at EMerson 6517.

Army Found Copying State Questionnaire

The United States Army is copying Georgia's "Security Questionnaire" to strengthen its guard against Communist infiltration, Lamar Sizemore, director of Georgia's security program, said Friday.

Sizemore addressed the Veterans Luncheon Club at the Belmont Steak House.

"While some critics said our questionnaire was too far reaching," Sizemore commented, "it is interesting to know that the Army is tightening up its security program. Judging from newspaper accounts of the Army's plan, it will follow the same pattern of the Georgia questionnaire."

Sizemore said the Army questionnaire likely would have to be filled in by members of the National Guard, Army Reserves and anyone who draws any pay from the Army, in addition to the soldiers themselves.

Bang To Address Letter Carriers At Decatur Meet

The South Georgia District Association of Letter Carriers will hold its spring conv

Dogs, Cats, Rats Can Be Pals, Society Told

By KATHERINE BARNWELL

Research at Tulane University shows that dogs, cats and rats can eat and play together and cooperate in various ways, indicating they are "not natural enemies," Dr. Loh Seng Tsai, professor of psychology at Tulane, said here Friday.

"Cats and rats have been called natural enemies," he said, "but we have proved they are friendly to one another if they are allowed intercommunication for a period of time."

Dr. Tsai, who is one of the speakers at the annual meeting of the Southern Society of Philosophy and Psychology at the Biltmore Hotel, believes his research shows that so-called natural enemies (animal or human) can become "good friends."

"HOPE FOR PEACE"

"People aren't born natural enemies," he said, "and that's the hope for world peace. If people are permitted intercommunication, they will get to know and understand one another."

Dr. W. T. James, professor of psychology at the University of Georgia, reported on his research study of puppies to determine the influence of "social eating" on food intake.

Dr. James said the studies showed the puppies ate more when they were eating together than when fed individually. He said competition was ruled out as a motive because each puppy could eat only from his own pan.

SOCIETY PRESIDENT

Dr. Karl M. Dallenbach, professor of psychology at the University of Texas and president of the society, spoke at the annual banquet on the thesis, "Phrenology and psychoanalysis are strikingly alike."

Dr. Dallenbach said Freud, the exponent of psychoanalysis, was "completely uninformed" about statistical methods.

The conference of psychologists and philosophers will continue at the Biltmore through Saturday.

Roswell Seniors Off

Thirty Roswell High School seniors left here by train Friday night for a four-day sightseeing visit to Washington, D.C.

SPECIAL TRADE-IN

$40.00 For Your Old Washer on a

NEW NORGE

Talmadge Paper Says South's Taxes Used in Effect Against Segregation

ATLANTA, April 16 (AP)—Gov. Herman Talmadge's political weekly, The Statesman, today charged that southern income tax money in effect, is being spent to foster a fight on southern segregation.

An unsigned article in the weekly pubblication criticized a recent grant of approximately $240,000 by the Ford Foundation to the Southern Regional Council. It called the foundation "a charitable fiction."

The council was organized in 1944 to work for better race relations. Marion A. Wright of Linville Falls, N.C., is president and Dr. Rufus E. Clement, Atlanta, is chairman of the executive committee. Its members number both whites and Negroes.

In announcing receipt of the grant a week ago, the council said the money would be used in an educational program extending into 12 Southern states and lasting 18 months.

Among other things, the council aided in securing the right of Negroes to vote and employment of Negro policemen. Its aims include dropping of racial barriers, curbing of racial tension and what it calls impartial law enforcement.

The Statesman said the Ford Foundation is exempt from federal income taxes.

"This means," the article said, "that the money which we in the South pay in federal income taxes, in effect, goes to support this organization which is working night and day to destroy our way of life."

Replying to the article, Leonard Haas, Atlanta attorney and member of the council's executive committee, said the organization represented an effort by Southerners to build cooperation and mutual trust between the races. He said the Ford Foundation money was specifically for local organizations to work along these lines.

"Anyone opposed to this course must be opposed to local initiative and progress in the field of human relations," Haas said.

Chattanooga Times 4-17-54

Miss Anne Holden
1590 N.Decatur Rd.,NE
Atlanta, Ga.
2/4/55

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The Statesman

A Recorder of Georgia Governmental Affairs—Municipal, County and State

Published in the Interest of ALL the People

. 17 | HAPEVILLE, GA., THURSDAY, APRIL 29, 1954 | Copy 5c

Commissioners Rap Ford Grant To Southern Regional Council

Deplore Aid To Group Whose Officers Were Linked To Red-Fronts

Hutchins Sees End To Segregation; Berates "Rights" In United States

Some of the State's most influential citizens last week condemned the Ford Foundation for its recent $240,000 grant to the Southern Regional Council.

Meeting in Savannah at its regular annual convention, the Association of County Commissioners of Georgia lashed out at efforts by the Ford Foundation to destroy the color line in the South through donations to an organization with that avowed purpose.

According to a statement of policy issued by the Southern Regional Council, the main purpose of the organization is to overthrow segregation in the South. It looks toward **"the South of the future free of stultifying inheritance of the past . . . where segregation will be recognized as a cruel and needless penalty on the human spirit and will no longer be imposed."**

The resolution, adopted unanimously by the Commissioners, read in part, as follows:

Here Is The Full Text Of Resolutions Adopted By County Commissioners

Georgia's powerful Association of County Commissioners, meeting in Savannah last week, gave all-out backing to Governor Talmadge in his fight to preserve separate schools in Georgia.

The group unanimously adopted resolutions supporting the proposed constitutional amendment to insure the right of the General Assembly to deal with the situation, should the Supreme Court outlaw segregation in the public schools of Georgia.

Wording of the resolution stripped away all legal niceties and got right to the crux of the issue—**"A vote for this amendment is a vote for separate schools; a vote against the amendment is a vote for mixed schools."**

Following is the full text of the resolution adopted by the County Commissioners:

WHEREAS, an adverse decision in cases now pending in the Supreme Court of the United States threatens the existence of our presently constituted system of separate education for white and colored, and

WHEREAS, the State is presently expending millions of dollars in the construction of schools, principally for colored students, and

WHEREAS, we consider it to be of paramount importance to continue our system of separate schools for white

Talmadge Is Guest On Nationwide TV Program, Chronoscope

Governor Herman Talmadge predicted in a television interview last Saturday night that any Republican candidates offering for office in Georgia this year will not poll "half as many votes" as President Eisenhower did in 1952.

"I would not think that the Republican Party is anything like as popular as President Eisenhower," the Chief Executive stated, "and if the elections for Congress were held at the present time, the Republican candidates in Georgia would not poll half as many votes as President Eisenhower polled in the last presidential election."

Talmadge was interviewed by Newsmen Larry LeSeur of the Columbia Broadcasting System and Kenneth Crawford of Newsweek Magazine on the Longine Chronoscope carried by Station WAGA-TV of Atlanta. The program was filmed in New York during the Governor's recent tour of the East.

● **Regarding segregation** of the races in public schools now under court attack, Talmadge said Georgians "intend to maintain separate schools one way or another, come what may." He maintained, however, that if the United States Supreme Court Justices "follow the law as all lawyers understand it, they will uphold the present method, which is separate but equal schools."

An adverse decision, Talmadge said, would be "the most difficult thing that we in the Southern States have had to approach or deal with since the War Between the States." He said Georgia has not adopted a definite course of action

To Southern Regional Council

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The resolution, adopted unanimously by the Commissioners, read in part, as follows:

> **"We condemn the agitation for the mixing of the races. As decent public officials we deplore it. Specifically we condemn The Ford Foundation for its gift of a quarter of a million dollars to the Southern Regional Council for the purpose of propagandizing against the principle of separation of the races. Nor do we fail to note that persons highly connected with said Ford Foundation and said Southern Regional Council are and have been prominently connected with subversive fronts."**

* * *

● Meanwhile, Robert M. Hutchins, former Chancellor of the University of Chicago and now an Associate Director of the Ford Foundation, was recorded in the press as declaring **"that segregation in the public schools (of the South) is on the way out and there is very little opponents of de-segregation can do to prevent the breakdown."**

Stating that separation of the races in public schools is doomed on economic, legal and moral grounds, Hutchins predicted statements made by Gov. James F. Byrnes, of South Carolina, and Gov. Herman Talmadge, of Georgia, that the public schools of their states would be abolished as a last resort and as the lesser of two evils in the event the Supreme Court outlaws segregation, probably will not take place.

"If they (Governors Byrnes and Talmadge) get away with it, they won't get away with it for long," Hutchins said, stating that Federal authorities could not condone such acts.

Hutchins was principal speaker at the annual Urban League dinner meeting in St. Louis, Mo. The Urban League organization is a mixed group dedicated to destruction of segregation.

Hutchins said he feels the United States Supreme Court's decision that "separate cannot be equal" in a ruling on the Sweat case in Texas several years ago will have some bearing on the five school cases now pending in the high tribunal.

"If a state hasn't enough money to manage one good school system," Hutchins asked, "how can they manage two?"

"Separate but equal then means equally bad," he added.

In discussing what he termed "the present threat to traditional American civil liberties," Hutchins berated the United States when he declared, "that when the negro obtains the same rights as the white man, he won't have much after all."

* * *

The public records, files and publications of the House Committee Investigating Un-American Activities contain

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 1)

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WHEREAS, an adverse decision in cases now pending in the Supreme Court of the United States threatens the existence of our presently constituted system of separate education for white and colored, and

WHEREAS, the State is presently expending millions of dollars in the construction of schools, principally for colored students, and

WHEREAS, we consider it to be of paramount importance to continue our system of separate schools for white and colored, now

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED by Association County Commissioners of Georgia, in Convention assembled at Savannah on this twentieth day of April, 1954, as follows, to wit:

1. The experience of generations and the lessons of history have demonstrated that where the two races live together in great numbers as in this State, the best interests of both are promoted by their education in separate schools. Upon the principle of parallel civilizations our institutions are erected, having as their goal the excellence of the individual rather than the reduction of the mass to some undetermined common level.

2. We know that not only the white people of our State approve the principle of separate schools, but also that the vast majorities of our colored people approves of it and that they earnestly hope for a continuation of the present system.

3. Lawyers who have studied the subject tell us the Federal Supreme Court has no lawful authority to interfere with our schools: and we know that through the years that Court has so held. This Association is not made up of lawyers, but we know that the United States Constitution has not been changed or amended since these decisions were made, and we are unable to understand how the Federal Supreme Court has authority to change its language or meaning. We know in our hearts that judges in Washington have no moral or legal right to interfere with our social institutions.

4. If the Federal Supreme Court undertakes to interfere with our separate schools, we pledge ourselves as free citizens of a free State to resist this usurpation by all means at our disposal.

5. We condemn the agitation for the mixing of the races. As decent public officials we deplore it. Specifically we condemn The Ford Foundation for its gift of a quarter of a million dollars to the Southern Regional Council for the purpose of propagandizing against the principle of separation of the races. Nor do we fail to note that persons highly connected with said Ford Foundation and said Southern Regional Council are and have been prominently connected with subversive fronts.

6. We commend Governor Herman Talmadge for his loyalty to the State, her institutions, and her traditions, and we commend him and the General Assembly for submitting to the people of the State the following proposed Amendment to the Georgia Constitution:

> **"Section I. That Article VII of the Constitution of Georgia be amended by adding thereto a new section, to be numbered Section XIII, asc follows:**
>
> **'SECTION XIII, PARAGRAPH I, GRANTS FOR EDUCATION: Notwithstanding any other provision of this Constitution, the General Assembly may by law provide for grants of State, county, or municipal funds to citizens of the State for educational purposes, in discharge of all obligation of the State to provide adequate education for its citizens.' "**

In our judgment said proposed Amendment will expand the authority of the General Assembly and thus facilitate their labors in dealing with the problems which will confront us in the event of an untoward decision of the Federal Supreme Court in the school cases now pending.

We note with satisfaction that nothing in said Amendment harms free public education in this State, nor does it contain anything which should disturb the status of our teachers in respect to tenure, salaries, salary increases and pensions. Said Amendment merely provides the General Assembly with authority to devise a means to continue free, public and separate education, in the event of an unwarranted decision of the Federal Supreme Court makes it necessary to revise our system.

The issue before the people on the ratification of said Amendment is whether they wish to make it possible to continue free public education in separate schools. A vote for this Amendment is a vote for separate schools. A vote against the Amendment is a vote for mixed schools. This Association endorses said Amendment.

Talmadge Is Guest On Nationwide TV Program, Chronoscope

Governor Herman Talmadge predicted in a television interview last Saturday night that any Republican candidates offering for office in Georgia this year will not poll "half as many votes" as President Eisenhower did in 1952.

"I would not think that the Republican Party is anything like as popular as President Eisenhower," the Chief Executive stated, "and if the elections for Congress were held at the present time, the Republican candidates in Georgia would not poll half as many votes as President Eisenhower polled in the last presidential election."

Talmadge was interviewed by Newsmen Larry LeSeur of the Columbia Broadcasting System and Kenneth Crawford of Newsweek Magazine on the Longine Chronoscope carried by Station WAGA-TV of Atlanta. The program was filmed in New York during the Governor's recent tour of the East.

* * *

● **The Georgia Governor** attributed President Eisenhower's large vote in Georgia in the last general election to his personal popularity, the respect and confidence people have in him and the dissatisfaction of many with the administration of President Truman. He pointed out, however, that despite these factors Georgia gave the Democratic nominees "the greatest percentage-wise majority of any State in the Union."

Georgians, Talmadge said, recognize Adlai Stevenson as "titular head of the Democratic Party" but look to their Senators, Congressmen and Governor "to form policy in our state." He said should Senator Richard B. Russell, Jr., decide again to be a candidate for the Democratic Presidential Nomination in 1956, Georgians "will support him as loyally as they have in the past."

Regarding control of the National Democratic Party, Talmadge said "Southerners and the conservatives" gained ascendency over "the left-wing elements of the industrial East" at the close of the last National Convention.

● **Regarding segregation** of the races in public schools now under court attack, Talmadge said Georgians "intend to maintain separate schools one way or another, come what may." He maintained, however, that if the United States Supreme Court Justices "follow the law as all lawyers understand it, they will uphold the present method, which is separate but equal schools."

An adverse decision, Talmadge said, would be "the most difficult thing that we in the Southern States have had to approach or deal with since the War Between the States." He said Georgia has not adopted a definite course of action in such an event but added he does "not think there is any doubt" but that the state would set up a private school system if such be necessary to maintain segregation. Machinery for such action, he pointed out, is being set up.

"The thinking white people in the South and also the Negroes in the South want it (segregation) left alone—just like it is," he declared. "Only a few agitators—white and colored—want it changed."

The future of race relations in the South must be left to the individual states, Talmadge maintained. Otherwise, he declared, republican government "as we know it today will be destroyed" and the result would be to set up a system of "thought police" to regulate citizens in every detail of their private lives.

* * *

● **Except for farm prices,** Talmadge said, Georgia's economy has "held up remarkably well." Farmers, however, he explained, have been "caught in the price squeeze and it has concerned them greatly."

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"It should be noted that the subject individual (Dr. Robert M. Hutchins) is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer or a fellow-traveler unless otherwise indicated," the Committee report emphasized.

Following is factual information on Dr. Hutchins, as contained in the public records, files and publications of the House Committee Investigating Un-American Activities:

Dr. Robert M. Hutchins, Chancellor, University of Chicago, was a member, Commission for Academic Freedom, National Council of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions, according to the September 13, 1948 (page 6) issue of the Communist newspaper, "Daily Worker." He was shown

Talmadge Swing Through East Wins More Praise

Governor Herman Talmadge's recent Good Will Tour of the East continues to elicit praise from Georgia newspapers.

Some recent editorial comments on the Governor's out-of-state speeches and television appearances, include the following:

"Once again, Governor Herman Talmadge has proved he is a worthy spokesman for the people of this state . . . The Governor laid his facts on the line. He told of progress in industry, agriculture, schools, state government. He recited the evidence. He told how this is taking place . . . The Governor is one of the ablest spokesmen for the new Georgia and the new South."—**The Rome News-Tribune.**

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"Those of us who live in Georgia are sometimes unmindful of the tremendous strides our state is making. Maybe we are too close to the scene to fully appreciate what is going on. It is well that on occasions we be reminded of what is happening right here at home."—**Turner Rockwell in The Valdosta Times.**

"Most Georgians will be in complete agreement with Governor Herman Talmadge's address before the Traffic Club of New York City on last Wednesday. The Governor not only described the impressive progress that has been made at Georgia's Savannah Port, but defined, as well, in no uncertain terms, Georgia's position in the present struggle between the ideologies of liberty and totalitarianism."—**The Augusta Chronicle.**

"Once again Governor Herman Talmadge has proven

Georgia Is State Of Presidents

Georgia is a state of Presidents.

The election last week of J. Bryan Hatchett, Deputy Director of Georgia's penal system, as President of the Southern States Prison Association added another to the list of Georgia State Officials who head national organizations.

Included in the list are:

William K. Barrett, President of the National Association of Managers of Veterans Affairs.

Eugene Cook, President of the National Association of Attorneys-General.

Ernest Vandiver, just past President of the National Association of Adjutant-Generals.

Newton Moye, President of the National Association of State Park Directors.

R. P. Balkcom, Jr., past President of the National Prison Wardens Association.

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The National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions was cited as a Communist front by the Committee on Un-American Activities in the "Review of the Scientific and Cultural Conference for World Peace" released April 19, 1949, later made House Report 1954, April 26, 1950.

* * *

Dr. Robert Maynard Hutchins testified before the Seditious Activities Investigation Commission, State of Illinois, 1949. (See Volume II, page 17, of this Commission.)

The "Daily Worker" of April 28, 1949 (page 9) featured a long article by Gunnar Leander entitled "Chancellor Hutchins in the Witchhunters' Den," parts of which read as follows:

"Sen. Paul Broyles suddenly found himself in the defendant's box during his own inquisition into subversive activities in Chicago colleges this week. Chancellor Robert M. Hutchins of the University of Chicago, leading an entourage of distinguished witnesses, turned prosecutor in telling off Broyles that his task as a legislator 'is to eliminate those social and economic evils and those political injustices which are the sources of discontent and disaffection' " (sic.)

"Hutchins turned the tide of the entire state witchhunt as he declared before the Illinois Subversive Activities Commission:

" 'As is well known, there is a Communist Club among the students of the University (of Chicago.) Eleven students belong to it. The Club has not sought to subvert the government of the state. Its members claim that they are interested in studying Communism, and some of them, perhaps all of them, may be sympathetic toward communism. But the study of Communism is not a subversive activity.' "

Dr. Hutchins' photograph accompanied this article.

* * *

An article entitled "Chicago U. Head Flays Redbaiting Hysteria" appeared in the "Daily Worker" of June 24, 1949 (page 4), which stated that Robert M. Hutchins, Chancellor of the University of Chicago, in an address before the graduating students of the University charged that the widespread witchhunting was designed to "silence" those who criticize the "status quo" because they "think it can be improved."

In the "Daily Worker" of January 2, 1950 (page 1) Dr. Robert Hutchins was quoted with approval as follows:

"Honest scientists have long agreed with the statement of Dr. Robert Hutchins that 'all talk of secrecy in connection with the atomic principle has been completely asinine, and public utterances which would have us believe we own an atomic secret are rooted either in ignorance or in deceit.' "

In the "Daily Worker" of May 29, 1950 (page 10) Dr. Hutchins was quoted with approval as follows:

"Recently Robert M. Hutchins, Chancellor of the University of Chicago, wrote a blistering attack on American radio for the BBC Quarterly, organ of the British Broadcasting Company. One section of this article is especially worth repeating, the section in which he answers an article written by Victor Ratner, former vice-president of CBS, in 1947.

. . .

"And finally, he (Hutchins) pointed out in the answer to Ratner's article, that 'the radio industry disclaims any obligation to improve the people's taste. Actually, they know very well that they are degrading it.'

"Throughout the article, Chancellor Hutchins emphasized that this state of affairs results from a situation in which 'profits come first.' "

* * *

The "Daily People's World," west coast organ of the Communist Party, in the issue of April 17, 1950 (page 2), reported the following:

"Chancellor Robert Hutchins, head of the University of Chicago, has informed the National Committee to Defeat the Mundt Bill he has filed a statement with the House Committee on Un-American Activities denouncing the Mundt-Nixon bill as foolish, stupid and dangerous.

"The Hutchins statement follows:

" 'I should like to be recorded as among the numerous citizens of all political parties and all points of view who are united in believing that the Mundt-Nixon bill is foolish, stupid, and dangerous. I hope that Congress will display its intelligence, and its faith in freedom and democracy by overwhelmingly defeating the measure.' "

The "Daily Worker" on June 25, 1951 (page 2) reported that Professor Robert M. Hutchins, former chancellor of the University of Chicago and now associate director of the Ford Foundation, opposed the Supreme Court decision upholding the conviction of the 11 Communist leaders.

It is noted that the Communist "Daily Worker" on April 3, 1951 (page 7) reprinted excerpts from a speech delivered by Robert M. Hutchins in the Sidney Hillman Foundation Lecture Series at Harvard.

"Once again, Governor Herman Talmadge has proved he is a worthy spokesman for the people of this state . . . The Governor laid his facts on the line. He told of progress in industry, agriculture, schools, state government. He recited the evidence. He told how this is taking place . . . The Governor is one of the ablest spokesmen for the new Georgia and the new South."—**The Rome News-Tribune.**

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"Once again Governor Herman Talmadge has proven to be a good salesman for the State of Georgia . . . We have long needed a Governor who would go out into the East and Midwest and do a good selling job for our state. Certainly the present Governor has done just that and his efforts are paying off in new industries, new business and new respect for the State of Georgia."—**The Atlanta Metropolitan Herald.**

National Association of Attorneys-General.

Ernest Vandiver, just past President of the National Association of

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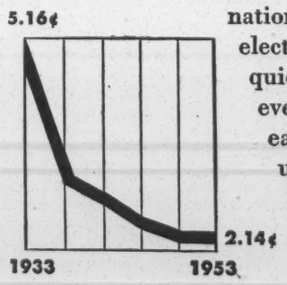

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VOLUME 4 CLAYTON, GEORGIA, APRIL, 1954 NUMBER 5.

Southern Conference Educational Fund Investigation Before Jenner Committee Reveals Communist Infiltration

SCEF & SRC SIAMESE TWINS - - - ARE DESCENDENTS OF OLD COMMUNIST FRONT, SOUTHERN CONFERENCE FOR HUMAN WELFARE

The Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc., of New Orleans and the Southern Regional Council, Inc., with headquarters in the historic Wesley Memorial Church building, Atlanta are Siamese twins, descendants of the old defunct communist front, the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. The SCHW organization which was inspired, originated, substantially financed and dominated by the Communist Party disbanded when its work was no longer effective because Russia's red hand in the affairs of the conference became too conspicious. It followed the Commie line in folding up when Soviet control behind the scenes was exposed and broke out into other organizations where dupes and liberals could more effectively be used wittingly or unwittingly in the so-called names of humanity and human rights to do the bidding of the Kremlin.

Jim Dombrowski a member of the Methodist Federation For Social Action and according to sworn testimony has been a member of the Communist Party, deserted his official position in the SCHW to be the directing head of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc. He brought with him the SOUTHERN PATRIOT, one of the communist front's official organs. George Mitchell, a well known communist fronter, deserted the sinking ship, the SCHW and now is the director of the Southern Regional Council. He brought with him the NEW SOUTH, another official mouthpiece of the old defunct communist front, the SCHW. Dombrowski's organization has infiltrated colleges while Mitchell's organization works through the Churches. The Southern Regional Council safely housed in a Methodist Church has been in a strategic position to feed its poison in the name of religion.

Sixteen (16) of the present officials and board members of the Southern Conference Educational

(Continued on page five)

Emory Professor Participates In Recent Conference of SCEF Held in Atlanta

Dr. Albert E. Barnett, professor, Candler School of Religion, Emory University, was present at a called meeting of the Board of Directors of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc., held on February 7, 1954 in Atlanta, Ga. He, with Dr. James P. Brawley and Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, Atlanta Methodist Negro educators among others signed a statement defending the activities of SCEF. The statement was made because SCEF was to be investigated by the Jenner Committee for Communistic activities.

Dr. Barnett is regarded as an influential leader in the Southern Conference Educational Fund group. His "Statement of Objectives" was read at the SCEF sponsored youth conference held at Allen University, Columbia, S. C., in December, 1952 by Dr. Fred C. James in the absence of Dr. Barnett.

British Methodist Defends Malenkov

NEW YORK. — An Associated Press dispatch from Sheffield, England reports Dr. Donald Soper, head of Britain's Methodist Church, as saying that Soviet Premier Georgi Malenkov is really more of a liberal than a Communist.

Dr. Soper, who has often espoused socialist, pacifist and liberal causes, has accepted an invitation of the Russian Orthodox Church to visit the Soviet Union. Addressing an open air meeting, Dr. Soper declared that the Russians are "no better and no worse" than Americans, and added that "every Christian should be a left-winger."

Thus Dr. Soper joins the "Red Dean" of the Church of England and the left-wingers of American Methodism in becoming an apologist for Christianity's greatest men-

(Continued on page five)

Dombrowski Named Communist In New Orleans Hearings. Other Board Members Of SCEF Are Revealed As Fifth Amendment Communists. Atlanta Members, Including Mays And Clements Could Be Called When Hearings Are Resumed

The Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc., a direct descendant of the old defunct communist front, the Southern Conference for Human Welfare finally was brought up to answer the question that has been in the minds of the thinking public, "To what extent has Communism infiltrated SCEF?" Jim Dombrowski, Director and some of his associates were brought before the Jenner Committee with Senator Eastland of Mississippi presiding, in New Orleans March, 1954 for investigation. Senator Eastland before the Hearings had said that "SCEF was a communist infiltrated organization masquerading behind the facade of a humanitarian educational institution."

Dombrowski denied that he was or had been a Communist, but Paul Crouch who was active in the Communist Party from 1925 to 1942 and was trained in Moscow to aid in the Soviet's program to work for the overthrow of America said under oath that Jim Dombrowski who is also a present executive member of the Methodist Federation For Social Action, "accepted Communist Party discipline, discussed the revolutionary movement and sang the Communist Internationale." John Butler, Dallas Texas nurseryman testified under oath that he was a former member of the Party from early in 1941 to 1943 when he lived in Bessemer, Ala., near Birmingham, and, that during that period he knew DOMBROWSKI to be a member of the Communist Party.

Col. Leo Sheiner, a Miami, Florida attorney and one of the leaders of SCEF which has infiltrated many of our schools, took quick refuge behind the Fifth Amendment when questions were asked him concerning his Communist connections, and activities. Paul Crouch said he had known Sheiner as a Communist. When Sheiner objected to the questions, Senator Eastland said to him, "Keep your mouth shut. You will take orders from me. I know Communist tactics. I am not going to let you take over this hearing". Later the Senator said to the Miami lawyer, "You're a big time Communist and I know it."

Miami, Fla., April 17—Disbarment proceedings have been started against Col. Leo Sheiner for refusing to answer questions on Communist activity before a Senate Internal Security subcommittee. Among the organization specified in the petition were the Communist Party of the United States

(Continued on page five)

BOLLINGER WIRES GREETINGS TO COMMUNIST INFILTRATED SCEF

Dr. H. D. Bollinger, Secretary Department of College and University Life, Board of Education of the Methodist Church, who was attending youth conferences in India, cabled the following message: "Thinking of conference. Hope great experience" to the Youth Conference held at Allen University, Columbia, S. C., December, 1952, which was directed and sponsored by the Communist infiltrated Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc. We would like for Dr. Bollinger to tell the Church whether or not this transatlantic cablegram was paid from church funds. If it were, the Church should be reimbursed.

Dr. Bollinger has also been a sponsor of Dombrowski's group. Let him openly repudiate his past connections, if he is going to remain in the strategic and influential posi-

(Continued on page five)

Editorials—Continued from page two

THE PROBLEMS WE SOUTHERN METHODISTS FACE

We do not believe that it is unChristian to face realism. It is not sinful to be practical. It is not disloyal to question the behavior or lack of behavior on the part of our leadership in the Church in regard to the question of segregation. It is not fomenting "racial hatred" to demand that the traditions which are peculiarly necessary in the South be maintained. We contend that it is not stirring up strife to insist that our historic cultural and traditional patterns in the South be preserved.

Our belief in our Souhern way of life is based on years of experience. We know that if the mixing of the races be permitted more problems would rise than could be settled and more wounds would be made than could be healed. The continued agitation on the part of our beloved denomination and allied organizations will cause disunity, foster ill will and impede the progress of Methodism in the South.

We Southerners—not "race-haters"—not bigots, nor narrow minded, prejudiced and ignorant rebels—**BUT** Methodists, Baptists, Presbyterians, Church folk, Christians and even Jews KNOW that the abolition of segregation in our churches, schools and social gatherings just wouldn't work.

We are faced with a grave problem. Our church on the national level has declared war against segregation. In paragraph 2027, 1952 Discipline bears this out, —**"There is no place in the Methodist Church for racial discrimination or racial segregation." It further says, "—to set about achieving a Christian brotherhood in the church that will be free from racial discrimination and segregation"; and "we propose that the Church seek to free itself UTTERLY from racial discrimination and segregation."**

Our Church school literature in obedience to the radical leaders of the Church and in the custody of writers who have a fanatical, socialistic, "racial-complex" constantly remind us that we are unChristian and prejudiced and haters because we practice segregation in our churches. Boards, some leading officials, "policy-makers", "program finders" and "speaker-seekers" manipulate and maneuver to see that we be reminded again and again that we MUST abolish our customs if we are going to be Christian and Methodist. Colleges, Universities, Theological Seminaries and even secondary schools, whose faculties are manned by professors who studied in the East, feed our young people with ideas which strike at the very heart of our Southern way of life. Our Woman's Society of Christian Service on all of the upper levels pass radical resolutions which are written and inspired in some instance by Federationists and prophetesses whose primary creed is racial brotherhood.

Such action is done in violation of the spirit of our agreement in unification. The principal reason for the jurisdictional arrangement in the Plan of Union, which was something new and unique in Church Government, was to make possible the preservation of segregation in the South when union became a reality. There would have been no union had not this arrangement been made. Thanks to the keen brain of the late Bishop John M. Moore.

This plan was accepted by the Methodist Episcopal Church (Northern branch). We Southern Methodists believed them to be sincere. We see now they betrayed us. That is dishonest. Their determined efforts to reform us is in violation of their agreement. It is bad to break a gentleman's agreement. It is worse to break a Christian's agreement.

They seek now to remove the legal and constitutional barrier. The Episcopal address of 1952 has this to say, "This system seemed to be the KEY to Unification in 1939, and SOME would contend that we are not far enough from that date to **force** this constitutional issue upon our people". The last General Conference passed a new law as it appears in paragraph 538, 1952 Discipline which is to accommodate only the transfer of a Negro Church into one of the white jurisdictions and the transfer of a white Church to the Central (Negro) jurisdiction. The new law discriminates against the transfer of a Church from one white jurisdiction to another white jurisdiction. The sole purpose was to break down segregation. It is the entering wedge to abolish the Central (Negro) jurisdiction.

If these agitators and liberal Methodists who suffer from the disease of "raceitis" are successful in their plan to slap the former Methodist Episcopal Church, South in the face by eliminating our organizational structure, the Church will face division as surely as it did in 1844.

Our problem becomes more serious because the leaders of the North Georgia conference make no protest to semi- official and endorsed unofficial organizations which advocate the outright abolition of segregation. They make no protest to the Southern Regional Council's campaign to change our pattern of segregation. They do not call in question the policy of the National Council of Churches to eliminate our Southern heritages. They do not even protest the discrimination the National Council makes against us in the South. They take our money that we give for the education of the Negro and let it be used against our necessary pattern of segregation and never object.

The problem becomes more acute because many of our younger ministers are fresh from the seminaries where they were inspired with a fanatical passion to go out to correct the "injustice" of segregation. Then there are those pastors—great in number, who believe that the preservation of our present system is best both for the white people and the Negro people, but are wiser than this editor, they don't for the present take issue wih the leadership of the conference who ignore the whole affair.

We simply raise the question, discuss the problem—YOU laymen will have to find a solution.

THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL SHOULD BE REMOVED FROM A METHODIST CHURCH

The April, 1953 issue of OMV carried an expose of the Southern Regional Council whose headquarters are still in Wesley Memorial Methodist Church building, Atlanta. It was a telling blow. It carried a factual expose. Some of the Council hinted that we would be sued. Some tried to get the Post Office Department to revoke our mailing privileges. One district superintendent, in a quarterly conference referred to it.

Just prior to the meeting of the North Georgia Conference we called upon the North Georgia conference to oust this strife-monger organization from beloved old Wesley Memorial building. We urged Dr. Mackay to remove from Wesley Memorial this organization which is advocating the abolition of segregation, which is regarded as a necessity by the rank and file of Georgia Methodists. We pointed out that the SRC was honeycombed with Communist fronters in its leaders. But instead of removing SRC from Wesley Memorial, we were removed from a pastorate this year to which we are legally entitled.

But they didn't stop our publication. They didn't silence our voice. They didn't stop our pen. One year later from our factual expose of the Southern Regional Church—we return to raise our voice against this anti-Southern, anti-Georgia Methodist, segregation-destroying, race-baiting Southern Regional Council which is directed by a communist fronter from the fourth foor of a Methodist Church in the city of Atlanta. The facts published one year ago in ONE METHODIST VOICE have not been repudiated. They have not been denied. We have not been sued.

We repeat that the continued presence of SRC in Wesley Memorial is an insult to every Georgia Methodist who cherish our necessary Southern traditions. We reemphasize that the continued peaceful domicile of an organization that has had and now has on its Board of Control persons who are affiliated with Moscow inspired fronts is a slap in the face of every Georgia Methodist who have not renounced their love for one flag.

There are two reasons why SRC should be removed from Wesley Memorial. The first reason is—its objectives are repulsive to Georgia Methodists. That historic building was redeemed by Georgia Methodists for the purpose of having a building center for official agencies of the Church. The laymen who paid the bill did not give their money to save a building to house an organization which seeks to destroy every vestige of segregation in Georgia.

Georgia Methodists take pride in the advancement of the Negro race. They rejoice in the progress that is being made by the descendents of their grandfathers' slaves. They want the colored people to have an abundant life. But they do not want racial mixture. They are eternally opposed to the mixing of the bloods. They know that to destroy segregation is the final step which will lead to the mixture of the races. Georgia Methodists do not believe that it is unChristian to preserve the integrity of both the white and Negro race. They still believe in an unmodified segregation.

The Southern Regional Council in the name of religion and with the blessings and moral support of some Conference leaders are seeking to destroy our historic pattern of racial segregation. For Methodist officials in high places to permit SRC to remain in Wesley Memorial is not playing fair with our laymen. For those in authority to ignore the charges made against the Council is to neglect their duty.

The second reason why the Southern Regional Council should be put out of the Church building is because of the com-

(Continued on page four)

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

(Continued from page three)

munist fronting of those at the controls. It is unbelievable that those in authority would be as silent as the tomb, when a man like George Mitchell who has been so notorious in his associations with communist fronts and un-American organizations, can keep his desk on the same floor where our Bishop has his. We published a partial listing of his connections in the April and May, 1953 issues of One Methodist Voice. To this good hour, he has not publicly denied these associations.

An incomplete study shows that twenty-one (21) of former and present members of the Board of Directors of the Southern Regional Council have been connected in various ways with many communist fronts. Among those belonging to the **Civil Rights Congress** are Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, Charlotte Hawkins Brown, Dr. Rufus E. Clement, GEORGE S. MITCHELL, Aubrey Williams, Louis E. Burnham, The Reverend D. V. Jemison, (deceased), and Clark Foreman. The Civil Rights Congress according to a democratic Attorney General, the Honorable Tom Clark is **"dedicated NOT to the broader issues of civil liberties, but specifically to the defense of individual Communists and the Communist Party" and "controlled by individuals who are either members of the Party or openly loyal to it."**

The fact that Louis E. Burnham, the Organizational Secretary, of the Southern Negro Youth Congress, which, according to a former Attorney General is subversive and among the affiliates and committees of the Communist Party, which seeks to alter the form of Government of the United States by unconstitutional means" has helped to direct SRC, doesn't seem to disturb some of the leaders of the North Georgia Conference. This is not guilt by association, it is a plain tie-in between the Communist Party and the Southern Regional Council.

The whole story is too long to tell in one issue of OMV. It would take several issues to give the entire record of SRC Board Members' sponsorship of, connections, affiliations and tie-ins with Moscow's subversive fronts. It is not only a long record, it is a shameful record.

The continued presence of the Southern Regional Council in Wesley Memorial Church will be more embarrassing if the Jenner Committee includes some of the Atlanta members of SCEF, who are also officials of SRC, when it resumes its Hearings in the near future. We again call upon Dr. Mackay and his board to remove the Southern Regional Council from Wesley Memorial Church. If the Southern Regional Council desires to remain on Auburn street, let it move down Auburn a little further.

WE WANT TO KNOW THE TRUTH

We want to know where the money goes that North Georgia Methodists give each year to that fund in the Expansion Day offering designated for race relations. It is sent of course to Paine College in Augusta. But, we want to know for what is it used.

The president of Paine College was a sponsor of the now defunct communist front, the Southern Conference for Human Welfare whose aim and purpose was to destroy segregation. He, now is affiliated with the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc., which, was recently investigated by the Jenner Committee holding hearings in New Orleans. Sworn testimony in these hearings brought out the fact that Jim Dombrowski the director of this organization had been a member of the Communist Party. It was also revealed that there were some fifth amendment Communists in the organization. The organization's purpose is to work through the colleges to break down segregation.

We want to know if Dr. Peters is in sympathy with the objectives of the SCEF. North Georgia Methodists are entitled to know. Our leaders should make clear, if, our race relations offering is to be used to destroy segregation. We believe a little frankness and honesty should be used when we are asked to make another offering next year.

GENEVA POINT PACT

The Geneva Pact which seeks to break down segregation in the Methodist Churches is sponsored by the ZIONS HERALD, a New England Independent Methodist publication. The pact says, "In the name of the Father of all mankind, we are resolved that we shall receive fully qualified and regularly appointed pastors without regard to their race, color, or national origin." Eight Methodist churches, according to the April 7th issue of Zions Herald, have signed it.

Emory Professor Against Segregation

Dr. Albert Barnett of Emory University signed the SCEF statement which included these words: **"Specifically we have UNDERTAKEN by educational measures to show the un-American character of the institution of segregation and to bring about its ELIMINATION from our common life, whether in public education, hospitalization, employment, transportation or the exercise of the franchise".**

MAYS AND CLEMENTS FORM EFFECTIVE TEAM TO UNDERMINE OUR SOUTHERN WAY OF LIFE

Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, president of the Negro Morehouse College in Atlanta, and Dr. Rufus E. Clement, of Atlanta University are in a strategic position to work against our necessary pattern of segregation. Both were members of the old defunct communist front, the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. Both are members of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc., which has Communist infiltration according to the recent Investigation made by the Jenner Committee in New Orleans, La. Both are associated with the Southern Regional Council. Both appear on the programs of white churches and institutions of learning in Atlanta. Both have expressed themselves as being for the destruction of segregation. **BOTH HAVE NUMEROUS AFFILIATIONS WITH COMMUNIST FRONTS AND OFF-COLOR ORGANIZATIONS. HERE ARE SOME OF MAYS' CONNECTIONS:**

He is associated with **"The American Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born** which the U. S. Attorney General says, is, "One of the oldest auxiliaries of the Communist Party in the United States". The California Committee says it, "Works closely with the International Labor Defense, the legal arm of the Communist Party, in defense of foreign-born Communists and sympathizers". **The crowd Dr. Mays associates with in this organization is quite different from Georgia Methodists he associates with when he appears on the programs in white Methodist Churches and institutions in Atlanta.** He was sponsor of the "DEMAND NEGRO RIGHTS NOW" delegation sent to Washington. He was one of the initiating sponsors of the Communist inspired Mid-Century Conference for Peace held in New York, 1950.

MAYS was initiator and honorary chairman of the notorious Communist front known as **"THE CIVIL RIGHTS CONGRESS".** This organization condemned the indictment and conviction of the 12 COMMUNISTS. On page 2517, of the House Committee's Bulletin entitled, EXPOSE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA, a reprint of Dr. Mays' organization's explosive and lying circular appears which says, "MORE NEGROES WILL BE SHOT IN THE SOUTH FOR DARING TO VOTE—MORE LYNCHINGS—MORE JIM CROW—UNLESS YOU STAND UP FOR THE TWELVE".

MAYS has a daily column in the Pittsburg (Negro) Courier where he writes says the heading of one of his columns, **Uncomplimentary Things About Georgia"** and calls for the abolition of segregation in the South. Speaking before the American Baptist Convention in Buffalo, N. Y., in 1951 he said, "Protestant churches throughout the country should take a daring step and throw their doors wide open to Negro worshippers."

He supported the defense of Communist Harry Bridges and was connected with the "National Council of American-Soviet Friendship". He was a member of the Nominating Committee the Southern Conference for Human Welfare.

White And Negro Ministers Unite In Virginia Cities

Norfolk, Va. RNS)—Membership in the Norfolk Ministerial Union has been thrown open to all Negro clergymen of this area.

At the same time, the nearby Newport News Christian Ministers Association (white) and the Peninsula Ministers Union (Negro) voted to form a new inter-racial group.

The Norfolk Ministerial Union also announced that segregation will be permanently eliminated from its annual United Preaching Missions held in January of each year.

Virginia state law requires segregation of whites and Negroes at public assemblies and in public conveyances. The Virginia Council of Churches and various denominational and ministerials groups throughout the state have adopted resolutions calling upon the General Assembly to repeal the law.—ZIONS HERALD.

White Minister Chooses To Join Negro Methodists

The Reverend Doctor Ralph T. Templin, a former missionary to India and a teacher at Central State College, Wilberforce, Ohio, since 1947, has been recently transferred from the Delhi Conference in India to the Lexington Conference, one of the 17 annual conferences of the Central (Negro) Jurisdiction of the Methodist Church, reports ZIONS HERALD, an independent New England Methodist journal. According to Rev. Clarence T. R Nelson of Dayton, Ohio, the St Louis Area representative for Methodist Information, "Dr. Templin is probably the first white minister to be received into the membership of a Negro annual conference of the Methodist Church."

The white minister transferred to an annual conference in the Central Jurisdiction to protest against segregation in the Church. He said, **"I felt a restraint from within against transferring in to 'white Methodism' while this unbrotherly separation remains."**

RENEW YOUR SUBSCRIPTION TO ONE METHODIST VOICE TODAY.

Investigation of SCEF

(Continued from page one)

and the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc.

Max Shlafrock, Miami, Fla., contractor who would not admit to all of his alias names and indentified as a member of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc., refused to answer several questions on the grounds that he might be incriminated. He in good Communist fashion ducked behind the Fifth Amendment when asked the following questions: "Have you ever been guilty of espionage against the United States"? and "Do you affirm or deny that you recruited members into the Communist Party"? Such is the person who is in an organization NOW with Dr. Benjamin Mays, Dr. Rufus Clement, and Dr. Albert Barnett of Atlanta.

Myles Horton another member of the Board of Directors of the Southern Educational Fund, a communist fronter and an associate of George S. Mitchell, executive director of the Southern Regional Council had to be ejected from the Committee room for disorderly conduct before the Hearings being conducted by Senator Eastland. Horton is the founder and present head of the notoriously Communist fronting Highlander Folk School in Monteagle, Tenn., who had previously given testimony in an executive session of the Committee. The school whose student body is recruited by radical labor unionists pretends to "educate rural and industrial leaders for 'democratic' living and action." It has been a recepient of funds from the Communist Robert Marshall Foundation.

Crouch testified that in a conference held at the school in 1940 between himself, Horton, DOMBROWSKI and Ed McCrae, Tennessee Communist leader, it had been arranged for the Communist Party to send Mildred White into the school ostensibly as a student, but actually to recruit Party members.

Clifford J. Durr former president of the well known communist front, the National Lawyers Guild and former member of the Federal Communications Commission during a recess from the hearings, rushed over to "get" Crouch because he had identified Virginia Durr his wife as having full knowledge of the Communist conspiracy. Crouch testified that Mrs. Durr who was on the Board of Control of the SCHW and a former director of SCEF had been "under Party discipline". Mrs. Durr, used her relation as sister-in-law of Justice Black to put across her radical ideas, however, not to the knowledge and intelligence of the Supreme Court Justice. To all the questions asked her regarding her Communist connections by the Committee during the New Orleans Hearings, she replied, "I stand mute." The former Communist John Butler whose Party name was John Ball said he had known Mrs. Durr in Party circles. She reversed her "I stand mute" position to say to Butler you "had better not go back up to Bessemer (Ala.) If you do, they will kill you."

Aubrey Williams, Editor and Publisher of the Southern Farmer, President of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc., and a co-worker of Mrs. M. E. Tilly in the Southern Regional Council also was questioned. He denied his Communist connections despite the fact that he has a long record of affiliations with numerous Communist fronts.

Other officials and associates of SCEF who are likely to be called before the Committee when it resumes it Hearings in June are: Dr. Alva Taylor, who is described by the SOUTHERN PATRIOT as the dean of Southern liberals and a well known figure among Southern Methodists, Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, president of Morehouse College, (Negro) Atlanta, Dr. Rufus E. Clement, President Atlanta University, (Negro), Atlanta, Dr. J. P. Brawley, Atlanta, a leading official of the Methodist Federation, Dr. Albert Barnett of Emory University and the Reverend C. C. Webber, Methodist minister and President, Virginia State C. I. O. Council, and alleged Communist. Webber is better known for his arrest for illegal picketing.

SCEF and SRC Are Siamese Twins

(Continued from page one)

Fund, Inc., were officials of the defunct communist front, the SCHW. Thirteen of the present and past members of the Board of Directors of the SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL were officials and leading members of the communist fronting Southern Conference for Human Welfare. Some who got out of the SCHW when it was exposed and affiliated with both SCEF and SRC beside Dombrowski and Mitchell are: Clark Foreman, Charlotte Hawkins Brown, Louis Burnham, Aubrey Williams, Rufus E. Clement and Benj., E. Mays. These people have or have had affiliation with numerous communist fronts.

The Words Of Washington Are Appropriate Today

"See to it that ye put only NATIVE SONS on guard this Night!"

"Observe good faith and justice towards all nations. Cultivate PEACE and HARMONY with all—Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence the jealousy of a free people ought to be CONSTANTLY AWAKE, since history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of REPUBLICAN GOVERNMENT. Real patriots, who may resist the intrigues of the favorite, are liable to become suspected and odious; while its tools and dupes usurp the applause and confidence of the people to surrender their interests."

Bollinger Wires

(Continued from page one)

tion he holds in the Church. Methodists are becoming tired of supporting people in places of authority in the Church who keep company with Moscow's gang.

Dr. Rufus E. Clement's Connections With Communist Fronts

He was sponsor of **Congress of Civil Rights.** He is listed as a sponsor of the **"Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee"** which was cited as subversive and communist not by a Republican—but a Democratic Attorney General. The California Committee says that "The sponsors and officers—with few exceptions are admitted Communists and fellow travelers". The policy "is in concert with the foreign policy of the Soviet Union". Much of the financing is undertaken by the Communist International Workers Order.

"National Council of Arts, Sciences and Professions: cited as a Communist front by the House Committee On Un-American Activities. The California Committee on Un-American Activities says it "is the most potent Communist-controlled cultural front in California—." Some of CLEMENT'S associates in this Communist front are Charlotte Bass, the vice presidential nominee on the Communist controlled Progressive Party in the last election; Paul Robeson, the infamous Negro Communist singer; John Gates, editor of the Daily Worker and one of the eleven convicted Communists AND Alexander Trachtenberg who was recently convicted in New York but preferred to go to jail in capitalist America than to go to the "good old USSR" he has been writing for. CLEMENT was associated with the **American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born** which has been cited as subversive and communist by the Atrroney General of the United States. The California Committee On Un-American Activities says it is, "Among the Communist front organizations for racial agitation which also serves as 'money-collecting-media' and as special organizing centers for the racial minority they pretend to champion. Works closely with the International Labor Defense, legal arm of the Communist Party, in defense of foreign-born Communists and sympathizers". **National Conference on American Policy in China and the Far East,** a Communist organization says the Attorney General of the U. S., This 'Stalin Club' propagandized for the Reds in China who killed American boys in Korea. **Progressive Citizens of America** which was cited as subversive by the California Committee. Some of RUFUS CLEMENT'S progressive associates are Dr. W. E. U. DeBois, Negro communist; The Reverend Jack McMichael, Methodist minister and a member of the Communist Party; the late Louis Adamic who affiliated with forty Communist fronts before he got so progressive and died in his burning farm house in New Jersey, September, 1951. **The Southern Negro Congress** which was cited by the U. S. Attorney General as subversive **The National Federation for Constitutional Liberties,** says the House Committee, "There can be no reasonable doubt about the fact that the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties - regardless of its high-sounding name is one of the viciously subversive organizations of the Communist Party". Sponsor of the so-called **World Peace Conference** whose aims were to disrupt America's defense and to discredit American culture and extol the virtues of Soviet Culture. Among Clement's fellow sponsors which includes long haired, Russian named, fellow travelers is the Negro Communist poet, LANGSTON HUGHES, who is author of the blasphemous poem, entitled, "GOODE-BYE CHRIST".

California Methodist Church Challenges Tax Exemption Loyalty Oath

The First Methodist Church of San Leandro, California refuses to sign loyalty oath in order to claim tax exemption under the new law in California, according to the April 15, 1954 issue of the DAILY WORKER. The American Civil Liberties Union cited as a Communist front by the California Senate Committee is furnishing legal counsel for the church.

There was need for the passage of such a law in California, because some of the churches and religious institutions in that state have become infiltrated with subversive agents.

British Methodist

(Continued from page one)

ace, Soviet Communism.—United Evangelical ACTION.

Ed—Dr. Soper has appeared on the program of official Methodist meetings in the United States.

YOU SHOULD READ

"Garfield Bromley Oxnam **REVOLUTIONIST?"**

FACTUAL REVEALING ALARMING

the Reverend Rembert Gilman Smith, D. D.
Methodist Minister is the Author

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Only three dollars

FROM: ONE METHODIST VOICE
Clayton, Georgia
April, 1954

SCEF & SRC SIAMESE TWINS---ARE DESCENDENTS OF OLD COMMUNIST FRONT, SOUTHERN CONFERENCE FOR HUMAN WELFARE

The Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc., of New Orleans and the Southern Regional Council, Inc., with headquarters in the historic Wesley Memorial Church building, Atlanta are Siamese twins, descendents of the old defunct communist front, the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. The SCHW organization which was inspired, originated, substantially financed and dominated by the Communist Party disbanded when its work was no longer effective because Russia's red hand in the affairs of the conference became too conspicious. It followed the Commie line in folding up when Soviet control behind the scenes was exposed and broke out into other organizations where dupes and liberals could more effectively be used wittingly or unwittingly in the so-called names of humanity and human rights to do the bidding of the Kremlin.

Jim Dombrowski, a member of the Methodist Federation For Social Action and according to sworn testimony has been a member of the Communist Party, deserted his official position in the SCHW to be directing head of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc. He brought with him the Southern Patriot, one of the communist front's official organs. George Mitchell, a well known communist fronter, deserted the sinking ship, the SCHW and now is the director of the Southern Regional Council. He brought with him the New South, another official mouthpiece of the old defunct communist front, the SCHW. Dombrowski's organization has infiltrated colleges while Mitchell's organizations works through the Churches. The Southern Regional Council safely housed in a strategic position to feed its poison in the name of religion.

Sixteen (16) of the present officials and board members of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc., were officials of the defunct communist front, the SCHW. Thirteen of the present and past members of the Board of Directors of the Southern Regional Council were officials and leading members of the communist fronting Southern Conference for Human Welfare. Some who got out of the SCHW when it was exposed and affiliated with both SCEF and SRC beside Dombrowski and Mitchell are: Clark Foreman, Charlotte Hawkins Brown, Louis Burnham, Aubrey Williams, Rufus E. Clement and Benj. E. Mays. These people have or have had affiliation with numerous communist fronts.

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Clayton, Georgia
April, 1954

THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
SHOULD BE REMOVED FROM A
METHODIST CHURCH

The April, 1953 issue of OMV carried an expose of the Southern Regional Council whose headquarters are still in Wesley Memorial Methodist Church building, Atlanta. It was a telling blow. It carried a factual expose. Some of the Council hinted that we would be sued. Some tried to get the Post Office Department to revoke our mailing privileges. One district superintendent, in a quarterly conference referred to it.

Just prior to the meeting of the North Georgia Conference we called upon the North Georgia Conference to oust this strifemonger organization from beloved old Wesley Memorial building. We urged Dr. Mackay to remove from Wesley Memorial this organization which is advocating the abolition of segregation, which is regarded as a necessity by the rank and file of Georgia Methodists. We pointed out that the SRC was honeycombed with Communist fronters in its leaders. But instead of removing SRC from Wesley Memorial, we were removed from a pastorate this year to which we are legally entitled.

But they didn't stop our publication. They didn't silence our voice. They didn't stop our pen. One year later from our factual expose of the Southern Regional Church--we return to raise our voice against this anti-Southern, anti-Georgia Methodist, segregating-destroying, race-baiting Southern Regional Council which is directed by a Communist fronter from the fourth floor of a Methodist Church in the city of Atlanta. The facts published one year ago in <u>One</u>

Methodist Voice have been repudiated. They have not been denied. We have not been sued.

We repeat that the continued presence of SRC in Wesley Memorial is an insult to every Georgia Methodist who cherish our necessary Southern traditions. We reemphasize that the continued peaceful domicile of an organization that has had and now has on its Board of Control persons who are affiliated with Moscow inspired fronts is a slap in the face of every Georgia Methodist who have not renounced their love for one flag.

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He supported the defense of Communist Harry Bridges and was connected with the "National Council of American-Soviet Friendship." He was a member of the Nominating Committee the Southern Conference for Human Welfare.

BLANK

From: The Augusta Courier
May 3, 1954

FORD FOUNDATION GIVES 1-4 MILLION TO ATLANTA ANTI-SEGREGATION GROUP

Talmadge, Byrnes Attacked; McGill Southern
Regional Council Leader

The Southern Regional Council of Atlanta, has been granted nearly a quarter of a million dollars by the Ford Foundation.

The basic objective of the council is to destroy racial segregation in Georgia and other southern states. It was incorporated under the laws of Georgia, January 6, 1944; its principal office and place of business is in the City of Atlanta. Its charter authorizes the establishment of branch offices elsewhere within or without the State of Georgia.

Ralph McGill, editor of the Atlanta Constitution, and Dr. Rufus E. Clement, Negro of Atlanta University, are two of the incorporators of the Southern Regional Conference, Inc.; they are charter members.

McGill is a bitter foe of racial segregation in public schools in Georgia and in other southern states: he is an avowed enemy of racial segregation in any form.

McGill was recently appointed a member of the Executive Committee of the Ford Foundation.

Dr. Robert M. Hutchins, former chancellor of the University of Chicago, now is associate director of the Ford Foundation. Like McGill, he is a bitter foe of racial segregation and fights it at all times and under all circumstances.

Hutchins, as principal speaker at the annual Urban League dinner meeting at Temple Israel auditorium, of Saint Louis, Mo,on February 26, 1954, said that segregation in public schools is on the way out and there is very little opponents of desegregation can do to prevent the breakdown.

Taking the position that school segregation is doomed on economic, legal and moral grounds, Hutchins declared that threats by Governor Herman Talmadge of Georgia and Governor James Byrnes of South Carolina, to abolish public schools

in their states probably will not come about.

"If they (Governors Byrnes and Talmadge) get away with it, they won't get away with it long," Hutchins said, stating that Federal authorities could not condone such acts.

What significance could there be about the large gift of money to the Southern Regional Council, of Atlanta, by the Ford Foundation recently, in view of the fight underway in Georgia to preserve racial segregation in the public schools of the State?

McGill, a charter member of the Council is opposed to racial segregation. He has fought it openly at times and under cover for years.

Excerpts from the Council's statement of policy are:

> "The South of the future, toward which our efforts are directed, is a South free of stultifying inheritance from the past. It is a South where . . . segregation will be recognized as a cruel and needless penalty on the human spirit, and no longer will be imposed . . . We have no illusion that it can be realized in the South quickly or easily or perfectly. Nor do we imagine that the Southern Regional Council can play more than a modest but creditable part toward s its achievement. Yet it is the ideal toward which we strive and short of which, we have a duty to remain dissatisfied, for it is nothing else than the American ideal."

Hutchins, associate director of the Ford Foundation, like McGill and the Southern Regional Conference, of Atlanta, is a bitter foe of racial segregation in Georgia and in other southern states. The focal point of their attacks now is on the public school systems. Both of these men are officials of the Ford Foundation.

Hutchins told his Saint Louis audience that the United States Supreme Court's decision that "separate cannot be equal," in its ruling on the Sweat

case in Texas, will have some bearing on the five school cases now pending in the high tribunal.

Formerly, the Southern Regional Council was financed in the main by substantial grants from the Rosenwald Foundation.

The Rosenwald Foundation, according to Dr. Lessing J. Rosenwald, of Philadelphia, chairman of the board of trustees, devoted its major activities to:

> "Creation of equality between whites and Negroes and to the promotion of interracial relations in the South."

It was during the late 30's and 40's that the first large scale direct attack was made on segregation in the South: it was made by Rosenwald Fund workers.

Since the death of the Rosenwald Fund, the Southern Regional Conference has been existing on grants from individuals and certain out-of-state groups. Now, its coffers have been handsomely replenished by a huge sum of money from the Ford Foundation.

Dr. George S. Mitchell has headed up the Council as its executive director since 1947. He came to Georgia in 1944, the year in which the Southern Regional Conference of Atlanta, was incorporated in Fulton County Superior Court.

Prior to coming to Georgia, Mitchell had seen considerable service in the Federal government: he was in the Department of Interior, Department of Agriculture and the Foreign Economic Administration.

Mitchell's first job after coming to Atlanta was Southeastern Regional Director of the CIO-Political Action Committee from which he became Director of Veterans Service of the Southern Regional Council.

The Southern Regional Council was incorporated in Fulton County, Georgia, Superior Court January 6, 1944: its objects and purposes as set out in its petition for incorporation are:

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"Ford Foundation gives . . . "

"The objects and purposes of said corporation are to exist and function as an eleemosynary organization, and more particularly to organize and maintain a Regional Council for the improvement of economic, civic and racial conditions in the South, in the endeavor to promote a greater unity in the South in all efforts towards regional and racial developments; to attain through research and action programs, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the region; to reduce race tension, the basis of racial tension, racial misunderstanding, and racial distrust; to develop and integrate leadership in the South on new levels of regional development and fellowship: and to cooperate with local, state and regional agencies on all levels in the attainment of the desired objectives."

The petition for charter sets out that the Council's membership is self perpetuating and shall be composed of the incorporators and others as the incorporators shall designate according to such rules and by-laws as may be adoped by the corporation.

The Council is a non-pecuniary corporation with no capital stock. It has the right to receive donations, endowments, devises and bequests, etc.

The petition for incorporation of the Council was filed by Haas, Lyons and Hurt, attorneys of Atlanta. The petition was filed in Fulton Superior Court, January 6, 1944; the order of incorporation was signed by Superior Court Judge Frank A. Hooper, Jr., January 6, 1944, for a period of 35 years. It is recorded in Book 062, page 46, Clerk's office, Superior Courts, Atlanta Circuit.

Does the large grant of money to the Council from the Ford Foundation mean that funds will be expended by the Council in an effort to propagandize against racial segregation in Georgia's public schools and to try to defeat the proposed ammendment to Georgia's constitution, to be voted on in theGeneral Election this fall?

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"Ford Foundation Gives . . . "

That proposed amendment to Georgia's constitution provides:

"Section 1. That Article VII of the Constitution of Georgia be amended by adding thereto a new section, to be numbered Section XIII, as follows: 'Section XIII. Paragraph I, Grants for Education:

Notwithstanding any other provisions of this Constitution, the General Assembly may by law provide for grants of State, county or municipal funds to citizens of the State for educational purposes, and in discharge of all obligation of the State to provide adequate education for its citizens."

The Association of County Commissioners of Georgia, in its annual convention at Savannah, April 20, 1954, unanimously endorsed that proposed amendment to the State's constitution. The resolution of the commissioners endorsing the proposed amendment said in part:

"The experience of generations and the lessons of history have demonstrated that where the two races live together in great numbers as in this State, the best interest of both are promoted by their education in separate schools. Upon the principle of parallel civilizations our institutions are erected, having as their goal their excellence of the individual rather than the reduction of the mass to some undetermined level."

Will the people of Georgia allow the millions accumulated by the Ford Motor Company and expended through the Ford Foundation and the Southern Regional Council, of Atlanta, to destroy the white man's civilization in Georgia?

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From: The Augusta Courier
May 3, 1954

STRICTLY PERSONAL

**

By Roy V. Harris

We have been trying to tell you from time to time that everybody who leads the fight on communism in this country finds that he immediately becomes a victim of a nation-wide effort to destroy him in every way possible.

We have called our readers' attention to the fact that Martin Dies, the Texas Congressman, became the victim of a vicious, organized campaign which resulted in destroying his health, breaking him financially and defeating him politically.

In the campaign to destroy Dies there was enlisted thousands of well-intentioned, but little thinking, citizens all over the nation.

It was a nation-wide campaign and millions of dollars were spent to literally crush Martin Dies.

Back in Congress today, Dies says that he is neither physically or financially able to undertake the fight again. He lost everything on the former occasion and the good, decent, patriotic people of America failed to come to his rescue.

The People of America let Martin Dies become a victim of the campaign run by communists and their sympathizers.

We have also called your attention to the fact that the communists have shrewdly maneuvered all of us to the point to where we are now fighting one another over the methods employed by Senator Joe McCarthy.

Here we are today lined up and scrapping one another over Joe while the communists are forgotten and they are shrewdly carrying on a nation-wide campaign to tear us assunder and then pitch us all to the wolves.

Now J. Edgar Hoover, the boss of the F.B.I. makes a speech and confirms everything we have been trying to tell you.

In a speech to the annual convention of the Daughters of the American Revolution in Washington on April 22, 1954, Hoover said that everyone who has dared to expose the communist threat has become the target of "experts in character

assassination."

No truer statement was ever made. All public people who today stand firm in their fight against the communist threat are constantly the victims of these character assassins.

The funny thing about it is that most of the dirty work isn't done by the communists themselves or those who are closely aligned with them. Most of the character assassination is done by people who have a reputation for respectibility and for some unknown and unexplained reason have aligned themselves on the side of some of the communist objectives in this country.

In this group, are to be found newspaper people, radio and television commentators, a lot of writers, a few ministers and an innumerable amount of crackpots of every known variety.

And of this group, J. Edgar Hoover said:

"One of the most unbelievable and unexplainable phenomena in the fight on communism is the manner in which otherwise respectable, seemingly intelligent persons, perhaps unknowingly, aid the Communist cause more effectively than the Communists themselves."

Concluding this thought, Hoover also said:

"The psuedo liberal can be more destructive than the known Communist because of the esteem which his cloak of respectibility invites."

The communists are always crusading for something. They adopt some immediate objectives and some catchy slogan. As soon as they do, this group of so-called liberals over the country joins in the chorus.

Then when someone undertakes to expose the communists for what they are and to expose the movements for what they are, then the great band of liberals all over the country joins hands with the communists and their fellow travelers in a mighty crusade to assassinate the character of any individual or person who seeks to expose the communists' objectives.

The liberals in this country helped the communists destroy Martin Dies.

The so-called liberals in this country are today calling for Joe McCarthy's scalp.

The so-called liberals can see no harm in the communists, but to them, old Joe is a terrible monster to be destroyed. If you don't believe what I am saying just listen to the news commentators on your radio. Listen to the news commentators on your television set. Just read the columns of the Drew Pearson type of liberal in this country.

Every one of them has joined in every character assassination campaign conducted by the communist party and their sympathizers.

Just listen to Edward R. Murrow some night. Even Malenkov wouldn't sound near as bad as does Edward R. Murrow.

It is a strange thing that these liberals never criticize the communists. They are always after the enemies of the communists.

These so-called liberals belong to Truman's crowd who holler "red herring." They defended Hiss and every one of the rest of the traitors until they were caught red-handed and convicted.

They now swell the chorus of the communist hymns of hate and the communists' attempts to destroy and assassinate the character of every individual who fights the communist cause.

You will notice that you have never heard Harry Truman talk about any of this group. On the contrary, he hollered "witch hunt" and "red herring" and tried to stop every effort on the part of Congress to expose the communists in government.

You will recall that Adlai Stevenson always played along with this bunch of liberals and talked about the witch hunt and the red herring and the attempt to determine guilt by association.

They always associated with this so-called liberal group and followed their line.

They minimized from the very beginning the influence of the communist scientists had delivered to Russia every secret discovery in the field of atomic energy.

They weren't concerned about it at all.

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"Strictly Personal"

It reminds me of a rape story in the Georgia Law Reports. The Judge who wrote the decision on the Court of Appeals bench said that the young lady in question wasn't seriously concerned about her virtue and that the only signs of concern that she exhibited during the time of the escapade was that her sister's dress which she was wearing not be mussed up in any manner, shape, form or fashion to the extent that she took it off and hunt it up in the tourist court.

These so-called liberals are in the same position today. They are not worried about the government being destroyed by the communists or overthrown in a communist movement.

Their first concern is the destruction of those who fight the communists and their efforts to divide and conquer the American people.

And talking about dividing the American people, we have a recent example that makes you want to vomit.

Recently, the Ford Foundation granted the Southern Regional Council of Atlanta, two hundred and fifty thousand dollars.

Now, the object and purpose of the Southern Regional Council is to divide the people of the South and to create chaos, confusion and violence.

Its objective as stated in its charter is the destruction of the pattern of segregation.

As soon as the charter was granted they issued a statement of policy. This statement said that they looked forward to a South of the future where "segregation will be recognized as a cruel and needless penalty on the human spirit" and no longer will be imposed.

That is the object of the Southern Regional Council. It was so stated at the time it was created.

Now it is anticipated that the Ford Foundation gave this one quarter of a million dollars to the Southern Regional Council to carry out its avowed purpose.

Now mind you, this grant is given at a time when an adverse decision from the Supreme Court of the United States is anticipated and at a time when we all look

forward to chaos, confusion and violence as a result of the effort made to abolish segregation in the public schools.

Now why would the Ford Foundation grant this money at this particular time?

It can be for only one purpose and that is to help them wage a fight to destroy segregation in the South and to mix and mingle the races.

Now mind you, this money which the Ford Foundation gave them came from you people who buy Ford automobiles. Every time you buy an automobile you contribute money into this Ford Foundation and the Fords in turn take the money to destroy you and your children.

The next time you think about buying a Ford automobile, just think about that.

Now the money the Ford Foundation has is not their money. The Ford Foundation has this money to dish out due to a loophole in the federal taxing laws and while it was legal, it is nothing more or less than stolen from the federal government even though the stealing is legalized.

Here is why I say it. These giant corporations can set up a foundation devoted to what they call charitable and eleemosynary purposes and then it isn't subject to taxation.

These giant corporations can take money which would go to the Federal government in the way of taxes and put it in a foundation and then spend the money as they see fit.

That is exactly what the Fords have done. They have set up a foundation and instead of paying the money to the government in the way of income taxes, they put it in the foundation and then use it for any purpose that they see fit.

Now they have taken this money which should have gone to the United States Government, put it in a foundation and turned it over to the Southern Regional Council to spend it to destroy degregation in Georgia.

Now what can you do about this situation?

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There are two things you can do. You don't have to buy a Ford automobile the next time, for one thing. Then the other, you can sit down and write your congressman a letter today and tell him that these foundations should no longer be exempt from taxation.

The tax exemption of these foundations is a crying shame.

Now if you or I would like to help some poor devil by helping send his sick child, his wife or himself to the hospital and contribute to the cost, we must pay income tax on the money we contribute. We can't deduct it from our income tax returns.

If you have an aged father or mother and are contributing to their support this cannot be deducted from your income tax return. You must pay it.

If you had a little spare money and would like to contribute it to help a niece, a nephew or grandson or granddaughter, you must then pay income tax on the amount you contribute.

But the Ford Foundation can put millions of dollars every year into the Ford Foundation and they can deduct it from their tax returns. This means that they take the money which would otherwise have gone to the federal government, put it in a foundation and they can spend it where they believe that it will help their business of selling Ford automobiles.

They do it by making grants to all kinds of crackpot organizations like the Southern Regional Council.

This Southern Regional Council picked up one of the platforms of the Communist Party in America and that was the destruction of the pattern of segregation in the South.

This Southern Regional Council is helping the Communists carry out this part of their platform.

The communists care nothing for the negro or the South. Their only hope and only aim is to divide Southern people and keep us in a fight.

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"Strictly Personal"

The Southern Regional Council is helping them in their objective and the Ford Foundation is financing their activities.

Now, sit down and write your congressman today and insist that he sponsor a movement in congress to make these giant corporations which are now setting up these foundations pay income taxes just like you and I do.

We are allowing these giant corporations to set up these foundations, take millions of dollars and use it to control and influence the thinking of the people of the nation and to aid the communists and the wildcat liberals in the darndest wildcat schemes ever dreamed about.

Unless these foundations like the Ford foundations are curbed and made to pay taxes like you and I, they will eventually destroy this great country.

You haven't forgotten about the Rosenwald Fund. The Rosenwald Fund was set up by old Julius Rosenwald for the sole purpose of starting this fight to destroy segregation.

Now it looks like the Ford Foundation has taken up where the Rosenwald Foundation left off. Sit down and write your congressman and senator and unless they are willing to do something about these foundation funds, let's elect somebody to the Senate and Congress who will do something about it.

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THE AUGUSTA COURIER

May 3, 1954 Recently the FF granted the SRC $250,000. The object and purpose of the SRC is to divide the people of the South and to create chaos, confusion and violence. (4)

(3) This SRC picked up one of the platforms of the Communist Party in America and that was the destruction of the pattern of segregation in the South. This SRC is helping the Communists carry out this part of their platform. The Communists care nothing for the Negro or the South. Their only hope and only aim is to divide Southern people and keep us in a fight. The SRC is helping them in their objective.

June 28, 1954 The SRC, a biracial organization and recipient of a $240,000 grant from the FF is a haven for known communist fronters and could well become the Communist Party apparatus in the South. .. It is the successor of the old Southern Conference for Human Welfare which folded after being branded a Communist-front by the House Comm. investigating un-American activities. (1)

Top members of the SRC Board of Directors have been branded as Communists in testimony before congressional committees by former associates in the party.

(4) Dr. G. S. Mitchell, Exec Dir of the SRC was listed as a top official of the SCHW in the report citing it as a communist-front. His name has also been linked to other red fronts according to records and reports of congressional committees.

The Courier had anticipated finding a handful of people in it with Communist front associations. It was amazed to find two known communists on its Board of Directors and 38 others who have associations with Communist fronts in varying numbers and degrees. It would be impossible to congregate this many people with such backgrounds and affiliations except by design. (Long list of individuals with comment about their association with known communist ~~subversive~~ groups - - Morris B. Abram, Philip Hammer, etc.)

Harold C. Fleming's statement on the decision of the Supreme Court reinforces what we have said all along - that this FF money will be used to force an end to segregation upon us and for political action to elect candidates for office who are in sympathy with the Council's pro-communist, anti-Southern aims and ideals.

Stripped of all its window-dressing, the aims, purposes and platforms of the Communist Party, the defunct SCHW and now the SRC are one and the same. They are identical on all points.

Many Southern taxpayers have raised the point that SRC's pro-communist, anti-segregation activities are financed by money good law-abiding Americans pay in federal taxes. They say this because donations to SRC are exempt from taxation due to its classification as a "charitable organization".

July 5, 1954 "Tax-exempt millions financing fight made against white people in Georgia by SRC". The keyman in the FF is Robert M. Hutchins, Because of the furor created by his part in making the grant to the SRC he has been "promoted" to be president of the Fund for the Republic, one of the FF's subsidiaries. In his capacity as the

policy-maker of the FF, Hutchins possess a completely unprecedented financial power over education, the humanities, and the social sciences. By giving or withholding grants, Hutchins is in position to insinuate his views into any aspect of American intellectual life. Therefore, it is essential to inquire about Hutchins' views and his record concerning the Communist menace. . . The University of Chicago, under Hutchins' administration, has distinguished itself as the only institution of higher learning in America which has been investigated five times for immoral or subversive activities. . . .

... In view of the attitude of Hutchins toward communism, it is not at all surprising that the FF has made some highly dubious grants.

This is the same man who was instrumental in making the $240,000 grant to the SRC which this newspaper has exposed as a haven for Communists and communist-fronters.

July 12, 1954 As the successor to the SCHW, the SRC has picked up where the earlier group left off in furthering the communist party line in the South.

"The Southern People's Common Program for Democracy, Progress and Peace" as contained in the Daily Worker, official organ of the Communist Party of the U.S. sets forth the platform and program of the party in the South. This platform has ten points which have been followed to the letter in the SRC's activities and programs.

As a matter of fact, the record shows that the SRC is not the first of red-infiltrated activities to which the FF has let its funds and support.

Prominent members of the staff of the FF have long records of affinity for pro-communist causes and association with communist fronts and their activities, according to the July 27, 1953 edition of the Congressional Record. (Reference is made to various directors of the FF, quotations by them and a record of their questionable affiliations).

In a reprint of a Ralph McGill article he says: . . . "You cannot allow the Commies to go along with you in any organization. If they espouse the same principles, then let them do it on their own. To admit them to membership or companionship is fatal - as the SCHW has learned". The Courier follows: "Now Ralph you say in your article that you helped drive the SCHW out of existence. . . . Now you have another opportunity to do a great service to your country and your people. Why not help the Un-American Activities Committee and the FBI expose the SRC for what it is.

It is strange to note Ralph that no one else connected with the SRC has denied my charges except you. If you don't know what kind of a gang you are ganged up with you had better stop and investigate it.

July 19, 1954 Exposure SRC brings Hasty McGill-Abram meeting. A hasty meeting between Abrams and McGill which resulted in a telephone call to the Atorney General of Ga. threatening him with opposition if he investigated the SRC.

Cook told the press that as far as he knew the Special Services Agency of the State govt, ferreting out Communists, and the FBI, might already be looking into SRC's activities.

When officials of the SRC learned that the Courier's expose of that group was going to be spread before the public in the columns of this newspaper, they sought by every means to bring pressure to suppress the story.

They claim that the SRC is not successor to SCHW but another organization the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc., headed by Aubrey Williams, as its president is the successor to SCHW.

Dr. G. S. Mitchell told the press that he is not a communist "but a harmless old socialist." Editor McGill sought to dissuade the wire services from carrying news stories of The Courier's expose by asking the threatening question: "Is there any libel in it".

It was also learned authoritatively that queries were made by the press to experts on the question of communist subversion in an effort to discredit the Courier's news story. We have learned from an unimpeachable source that the replies to all of these queries was that "the SRC is just as red as Roy says it is."

Records and official reports of the House Committee Investigating Un-American Activities reveal that the leading lights of the SCHW, its offshoot the SCEF and its actual successor, the SRC are one and the same.

~~Records and official reports of the House Committee Investigating Un-American Activities reveal that the leading lights of the SCHW~~
We have discovered that two persons who have been branded as known communists are listed in official publication of the SRC as members of its Board of Directors. One of these, Aubrey Williams, is also president of the SCEF.

To keep the record straight, the SCEF was set up by Aubrey Williams and James Dombrowski to combat the effectiveness of the Southern Regional Education program. The organization has met with no success has no standing and has not been able to garner the funds which it expected to receive. However, the SRC operated by the same element has met with financial success through grants from the Rosenwald Fund and at present the FF. It is pursuing the course laid down in the Communist Party-USA.

July 26, 1954 — Two known communists have been listed as members of the top level board of directors of the Ford-financed SRC. Testimony adduced before House and Senate Congressional committees has branded SRC's directors, Aubrey Williams and Clark Howell Foreman "as Communist Party members." (Complete item about their association with SCHW, "Hank Wallace and his gang of communists" and other affiliations).

August 2, 1954 — Dr. Mitchell, who along with Editor McGill of the Constitution and others incorporated SRC, not only held a high post in the "red" dominated SCHW but his name also has been linked to other Communist-fronts, according to reports and records of Congressional Committees.

It is in this atmosphere that a FF grant to SRC is being spent to destroy segregation in the South.

The SRC has been directed toward the complete elimination of segregation in Georgia and the South. It looks forward to an amalgamated region with no color distinction.

While the Council itself has never been branded as a Communist-front, it and its members have been in the vanguard of the fight to destroy our cherished heritages and traditions in the South.

For months the Council has been getting small interracial groups together to prepare for what many of them considered inevitable. (The Supreme Court Decision). These booklets, while skillfully presenting the arguments on both sides, are really textbooks for integration of Southern schools, and I heard them quoted several times in the most unexpected places.

Several Southern attorneys general already ruled - officially and unofficially - that the Supreme Court decision automatically abrogated such state laws. And Mitchell sees in this the wedge which is already splitting the once solid South.

August 9, 1954 — Philip Hammer, former president of the Communist-front SCHW in Washington, D.C., has been listed by the SRC as being on the central staff of the FF project personnel. He is also executive officer of the Committee of the South, a vague sort of organization which has no definite announced program and whose source of funds cannot be determined.

Dr. Rufus Clement, an organizer of the SRC was listed by the House Committee on Un-American Activities in its report branding SCHW a communist-front, as being a member of the top level executive board of that organization.

August 16, 1954 — This week the Courier is publishing the communist-front records of two former leading lights in the SCHW and who have been listed as members of the board of the SRC: Dr. Benjamin E. Mays and Dr. Charles S. Johnson. Their records as furnished by the House Committee on Un-American Activities follows.

August 30, 1954 — Information on SRC officials taken from the public records, files and publications of the House Committee investigating Un-American activities is given on the following: Guy B. Johnson, R. B. Atwood, William E. Cole, Donald Comer, Grace T. Hamilton, Luther P. Jackson, Rev. D. V. Jemison, David D. Jones, Z. A. Looby, Rt. Rev. E. A. Penick, Glenn Rainey, G. D. Rogers, Jacob L. Reddix, Austin T. Walden.

September 13, 1954 — This week the Courier is printing 14 more records of persons who have been listed as directors of SRC. The records of these people show a particular affinity for communist-front groups and communist front activities. Record of association with these groups are given on the following: Dr. Howard W. Odum, Marion A. Wright, Carter Wesley, Albert W. Dent J. Gordon Hancock, F. D. Patterson, Florence Sytz, Paul Christopher, Will W. Alexander, Forester B. Washington, Bishop R. R. Wright, Jr. Lucy Randolph Mason, Josephine Wilkins.

Nov. 7, 1955 — (Repeated article on Hammer & Dr. Clement that appeared 8/9/54) A notice appeared in this issue that the series exposing the communist-front SRC will be re-produced.

SILVER LAKE POST 637
THE AMERICAN LEGION
DEPARTMENT OF CALIFORNIA
3038 SUNSET BOULEVARD • LOS ANGELES 26, CALIFORNIA

May 10,1954

Dear Fellow American

In speeches,left wing press and radio in recent weeks charges implying racism have been made against the incumbent State Senator the Honorable Jack B. Tenney.

Our Americanism Committee has investigated the charges and the findings briefly stated are as follows.

The issue of racism appears to revolve around three factors.

1. That a preponderance of subversives exposed by the Calif. Senate Fact Finding Committee on Un-American Activities happened to be of ethnic Jewish orgin, Senator Tenney served as Committee chairman for approximately ten years.

2. That in the Fact Finding Committees Report of 1948 (pg.263) The Institute For American Democracy and The Institute For Democratic Education were listed under communist fronts, later it was revealed that they were subsidized fronts of the so called Anti Defamation League of B'Nai B'Rith, thus incurring the wrath of an organization that purports to speak for the Jewish people.

3. A series of books written by Senator Tenney including Zion's Fifth Column, Zionist Network, and Zion's Trojan Horse.

Unfortunately all committees, State and Federal investigating communist subversion have been accused of racial bias,for reasons similiar to those encountered by the Calif. Senate Fact Finding Committee.

This does not constitute racism or bigotry on the part of the committee or its chairman, those who appear before investigative committees make their own record, good or bad, the committee only seeks the facts and compiles the record.

The books written by Senator Tenney are documented accounts of subversive activities that have no part in our American way of life.

An official communist party order intercepted by the Calif. Senate Fact Finding Committee states in part,"Members and front organizations must continually embarrass,discredit,and degrade our critics.Accuse them of being fascists,Red-baiters,peace destroyers,labor-baiters and Anti-Semites." the scource for the charge of anti-semitic racism used by the communists and their dupes against those who effectively fight the communist conspiracy is obvious.

Communist technique now as in the past has been to destroy public confidence in committees investigating communism and their compiled reports.

Current propaganda in discrediting Senator Tenney would there-by tend to discredit the documented material compiled by the Calif. Senate Fact Finding Committee.

Our unaminous decision is that the implication of racism against the Honorable Jack B. Tenney is false and without foundation in fact, all propaganda to the contrary notwithstanding.

For the Americanism Committee

Albert R. Withrow

Albert R. Withrow
Chairman

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LAW OFFICES
SUITE 1217 COMMERCIAL EXCHANGE BLDG.
416 WEST 8TH STREET
LOS ANGELES 14, CALIFORNIA
VANDIKE 6860

LEGISLATIVE OFFICES
112 CALIFORNIA STATE BUILDING
LOS ANGELES 12, CALIFORNIA
MADISON 6-1515—EXT. 2300

SACRAMENTO ADDRESS
STATE CAPITOL
ZONE 14

MRS. LINNIE G. TENNEY
SECRETARY

JACK B. TENNEY
SENATOR
LOS ANGELES COUNTY

THIRTY-EIGHTH SENATORIAL DISTRICT

COMMITTEES
JUDICIARY
CHAIRMAN
EDUCATION
LABOR
MILITARY AND VETERANS AFFAIRS
REVENUE AND TAXATION

CALIFORNIA LEGISLATURE

Senate

June 1, 1954

Dear Friend:

As your State Senator from Los Angeles County, a position that I have held for twelve years, I want to talk to you about organized Jews in politics.

I want to do this because the organized Jews are an important factor in the forces at work against my re-election to the State Senate. Because they are a factor, I, or any other American citizen, be he a candidate or a man on the street, has a right to discuss the Jews and their political activities.

Please bear in mind that I am not indulging in nor advocating anti-Semitism or racism when I talk about the organized Jews. I have always held that it is wrong and even wicked to discriminate against a man or woman because of race, color or creed. I believe that we should always preach and practice that a person is equal before the law and entitled to every constitutional right regardless of his race, color or his creed. I sincerely believe that anti-Semitism is amoral and un-American.

On the other hand, I have always held that the majority race also has rights, and that the members thereof should be protected against the political machinations of the minority groups. The fact that the leaders of the so-called minority groups attempt to use politicians and candidates for public office as their tools is well known to most politicians.

Some how or other (and I think I know why because of events that have occurred over the years) I have aroused the antagonism of the professional leaders of the organized Jews. This is not to say that the Jews as a whole are responsible for this antagonism. I merely wish to state, and if you don't know it, it is time you did, that the Jews are highly organized to promote their own cause, sociological and political program. You can see evidence of this on every hand; -- in the daily press, community activities and in other areas of public interest.

It is strange, however, that although we in political life know it and feel it strongly, organized Jewry seldom wants to be found exerting pressure in political campaigns, but believe me, they do!

I first became cognizant of the fact that I was antagonizing the Jewish leadership when some good Jewish friends of mine informed me that certain Jewish organizations were

resentful of the fact that the Reports of the California Committee on Un-American Activities contained the names of too many Jewish people. I assured them that this situation was due to no desire on the part of the Committee, and that there was no intention to wrongfully pin anything on the Jews. I pointed out that the names just naturally came up in the course of our investigations; --- that the people named made the record; we didn't. In order to assure these Jewish leaders that there was no intent on the part of the Committee to make an issue of Jews in Un-American Activities Reports, I inserted, in the 1947 Report, at the request of the Director of the Jewish Anti-Defamation League in Los Angeles, a section deploring racism in general and anti-Semitism in particular.

During the nearly ten years of my chairmanship of the California Committee on Un-American Activities I have experienced the pressure of organized Jewry in its attempts to influence Committee hearings, investigations and even the Reports of the Committee itself.

I often wondered why organized Jewish leadership bitterly opposed my bills requiring a loyalty oath from public officials and employees. Whatever the reason it is a fact that organized Jewry did just that. "The Record" is the name of the only official Jewish B'Nai B'Rith newspaper in Southern California. This Jewish publication headlined opposition of the Jewish Anti-Defamation League of B'Nai B'Rith to the loyalty and anti-Communist bills introduced by me in the 1949 Session of the Legislature. I quote from "The Record" for July, 1949: "In making its recommendations, the ADL (--that is the Anti-Defamation League) is of the opinion that these bills are conceived in fear . . ." and "would pave the way for witch hunts unprecedented since the days of the Alien and Sedition Laws." Five full columns of the newspaper were devoted to a description of these bills, together with the reasons why the Anti-Defamation League advised B'Nai B'Rith members to write to the members of the Legislature and oppose my anti-Communist program as individuals.

The Communist press -- the "Daily People's World" -- and the Communist Party of California worked incessantly against the 1949 Loyalty Oath and anti-Communist program -- as was to be expected. When the program met defeat the Communist Party claimed much of the credit -- but so did the B'Nai B'Rith. The "California Jewish Voice" in its issue for February 17, 1950 had the following to say: "Jack B. Tenney is a character whom we know well in Los Angeles. He authored the 'Little Mundt-Nixon Bills' which were killed in the California Legislature last year after a militant and widespread campaign for their defeat in which many Jewish organizations participated, including the local B'Nai B'Rith."

The first real concerted effort by the Jewish leaders to drive me out of public office developed behind the scenes during my 1952 campaign for Congress in the 22nd District, when a well known political writer for a Los Angeles newspaper was informed by a prominent Jewish political worker that "The Jews Won't Take Jack Tenney." This Jewish political worker wanted to know if the newspaper would "back away from Jack Tenney." This is a fine example of professional Jews at work in the political field. Naturally, I must keep the name of this political writer confidential because of reprisals that organized Jewry might attempt to work on him if his name were disclosed. He informed me of the incident at the time - in 1952.

Since I became aware of the fact that the leaders of Jewish groups were out to get me politically, I have devoted considerable time and study to their organizations and methods. I have, from time to time, given the story of this study and research in articles I have written and periodically published for public distribution. I have shown in these publications the extent and efficiency of the organization of the Jews. It is an imposing network with many ramifications in leagues, societies, groups and committees, and it is used by the Jewish leadership in promoting the Jewish cause and program in all community activities. It is used to promote Jewish welfare, which is understandable. But it is also used to punish its political critics. I learned, in my own case, that the Jewish leaders will go to any length to destroy any public official or person whom they believe interferes with their plans or is a threat to their program.

I believe that the Jews have the right, if they wish, to organize to promote their own welfare but, as I said at the beginning, when they indulge in political campaigns they should have no objection to having that fact made known to the public. If their activities in political campaigning or maneuvering cannot bear the light of day, then they should not indulge in such political activities.

Make no mistake about it. Organized Jewry is a potent influence in any political campaign and in any legislative situation where it is interested. The bad part of it is that some of its most effective work is conducted behind the scenes, where the voting public has no knowledge of what is going on. If anyone publicly discusses its political activities the leaders cry "Anti-Semitism!"

And please bear this in mind. I do not say for one minute, as the Jewish leadership will cleverly try to make it appear I am doing, that all Jews are Communistic, fellow-travelers, or engaged in subversive activities. I do not even say that all the Jews agree with what some of their professional political leaders are saying and doing. As a matter of fact I know that this is not true. I do not say that all those who may oppose my candidacy are Communists or fellow-travelers. I recognize, as does every other man in political office, that you cannot hold a political job for 18 years without incurring enmities and making enemies. That happens, more or less, in the life of every man in public office. I think, however, that it is only fair to you, the voters, to know that a real motivating force and the spark plug against my candidacy for re-election is the powerful militant arm of organized Jewry -- the Anti-Defamation League of B'Nai B'Rith -- which makes it its business to reward its friends and punish those whom it considers enemies in public office. Some Republican leaders fear this opposition of the Jews to me and are willing to sacrifice me. And there is always a politically ambitious person willing to offer himself - or herself - to help perform the political sacrificial rites.

That organized Jewry is up to its neck in this campaign for State Senate is evidenced by the wide-spread publication of an expensive four-page pamphlet entitled "The Facts About Jack B. Tenney" mailed under Los Angeles Post Office Permit Number 10592. The publication and mailing of this pamphlet is by the "Community Relations Committee of the Los Angeles Jewish Community Council" which is located at 590 North Vermont Avenue in Los Angeles.

A second political leaflet signed by I. B. Benjamin, William H. Rosenthal and others establishes Younger and Richards as the candidates of organized Jewry in Los Angeles County. Republicans are urged to vote for Younger and Democrats are urged to vote for Richards. I am referred to throughout as "Hate-monger Tenney." The final appeal is for funds. "Help to beat Tenney," - says the leaflet - "by mailing your contribution in the enclosed stamped envelope" to 8268 Sunset Boulevard, Los Angeles, 46.

So, as the Jewish political worker told the Los Angeles political writer, "THE JEWS WON'T TAKE JACK TENNEY!"

Well, that's all right with Tenney! I intend to carry on my campaign for re-election with all the vigor at my command and I hope that I may continue to enjoy your support and the support of hundreds of thousands of others as I have in the past. However, and I want you to know this -- win, lose, or draw, I will not knuckle under to any group in the political field regardless of race, color or creed.

I will continue, with God's help, to vote and conduct myself in public office as I have in the past, always mindful of the rights of the majority as well as the rights of the so-called minority groups. If you sympathize with me in this concept of the duty of a public official, then vote for me. If you think otherwise, vote for my opponent.

And remember this! My twelve year record in the State Senate is not an issue in this campaign. When you cast your vote for State Senator for Los Angeles County on June 8th you will be deciding the most important -- in fact the most critical issue of our times. You will be deciding whether the majority of our people are to conduct our affairs or if a small, compact, well organized and financed group is to dominate. And your vote will also decide whether or not your representative is to be free to represent you and your State, or if he will be the creature of the Anti-Defamation League of B'Nai B'Rith.

The decision will be yours on June the 8th.

Very sincerely yours,

Jack B. Tenney

JACK B. TENNEY

JBT:g

P. S. Please pass this on to a friend.

J. B. T.

June 2, 1953

MEMORANDUM

The April issue of One Methodist Voice, published by the Rev. Blake Craft of Clayton, Georgia, charges that the Board of the Southern Regional Council is "honeycombed with Communist fronters." The paper then undertakes to support this charge by a series of misstatements, innuendoes, and a record of alleged associations of past and present Board members. The conclusion which Craft wishes to leave with the reader is stated in an editorial on page 2: "The Southern Regional Council with its Board of Directors top heavy with fellow travelers and Communist fronters is unknowingly to some of its members aiding the Russian Cause to stir up the Negro question in the South. That is what pleases the Kremlin. The Red hand of Russia reaches into Georgia."

This charge is wholly false, as are most of the "facts" offered in support of it. The object of the author clearly is to discredit and embarrass the leadership of the North Georgia Conference of The Methodist Church--particularly, the Methodist board which administers the Wesley Memorial Building, where the SRC rents office space. A full understanding of his motives and methods can be gained from his personal background, the history of his relationships within the Church, and his previous utterances, through One Methodist Voice and otherwise. However, since the sole purpose of this memorandum is to demonstrate the false and libelous nature of the publication, these personal and denominational aspects will not be discussed here.

THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

The following brief account of the Southern Regional Council's history and make-up will give some idea of the far-fetched nature of Craft's attack.

The organizing meeting of the Council was held in response to a "call" issued by some of the South's finest leadership, including:

C. H. Gillman, Georgia Director, C. I. O.
George L. Googe, Southern Director, A. F. L.
M. Ashby Jones, Baptist minister
Ryland Knight, Baptist minister
Rabbi David Marx, The Temple, Atlanta
Bishop Arthur J. Moore, The Methodist Church
Ralph McGill, The Atlanta Constitution
Stuart R. Oglesby, Presbyterian minister
Rt. Rev. Gerald P. O'Hara, Catholic Bishop of Savannah-Atlanta
Dean S. Paden, President, King Hardware Company
J. McDowell Richards, President, Columbia Theological Seminary
Bishop John Moore Walker, The Protestant Episcopal Church
Goodrich C. White, President, Emory University

Following the deliberations of this group and a subsequent conference with Southern Negro leaders, the SRC was chartered, the incorporators being Bishop Arthur J. Moore, Ralph McGill, Dr. Rufus E. Clement, Dr. Charles S. Johnson, and Dr. Howard W. Odum.

Attached is a complete list of SRC's Board members, past and present, showing the dates served. It is obvious that the Board, from the beginning, has been composed overwhelmingly of Southerners whose record of patriotism and public service is above reproach.

Recognizing that most of these persons are unassailable even by his standards, Craft attempts to suggest that they have been deceived about the nature of the SRC and have lent their names to it unwittingly. This is untrue on its face, since the members of the Board receive full reports on the activities of the SRC and review them in detail at an annual session. The claim is even more conclusively refuted by the fact that the Executive Committee, which is elected by the Board, meets quarterly, intimately reviews the SRC's activities, and formulates the detailed policies of the organization. (The full minutes of these meetings are on file in the SRC's offices.) A list of the members of the Executive Committee, past and present, with their terms of service indicated, is also attached. No informed person could imagine that this group would direct or condone a Communist-influenced program.

From its inception, the SRC has had substantial contributions from many of the major religious groups (Methodist, Protestant Episcopal, Presbyterian, Congregational, Society of Friends, Catholic, Jewish). Representatives of these and other religious groups have also participated actively in the SRC's affairs.

In view of the nature of the charges here considered, it is perhaps particularly pertinent to note the extent of Catholic participation in the SRC. One of the founders and a charter member of the SRC is the Most Rev. Gerald P. O'Hara, Archbishop of Savannah-Atlanta. The Executive Committee has always included a Catholic clergyman. Mr. Paul D. Williams, a distinguished Catholic layman, a founder of the Catholic Committee of the South, and more recently a Knight of St. Gregory, was president of the SRC from 1945 through 1951. In April of this year, Dr. George S. Mitchell, executive director of the SRC, received the award of the Catholic Committee of the South for his "significant contribution to the welfare of the South." The same award was conferred in previous years on Dr. Howard W. Odum, the first president of the SRC, and Dr. Guy B. Johnson, executive director from 1944 to 1947. For those who are aware of the Catholic Church's militant anti-Communism, these facts need no amplification.

The publications and public utterances of the SRC speak for themselves. They have been read, used, and acclaimed by hundreds of persons whose intelligence and loyalty are unquestioned. Far from "fomenting racial strife and hatred," as Craft would have it, the SRC has a wide reputation for temperateness and constructiveness. Two noted Southern journalists who are closely familiar with the SRC's work have given the following public estimates of it:

Ralph McGill, in The Atlanta Constitution: "The Southern Regional Council is an able and worthwhile organization working in the field of race relations. It has no radical tinge, but is, nevertheless, an aggressively energetic coordinating agency."

Hodding Carter, in Collier's: "The SRC is unique in a number of heartening directions. It is bi-racial, non-denominational and non-political. It does not indulge in tom-tom beating, parades or lengthy pronunciamentos slanted for non-Southern consumption and approval. But it is not an isolationist effort to separate the South's problems from the nation's--or from the nation's concern."

GENERAL

The method which Craft has used in assembling and presenting his allegations against the SRC is by now a familiar one. The following points should be noted:

(1) He does not give any sources for his statements about the individuals attacked, except for two instances in which he cites the Daily Worker and another in which he mentions a former member of the Communist Party.

(2) Some of his "dossiers" on past and present Board members bear a close resemblance to the assortment of unverified reports, rumors, miscellaneous clippings, and old letterheads which comprise the "raw files" of the House Un-American Activities Committee. Although the Committee itself has stated that it cannot vouch for this unchecked and unevaluated material, unscrupulous individuals have been able to secure copies of it and use it for their irresponsible purposes.

(3) Although the past and present Board members of the SRC number 130, he comments on only 11 current Board members and 6 ex-Board members.

(4) He weaves in long, irrelevant passages about Communist activities and individuals that are in no way related to the SRC. This sort of purely verbal association is evidently designed to lend the appearance of substance to his unsubstantial charges.

(5) He cites perfectly innocent and respectable associations in such a way as to convey the impression that they are improper or subversive.

(6) As evidence of the irresponsibility of Craft's material, he lists as a Board member of the SRC one "Harry Stanley Brav." No such person has ever served on the Board, though Rabbi Stanley R. Brav, of Vicksburg, Mississippi, was a highly valued Board member until he moved out of the South in 1948.

(7) Craft makes no distinction as to the time, the nature, or the termination of the various affiliations of which he accuses directors and staff members of the SRC. It is no secret that Communist-front organizations have frequently made use of names without the permission or approval of the persons so named. It is also well known that many organizations which were entirely sound at the beginning were later infiltrated by Communists and Communist sympathizers; therefore, the time of joining and the time of withdrawal are of great importance to any real understanding of the association. It is obvious that any such understanding is alien to Craft's purpose.

LEAD ARTICLE, BEGINNING ON PAGE 1, ONE METHODIST VOICE

1. The first paragraph consists of a general indictment of the SRC unsupported by facts. The SRC is alleged to be carrying on an obnoxious program from a "point of advantage and influence"--i.e., the Wesley Memorial Building. It may be noted, in passing, that all stationery, publications, and news releases of the SRC bear the address 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.; the SRC has never sought in any way to capitalize on the location of its offices.

2. Dr. Mitchell is described as "a former professor of Columbia University and a notorious Communist fronter." He is neither. He was an instructor in economics at Columbia from 1929 to 1935, though it is hard to see what relevance this is supposed to have.

3. The next paragraph attributes to an anonymous "reliable source" an account of a meeting held at the Atlanta YWCA, September 9, 1952, under the sponsorship of the American Friends Service Committee. According to this account, the chairman is supposed to have said, "We have a member of the Communist Party here, let's hear what he has to say to that," after which Dr. Mitchell was called upon. The paragraph concludes with the statement that,"Dr. Mitchell did not deny that he was a member of the Communist Party."

This entire paragraph is as false in fact as it is vicious in implication. Attached are copies of signed statements by three persons who were present at the meeting and who declare unequivocally that no such incident took place. More than a dozen other reputable persons who were present can testify to the same point.

4. It is stated the SRC's publication New South was "consciously or unconsciously borrowed from the old official organ, New South, of the now defunct Communist originated and Communist inspired organization known as, 'The Conference for Human Welfare.'" This can only be described as hate-inspired nonsense. The SRC's publication was named New South in 1946 by the Executive Committee, after lengthy consideration of many possible titles. Neither the Committee nor the staff had ever heard of another publication of that name; the Southern Conference for Human Welfare (if that is the organization meant) never published anything by that title, to the best of our knowledge. The phrase "New South," as most schoolboys know, is taken from an historic address by Henry Grady. Apparently, Mr. Craft would attribute the origin of this famous phrase to the Communists!

5. In this paragraph and elsewhere in the paper, Craft makes much of the fact that several SRC Board members were at one time affiliated with the late Southern Conference for Human Welfare. This is one of the most shopworn methods used to discredit liberal-minded Southerners. Commenting on an attack upon Dr. Rufus E. Clement (almost identical with that in One Methodist Voice), The Atlanta Constitution editorialized on May 12, 1953:

> "A member of the Board has charged that Dr. Clement is a Communist sympathizer because he once belonged to the now defunct Southern Conference for Human Welfare. This newspaper is proud of the fact that it contributed largely to the demise of that organization. We were

twice threatened with lawsuits because of our exposure of it; therefore, we believe we have some authority to speak.

"The Southern Conference for Human Welfare was organized by honest, loyal Americans, with a viewpoint to organizing all constructive forces in the South to improve the South's economic and social status. It later was infiltrated by Communists, but for a good many years it was composed of and led by persons of unquestioned loyalty, during which time its membership was about 99.95 per cent loyal. It offers the typical example of a few rotten Communists spoiling a good barrel of apples.

"Even so, it was not until a good many years had passed, and after most of the membership had withdrawn, including Dr. Clement, that persons of suspected Communistic tendencies took over what remained of the organization. They did not long endure, largely because this newspaper exposed them and kept upon them the full light of publicity."

Ralph McGill, editor of The Constitution, who led the exposure of the Southern Conference in its latter years, was an incorporator of the SRC, and has been a close friend of its work ever since. During the few years of their co-existence, the two organizations were widely considered rival agencies, markedly different in ideology and approach to Southern problems. To suggest, as Craft does, that the SRC was related to, or sympathetic with the left-wing element in the Southern Conference is to fly in the face of incontrovertible facts.

6. Craft declares, "Mitchell was an endorser and sponsor of Brookwood College at Katonah, New York, which the American Federation of Labor put a ban on it because of the school's Communistic affiliations." Dr. Mitchell recalls that he taught a class at Brookwood College on one or two occasions in 1930 or 1931. Brookwood was then a widely respected workers' education center. Craft does not give the date when the AFL allegedly "put a ban" on the institution.

7. Craft charges that Dr. Mitchell "is affiliated with the notorious Communist organization, Civil Rights Congress." Dr. Mitchell's comment follows:

"Untrue, though in 1946 I permitted my name to be used in a newspaper ad as one of the sponsors of the first meeting of what became the Civil Rights Congress. This was the time when a movement was under way to repeal the Norris-LaGuardia Act, which forbade the use of injunctions in most labor disputes. I was asked to be a sponsor of an emergency meeting to form an organization to combat the movement to make these injunctions legal again. The great majority of those whose names were put to the invitation sent me were sound Americans with the good interests of the country at heart. I was, and am still, opposed to the use of injunctions in labor disputes. On the assumption that the proposed organization would work effectively against this practice, I permitted my name to be used as a sponsor for the emergency meeting. Within a few months, it became apparent that the resulting Civil Rights Congress was strongly influenced by Communists, and a year or so later,

when the organization asked me again to be a sponsor of some meeting it was having, I refused. I never joined the Civil Rights Congress, am not and have never been a member of it, and have never attended any of its meetings."

8. The last paragraph makes no point at all, apparently having been added for suggestive effect. Dr. Mitchell was from February 1944 until about May 1945 regional director for the CIO political Action Committee, covering the states of Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Tennessee, Mississippi, and for part of the time, Louisiana. No responsible person supposes that the Political Action Committee was Communist-dominated; the charge was certainly never made against Dr. Mitchell's office. Craft does not identify the mysterious "Mr. Morgan" or explain what a telephone call to him is supposed to have meant.

PAGE 3, ONE METHODIST VOICE

1. The first paragraph states Mrs. Tilly was "a sponsor of the Mid-Century Conference for Peace held in Chicago, May, 1950" and proceeds to discuss in detail the leftist record of persons described as her "fellow sponsors." Mrs. Tilly did not sponsor or attend the so-called "Mid-Century Conference for Peace and has never even heard of the individuals described as her "fellow sponsors."

2. Paragraph 2 states: "According to the letterhead of the Communist front known as THE COMMITTEE FOR PEACEFUL ALTERNATIVES TO THE ATLANTIC PACT, Mrs. M. E. Tilly is listed as a member of the Executive Board." The first time Mrs. Tilly heard of this charge was in June 1951. She promptly sent a registered letter to the Committee for Peaceful Alternatives, demanding that her name be removed from its letterhead, if it was being so used.

3. Paragraph 3: "Mrs. Tilly was also asponsor of the National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax which is cited as a Communist Front by the California Committee on Un-American Activities." Mrs. Tilly, along with a great many other leading Americans who oppose any tax on the right to vote, was at one time affiliated with this organization. It is interesting that the California Committee, which is notorious for its loose allegations, should be the authority for the charge that this organization was a Communist front. So far as is known, no responsible Federal agency ever declared it to be so during the period of Mrs. Tilly's membership.

4. Paragraph 4: "She was a sponsor of the National Citizens Conference on Civil Liberties, according to the Daily Worker, April 16, 1948." This doubtful source to the contrary, Mrs. Tilly did not sponsor or participate in anything called the National Citizens Conference on Civil Liberties.

5. Paragraph 5: "Mrs. Tilly was one of the initiators of the National Committee to Repeal the McCarran Act and appears as Mrs. M. E. Tilly on the letterhead while her signature appears with other signers of an open letter to all Congressmen as Dorothy Tilly." What is the point? Is the fact that Mrs. Tilly signed her name in two different ways supposed to be

subversive? No allegation is made against the Committee to Repeal the McCarran Act. In any case, Mrs. Tilly resigned from the Committee--for quite other reasons--more than a year ago.

6. Paragraph 6: "Mrs. M. E. Tilly's name appears on the official roll of the Methodist Federation for Social Action several years as an executive member." That is true. Mrs. Tilly withdrew from the MFSA in 1949.

7. Paragraph 7: "Mrs. M. E. (Dorothy) Tilly of Atlanta, Ga., is listed as a member of 'The National Citizens' Political Action Committee.'" When this organization was founded in 1944, it commanded the respect and participation of a host of reputable citizens. There was no suggestion that it was anything but a sincere and honest movement. Only in its latter days--well after Mrs. Tilly and other influential citizens had ceased to be active in it--did the NCPAC fall under Communist influence, and shortly thereafter it was merged into a left-wing organization with which Mrs. Tilly had no connection whatever. Since the NCPAC has been out of existence for years, Craft's use of the present tense to suggest a current affiliation is either inexcusable ignorance or downright deceit.

8. Paragraph 8: "Mrs. Tilly's name appears on the letterhead of the 'American Civil Liberties Union' as a member of the national Committee that was used in October, 1951, which the California Committee on Un-American Activities says it may be definitely classed as a Communist front or 'transmission belt' organization." Mrs. Tilly's affiliation with the American Civil Liberties Union requires neither defense nor apology. It is a well established fact that the ACLU is a non-Communist organization. One can only wonder at the reliability of Craft's source in view of the following statement which appears in a document issued by the House Un-American Activities Committee on February 17, 1952 (quoted by Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam in the Washington Post): "The American Civil Liberties Committee has never been cited as Red-dominated, or as Communist, by any official organization charged with the duty of investigating subversive activity."

Same paragraph: "She has been a member of the National Board, 'Americans for Democratic Action.'" Craft does not explain what this is supposed to mean. The Americans for Democratic Action is a militantly anti-Communist organization.

Same paragraph: "She was listed as one of the signers of a statement on Korea, released by the Communist inspired 'Committee for Peaceful Alternatives--' as shown in the Daily Worker of July 28, 1950, the official organ of the Communist Party in the U. S." Mrs. Tilly has never signed any statement on Korea. The half-truth behind this charge may be the fact that in February 1950 Mrs. Tilly joined a number of religious leaders in signing an open letter to the President. This letter urged the President to work for a practical agreement on international control of atomic energy--an objective which has been an official part of U. S. policy since 1945. The Korean war had not begun--or even been foreseen--in February 1950.

9. Paragraph 9: "Mrs. Tilly, according to the Daily World, April 6, 1952 addressed a three days' Women's Conference on World Peace at Daytona Beach, Florida called by the notorious Communist fronter Dr. Mary McCleod Bethune founder of the National Council of Negro Women." This characterization of Mrs. Bethune is an unwarranted smear of a great American woman who has won national and international honor for her many constructive activities. Mrs. Tilly was present at the meeting in question, along with leading representatives of Protestant, Jewish and Catholic church women; the vice-chairman of the World Council of Churches; and the National Committeewomen of both the Democratic and the Republican Parties.

BOARD MEMBERS

Eleven current Board members of the SRC are accused of Communist-front affiliations. These persons were elected to the Board in consideration of their recognized worth and service to the South and the Nation. The high positions of public esteem which they occupy are enough alone to discredit this implied attack on their loyalty. In any case, men of the stature of Dr. Charles S. Johnson, Dr. Rufus E. Clement, Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, Dr. F. D. Patterson, Dr. Will Alexander, and the rest, require no defense by us.

The same may be said of the two persons who hold no position in the SRC but are attacked as having taken part in SRC activities--i.e., Dr. Channing Tobias and Mr. Frank McCallister.

It may be noted that at least two of these persons have had occasion to repudiate these same charges in more important connections. In the Senate hearing on his appointment as delegate to the United Nations, Dr. Tobias was confronted by the same kind of irresponsible attack as appears in One Methodist Voice. After hearing his testimony, the Senate committee unanimously confirmed his appointment, as did the full Senate in a subsequent session. Dr. Rufus E. Clement was similarly attacked by certain members of the Stlanta City Executive Committee who sought to have him disqualified as a candidate for the Board of Education. Following a hearing at which Dr. Clement testified, the Committee dropped the charges and Dr. Clement was overwhelmingly elected by the people.

Six ex-Board members are mentioned in One Methodist Voice. Two of these, to our knowledge, have been identified with leftish or Communist infiltrated movements--largely, however, in the last four years, when they were no longer members of the Board of SRC. In any case, these two former Board members--out of a total of 130--participated only in the early years of the SRC and played no significant part in the policy-making activities of the Board.

A D L
Southern Office

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH

Director
Alexander F. Miller

11 PRYOR ST., S.W., ATLANTA 3, GA.

May 19, 1953

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mr. Fleming:

My attention has been called to the April, 1953 issue of the publication, "One Methodist Voice". To say that I found the material in this publication shocking, is to indulge in understatement. I have known the work of the Southern Regional Council intimately for the last several years, and I have been well informed about the activities of Dr. George Mitchell, the director of the Council.

I have always regarded the Southern Regional Council and Dr. Mitchell as being in the forefront of the enemies of communism, not only in this country but even more importantly in the international arena. By attempting to extend the horizons of democracy, you have been contributing materially to the constant battle which the American way of life must consistently wage against the totalitarianism of the Soviets.

It so happens that I was present at the meeting held at the Atlanta YWCA on September 9th, 1952 under the sponsorship of the American Friends Service Committee, and which is described in "One Methodist Voice". The purpose of this meeting was a highly admirable one, one which any person with religious convictions must admire -- and that is the attainment and advancement of peace. During the course of the discussion, attention was directed to the fact that an important enemy of peace is communist Russia and that the intransigence of the Soviet leaders is a tremendous obstacle to the achieving of international understanding.

The description of this meeting as contained in "One Methodist Voice" leaves me completely bewildered. Dr. Mitchell was never by direct statement nor by implication identified as a communist or as a spokesman for communism. Dr. Mitchell never indicated by statement or by implication that he is a communist or a spokesman for the communists. I was present during the entire session and I have a good and retentive memory. I never heard the words uttered ascribed either to Dr. Mitchell or to the Chairman.

Sincerely yours,

Alexander F. Miller

afm/bw

Atlanta, Georgia
May 19, 1953

Mr. Harold Fleming
% Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

I have recently seen a printed sheet which charged that at a meeting at the Atlanta YWCA, sponsored by the American Friends Service Commission, the presiding officer made the statement, "We have a member of the Communist Party here." The printed sheet stated that this information was furnished by a "reliable source."

I wish to state that I was present at the meeting and at no time during the meeting did the presiding officer or any other person in the room make the statement or any statement that could have been construed to mean the same thing. In fact, it seemed to me that the members of the group showed real concern for the values of democracy and Christianity, as applied to human relationships.

Yours very truly,

Julia White

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST
IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Southeastern Office
ERNEST J. ARNOLD, Director
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Atlanta 3, Georgia

18 May 1953

Dr. George Mitchell
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

The ONE METHODIST VOICE, April 1953, reports that you are singled out as a Communist at a meeting in the Y.W.C.A., September 9, 1952. I attended this meeting and remember that Mr. Roosa, from Greensboro, was presiding most of the time. I am sure that Mr. Roosa never made the statement "we have a member of the Communist Party here, let's hear what he has to say to that." I feel very definitely that some one is putting words into the mouth of Mr. Roosa as well as misquoting you. I hope some protest will be made.

Sincerely yours,

Ernest J. Arnold

EJA:em

LIST OF ALL PERSONS WHO HAVE SERVED ON THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS, 1944-MAY 1953

Name	Address	Term
Abram, Morris B.	Healey Bldg.,Atlanta, Ga.	1949-52
Alexander, Will W.	Route 3, Chapel Hill, N. C.	1944-52
Ashmore, Harry A.	Arkansas Gazette, Little Rock, Ark.	1951-55
Ames, Mrs. Jessie D.	Box 73, Tryon, N. C.	1944-49
Atwood, Rufus B.	State College, Frankfort, Ky.	1945-50
Beittel, A. D.	Talladega College, Talladega, Ala.	1949-51
Birnie, Mrs. C. M.	864 Hunter St., SW, Atlanta, Ga.	1949-53
Brown, Charlotte H.	Palmer Memorial Institute, Sedalia, N. C.	1944-53
Brown, Wilson M.	State Planters Bank, Richmond, Va.	1947-51
Butler, A. T.	1719 Taylor St., Columbia, S. C.	1949-53
Brav, Rabbi Stanley	9 Avon Fields Place, Cincinnati	1945-48
Burnham, Louis E.	526 Masonic Temple Bldg., Birmingham, Ala.	1945-49
Bond, Horace M.	Lincoln College, Pa.	1944-45
Bridges, Francis R., Jr.	Tallahassee, Fla.	1944
Carter, Hodding	504 Arnold Ave., Greenville, Miss.	1945-52
Christopher, Paul R.	216 Flatiron Bldg., Knoxville, Tenn.	1949-55
Clark, Felton	Southern University, Baton Rouge, La.	1946-50
Clary, Rev. G. E.	610 Victory Dr., Savannah, Ga.	1949-53
Clay, Emily	1020 Granada St., Clearwater, Fla.	1946-49
Clement, Rufus E.	Atlanta University, Atlanta, Ga.	1944-53
Clingman, Bishop Charles	421 S. 2nd St., Louisville, Ky.	1945-48
Coker, James L.	Sonoco Products, Hartsville, S. C.	1949-53
Cole, William E.	Univ. of Tennessee, Knoxville, Tenn.	1944-50
Comer, Donald W.	Avondale Mills, Birmingham, Ala.	1949-50
Crate, Mrs. James S.	2410 Inwood Dr., Houston, Texas	1949-52
Dabney, Virginius	Times-Dispatch, Richmond, Va.	1944-51
Dabbs, James M.	Mayesville, S. C.	1947-53
Daniel, R. P.	Fla. Natl. Bank Bldg., Jacksonville, Fla.	1945-49
Davidson, Herbert M.	News-Journal, Daytona Beach, Fla.	1948-52
Delpit, Ernest	3631 2nd St., New Orleans, La.	1944-48
Dent, A. W.	Dillard Univ., New Orleans, La.	1944-52
Duncan, O. D.	Oklahoma A&M College, Stillwater, Okla.	1944-52
Dunlap, Davisson	Barnett Bldg., Jacksonville, Fla.	1952-53
Deer, Rev. Lewis H.	Pulaski Heights Christian Church Little Rock, Ark.	1951-53
Easom, P. H.	Dept. of Education, Jackson, Miss.	1945-47
Ellison, J. M.	Virginia Union University, Richmond, Va.	1948-52
Foreman, Clark	935 G Pl., N.W., Washington, D.C.	1944-49
Gibbs, W. W.	816 Ingraham Bldg., Miami, Fla.	1951
Gillman, Charles H.	95 Merritts Ave., Atlanta, Ga.	1944-51
Goode, H. D.	405½ N. De Villiers, Pensacola, Fla.	1944-48
Griffin, John A.	Emory University, Ga.	1945-52
Haas, Leonard	Haas-Howell Bldg., Atlanta, Ga.	1944-52
Hamilton, Mrs. Grace T.	239 Auburn Ave., NE, Atlanta, Ga.	1944-51
Hancock, Gordon B.	Box 6056, Richmond, Va.	1944-52
Havens, Mrs. Henry	2845 Corinthian Ave., Jacksonville, Fla.	1944-49
Haworth, D. Swan	First Baptist Church, Lumberton, N. C.	1949-52
Henderson, Jacob R.	816 Playlane, NE, Atlanta, Ga.	1945-49
Herbert, R. B.	Palmetto Bldg., Columbia, S. C.	1944-47
Jackson, Luther P.	(Deceased) Petersburg, Va.	1944-49
Jackson, Maynard	437 Mitchell St., SW, Atlanta, Ga.	1945-49

Jaffe, Louis I.	(Deceased) Norfolk, Va.	1944-50
Jemison, Rev. D. V.	1605 Lapsley St., Selma, Ala.	1946-50
Johnson, Charles S.	Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn.	1944-52
Johnson, Guy B.	Box 652, Chapel Hill, N. C.	1951-55
Jones, David B.	Bennett College, Greensboro, N. C.	1946-50
Long, John	Southern Christian Institute, Edwards, Miss.	1949-52
Looby, Z. A.	419 4th Ave., N., Nashville, Tenn.	1944-48
Mantinband, Rabbi Charles	808 Mamie St., Hattiesburg, Miss.	1949-53
Marmion, Rev. W. H.	2612 W. 17th St., Wilmington, Del.	1947-50
Matherly, Walter J.	Univ. of Florida, Gainesville, Fla.	1944
May, Armand	Amer. Assoc. Cos., 451 Stephens, SW, Atlanta	1945-53
Mays, Benjamin E.	Morehouse College, Atlanta, Ga.	1944-53
Milner, Clyde	Guilford College, N. C.	1948-52
Milton, L. D.	212 Auburn Ave., NE, Atlanta, Ga.	1944-53
Mitchell, Arthur W.	Box 670, Petersburg, Va.	1950-54
Moore, Bishop Arthur J.	63 Auburn Ave., NE, Atlanta, Ga.	1944-51
Moron, Alonzo	Hampton Institute, Hampton, Va.	1949-53
Mynders, Alfred	Chattanooga Times, Chattanooga, Tenn.	1945-52
McDowell, E. A.	Southeastern Baptist Seminary, Wake Forest, N.C.	1944-49
McNamara, Msgr. T.J.	222 E. Harris St., Savannah, Ga.	1944-51
Newbold, N. C.	N.C. Dept. of Educ., Raleigh, N. C.	1944-52
O'Connell, Rev. V. J.	St. Louis Church, St. Paul, Minn.	1949-52
Odum, Howard W.	Univ. of N.C., Chapel Hill, N. C.	1945-52
O'Hara, Archbishop Gerald P.	222 E. Harris St., Savannah, Ga.	1944-50
Palmer, E. W.	Kingsport Press, Kingsport, Tenn.	1948-52
Parrish, C. H.	Univ. of Louisville, Louisville, Ky.	1945-53
Patterson, F. D.	Tuskegee Institute, Ala.	1944-53
Paty, Raymond	T.V.A., Knoxville, Tenn.	1944-50
Penick, Bishop E. A.	802 Hillsboro St., Raleigh, N. C.	1945-53
Pollard, J. C.	Sommers, Va.	1944-53
Preston, Edmund	Richmond, Va.	1944-45
Rainey, Homer P.	Stephens College, Mo.	1945-47
Rainey, Glenn W.	120 3rd St., NW, Atlanta, Ga.	1949-53
Raper, Arthur	Vienna, Va.	1948-52
Ratliff, Mrs. W. H.	Sherard, Miss.	1947-51
Ray, Edgar	Tampa Times, Tampa, Fla.	1946-50
Rayzor, Mrs. J. Newton	3207 Groveland Lane, Houston, Texas	1951-55
Reddix, Jacob L.	Jackson College, Jackson, Miss.	1944-48
Reid, Ira De A.	Haverford College, Haverford, Pa.	1944-48
Richardson, Harry V.	Gammon Theological Seminary, Atlanta, Ga.	1948-52
Robb, James L.	63 Auburn Ave., NE, Atlanta, Ga.	1944-45
Robinson, Mrs. E. U.	125 5th Ave., S., Franklin, Tenn.	1950-52
Rogers, G. D.	(Deceased), Tampa, Fla.	1944-51
Russell, Rev. Leon	Jarvis Memorial Church, Greenville, N.C.	1949-53
Russell, Rev. R. L.	(Deceased), Atlanta, Ga.	1944-50
Schaeffer, Rev. H. Brent	1525 Robinson St., Jackson, Miss.	1950-52
Seabrook, J.W.	Fayetteville, N. C.	1945-49
Shulhafer, Philip E.	2636 Dellwood Dr., NW, Atlanta, Ga.	1944-50
Smith, Charles	The Plains, Va.	1949-50
Spearman, Mrs. E. H.	1511 Laurel St., Columbia, S. C.	1945-53
Spencer, Frank W.	Box 136, Savannah, Ga.	1945-47

Staples, Thomas S.	Hendrix College, Conway, Ark.	1944-48
Stern, Edgar B.	2110 Amer. Bank Bldg., New Orleans, La.	1944-48
Strong, Mrs. A.M.P.	Box 503, Marianna, Ark.	1944-48
Stuart, J. G.	2030 Taylor St., Columbia, S. C.	1944-48
Sytz, Florence	Tulane University, New Orleans, La.	1944-52
Solomon, Crawford	Jacksonville Fla., 218 W. Church St.	1951-53
Thomas, L. E.	1035 N. W. 2nd Ave., Miami, Fla.	1951-54
Tilly, Mrs. M. E.	63 Auburn Ave., N.E., Atlanta, Ga.	1944
Twomey, Rev. L. J.	Loyola University, New Orleans, La.	1950-52
Trigg, Harold L.	St. Augustine's College, Raleigh, N. C.	1944-45 & 1947-55
Tydings, J. M.	808 Starks Bldg., Louisville, Ky.	1945-52
Washington, F. B.	Atlanta U. Sch. of Soc. Work, Atlanta, Ga.	1944-53
Wellons, R. D.	Pembroke, N. C.	1949-52
Wesley, Carter	Box 3086, Houston, Texas	1944-53
Wheeler, John H.	Mechanics & Farmers Bank, Durham, N. C.	1944-51
White, Goodrich C.	Emory University, Atlanta, Ga.	1944-50
Wilke, Rev. W. W.	2100 Wolfe St., Little Rock, Ark.	1950-51
Wilkins, Josephine	387 Milledge Ave., Athens, Ga.	1944-50 & 1950-54
Williams, John Page	5401 Tuckahoe Ave., Richmond, Va.	1951-54
Williams, Paul D.	3320 Gloucester Rd., Richmond, Va.	1944-55
Wright, Bishop R.R.	Philadelphia, Pa.	1948-52
Wright, Marion A.	Linville Falls, N. C.	1945-52
Wilcoxon, F. C.	Vicksburg, Miss.	1945-47
Williams, Aubrey	Southern Farm & Home, Montgomery, Ala.	1945-49
Whitsett, Rev. Dan C.	First Methodist Church, Sylacauga, Ala.	1951-53
Young, P. B.	Journal & Guide, Norfolk, Va.	1948-52
Zeuch, Mrs. Warren	850 Royal Palm Place, Vero Beach, Fla.	1945-53

Knight, Ryland	formerly of Atlanta	1944-
Lee, J. R. E.	(deceased), Tallahassee, Fla.	1944-

June 2, 1953

MEMBERS OF SRC EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, PAST AND PRESENT
(See list of Board Members for Identifications.)

Name	Term of Office
Mr. Francis R. Bridges	1944-1944
Mrs. Cassandra M. Birnie	1952-to date
Mr. Paul R. Christopher	1951-to date
Dr. Rufus E. Clement	1944-to date
Dr. A. W. Dent	1952-to date
Mr. John A. Griffin	1952-to date
Mr. Leonard Haas	1944-to date
Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton	1951-1951
Dr. Gordon B. Hancock	1944-to date
Dr. Charles S. Johnson	1944-1952
Dr. Guy B. Johnson	1948-1951
Mr. C. H. Gillman	1946-1950
Msgr. T. James McNamara	1944-1951
Mr. Alfred Mynders	1952-to date
Rev. V. J. O'Connell, S. M.	1952-1952
Dr. Howard W. Odum	1944-1945
Mr. Edmund Preston	1945-1945
Mr. Homer P. Rainey	1944-1944
Dr. Harry V. Richardson	1952-to date
Mr. Frank W. Spencer	1946-1946
Dr. Harold L. Trigg	1947-1951
Mr. Carter Wesley	1944-to date
Mr. John H. Wheeler	1949-1951
Miss Josephine Wilkins	1944-1950
Mr. Paul D. Williams	1945-1951
Mr. Marion A. Wright	1950-to date
Mr. P. B. Young, Sr.	1944-1949
Very Rev. Maurice V. Shean, C. O.	1953-to date
Rev. Andrew S. Turnipseed	1953-to date

FROM: SAVANNAH PRESS
June 28, 1954

HARRIS CHARGES SRC HAVEN FOR RED FRONTERS

Says It Could Become Party Apparatus of the South

By Peter S. Willett

ATLANTA, June 28 (UP).

Political leader Roy Harris of Augusta today accused the anti-segregation Southern Regional Council of being a "haven for known Communist fronters" and "could well become become the Communist party apparatus of the South."

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Atty. Gen. Eugene Cook said his office is investigating the S.R.C. for possible prosecution under the state's anti-subversive act. Cook said his office is investigating "every group" where there is the slightest suspicion of any subversion.

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The article in the Augusta Courier said "stripped of all its window dressing, the aims, purposes and platform of the Communist party the defunct Southern Conference for Human Welfare and now Southern Council are one and the same."

But a council spokesman denounced Harris' "unfounded attack" as a "politically-motivated essay in character assassination" and in effect dared him to prove his charges.

"There is a Georgia statute which makes it a crime to belong to a Communist-frong organization," the spokesman said. "If Mr. Harris were making his charges in good faith, he would have recourse to due process of law instead of cunningly distorted propaganda."

The council was chartered in 1944 by Methodist Bishop Arthur J. Moore of Atlanta; Editor Ralph McGill of the Atlanta Constitution; Dr. Rufus E. Clement, president of the Atlanta Negro University; Dr. Charles S. Johnson, president of Fisk Negro University and Dr. Howard W. Odum, University of North Carolina.

Harris called McGill the "chief apologist" for the SRC and also a member of the old SCHW who got out when it became apparent that communist elements were being attracted to it. Then, the editor helped the outfit, Harris said.

McGill's paper later said the SCHW was "organized by honest loyal Americans with a viewpoint to organizing all constructive forces in the South . . . it offers the typical example of a few rotten Communists spoiling a good barrel of apples."

McGill said, however, that "there is no connection even remote between the Southern Regional Council and the Southern Council for Human Welfare. They were never at any time even remotely related."

"The Southern Regional Council is highly approved by the attorney general of the United States, by the FBI and by all reputable agencies. It has never been accused of being subversive. It has been strongly supported by the Roman Catholic Church and the Protestant churches, all of whom have representatives in it and it is and has been a conservative research organization."

The Ford Foundation recently granted the Council $240,000 to expand its activities -- mainly to staff branch offices to support the U. S. Supreme Court decision outlawing segregation in public schools.

-30-

June 22, 1954

TO: George Mitchell, Grace Hamilton, and Harold Fleming

FROM: Earl Brewer

Here is a rough first effort at a brief outline of the study on local and state human relations agencies.

I am still working through some of the data, but after your criticism of this I will start immediately on a detailed outline of sections 2 and, later, section 3. In a conference with Harold, it was suggested that I prepare this manuscript without too much attention to the requirements of its final form in terms of language, styling, focus, and so on. It was his suggestion that he would re-work the material along this line. Even so, I would like to tailor it to these requirements as closely as possible so that his editorial work and rewriting would be at a minimum in the interest of economy of effort.

The greatest gap in this "quickie" study now appears to be data on Southern experience at the local and state levels. This is the spot at which the SRC should be able to be of most help. What sources or experiences can you suggest? What criticisms and suggestions do you have?

RECEIVED
JUN 22 1954
Southern Regional Council

FIRST ROUGH OUTLINE OF MANUSCRIPT ON LOCAL AND STATE HUMAN RELATIONS AGENCIES

1. The New Situation in the South.

This will be an introductory and brief section dealing with the "trend" toward more equal facilities and more non-segregated opportunities for Negroes with special reference to the recent Supreme Court Decision on public education. This section should be only a few paragraphs in length and will serve as a rationale for this study.

2. Meeting the Situation in Local Communities.

This section will contain the bulk of the study.

(1) Non-South Experience.

The existence of private agencies and citizen groups prior to the Detroit Riot of 1943 and the spread of Mayors' Committees of a private, quasi-public and public nature since that time.

A rapid review of the nature, structure, and functions of these groups.

The relation of these agencies to human rights, state laws, and city ordinances.

A case study or two from northern or western cities.

(2) Southern Experience.

The existence of local private agencies and citizen groups in various southern cities. The stimulus of the Supreme Court Decision in the setting up of Mayors' Committees and other such groups.

A few case studies of efforts along these lines: Dade County Council on Community Relations, Rock Hill Council on Human Relations, the efforts in Charlotte, N. C. and Atlanta, Ga. toward establishing Mayor's Committees. Others?

(3) Proposals and Opportunities.

Here would appear the major construction work of this section. It would not be a blue-print for action. However, drawing upon the experiences reviewed and facing up to the new situation in the South, starting where the South is rather than where the North and West are, various suggestions will be made for action and organization from the informal citizen level to the formal local public agency level. The Southern context, opportunities and areas for study and action, principles, cautions, and problems growing out of the study will be set forth.

3. Meeting the Situation in the States.

(1) Non-South experience.

(2) Southern experience.

(3) Proposals and opportunities.

This section will do, in briefer compass, at the state level what section 2 attempts for local communities and cities.

4. SRC and the New Situation.

This section is suggested to "round out" the study. However, no work will be done on it here since this is assumed to be a staff function of SRC.

5. Resources for Further Study and Action.

(1) A brief list of books and pamphlets.

(2) A selected list of human relations agencies.

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June 28, 1954

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Says It Could Become Party Apparatus of the South

By Peter S. Willett

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-30-

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JOURNAL
Circ. D. 50,520
JUN 28 1954

GEORGIA'S ROY HARRIS
. . . sees Red menace . . .

Bi-Racial Body Called Haven For Red Dupes

ATLANTA, June 27 (UP) — A Georgia political leader today accused the bi-racial Southern Regional Council, financed partly by the Ford Foundation, of being a "haven for known Communist fronters."

Roy V. Harris, a close behind-the-scenes friend of Gov. Herman Talmadge, said in his personal newspaper that the council "could well become the Communist Party apparatus in the South."

The Ford Foundation recently granted the council $240,000 to expand its activities—mainly to staff branch offices to support the U. S. Supreme Court decision outlawing segregation in public schools.

A council spokesman denounced Harris' "unfounded attack" as a "politically - motivated essay in character assassination" and in effect dared him to prove his charges.

"There is a Georgia statute which makes it a crime to belong to a Communist-front organization," the spokesman said. "If Mr. Harris were making his charges in good faith he would have had recourse to due process of law instead of cunningly distorted propaganda."

Harris, who has kept up a running attack against the Supreme Court segregation decision in his paper, the Augusta Courier, charged in the current issue that:

1. Two known Communists served on the Southern Regional Council's board of directors.

2. Thirty-eight other persons with "associations with Communist front" organizations served on the council board.

3. The defunct Southern Conference for Human Welfare, branded as subversive by the House Committee on un-American Activities, was succeeded by the Southern Regional Council, and leadership of both groups was virtually the same.

"Stripped of all its window dressing, the aims, purposes and platform of the Communist Party, the defunct Southern Conference for Human Welfare and now the Southern Regional Council are one and the same," Harris said.

A council spokesman contended that leadership of the group has been composed "overwhelmingly of Southerners whose record of patriotism and public service is above reproach." The council has major support from Protestant, Catholic and Jewish faiths, the spokesman said.

The council denied Harris' tieup between it and the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. The latter was organized in 1938 and existed until 1947 while the Southern Regional Council was chartered in 1944, the council said.

The Southern Regional Council was chartered in 1944 by Bishop Arthur J. Moore of the Methodist church, Ralph McGill, editor of the Atlanta Constitution, Dr. Rufus E. Clement, president of Atlanta (Negro) University, Dr. Charles S. Johnson, president of Fisk (Negro) University, and Dr. Howard W. Odum, of the University of North Carolina.

THE STATESMAN

Published Weekly

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THE PEOPLE.....EDITOR

EUGENE TALMADGE.....Associate Editor
1933-1946

HERMAN E. TALMADGE.....Associate Editor

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Serious Charges Which Demand A Serious Reply

The Augusta COURIER has raised serious charges against the Ford Foundation-financed Southern Regional Council. They are charges of such a nature that they demand a full and complete explanation by that bi-racial group which is working to destroy segregated schools in Georgia and the South.

Replying to the COURIER'S charges, an unnamed "spokesman" who obviously did not want his name revealed in connection with the organization, did not deny the charges but instead resorted to flimsy hedging. His statement answered nothing and attempted through raising a non-existent legal point to call attention away from the charges.

The point raised was that if officers of the Southern Regional Council were members of Communist-fronts why they have not been indicted under the Georgia Subversive and Sedition Act. Of course, no ground exists under the statute for such an indictment. As a matter of fact some of the leaders of this same Regional Council are those who sought behind the

HERMAN TALMADGE SAYS:

(Continued from page 1)

ing action and it is doubtful whether reinforcements in adequate numbers could be brought up in time.

Same Fate In addition to the NATO alliance, our government also has troops stationed throughout the world, primarily in countries that form a ring around the Communist empire. These troops are very limited in number and would suffer about the same fate as those stationed in Europe in case of all-out Communist attack.

America and her allies suffer in comparison with the Soviet Union and its satellites in terms of manpower.

Yet, on the other hand, we have a tremendous margin over them in terms of industrial capacity, engineering ability, scientific and inventive genius. We were the first to split the atom and release its gigantic power. The Russians only have been able to advance in this field with the aid of captured German scientists and traitors in our own country.

Striking Power The Russian Air Force is approximately twice the size of our own. In many respects its planes are equal to ours. They have recently demonstrated a large four-engine jet bomber that is comparable to our B-52 that could make bombing runs to the United States and return to their own land.

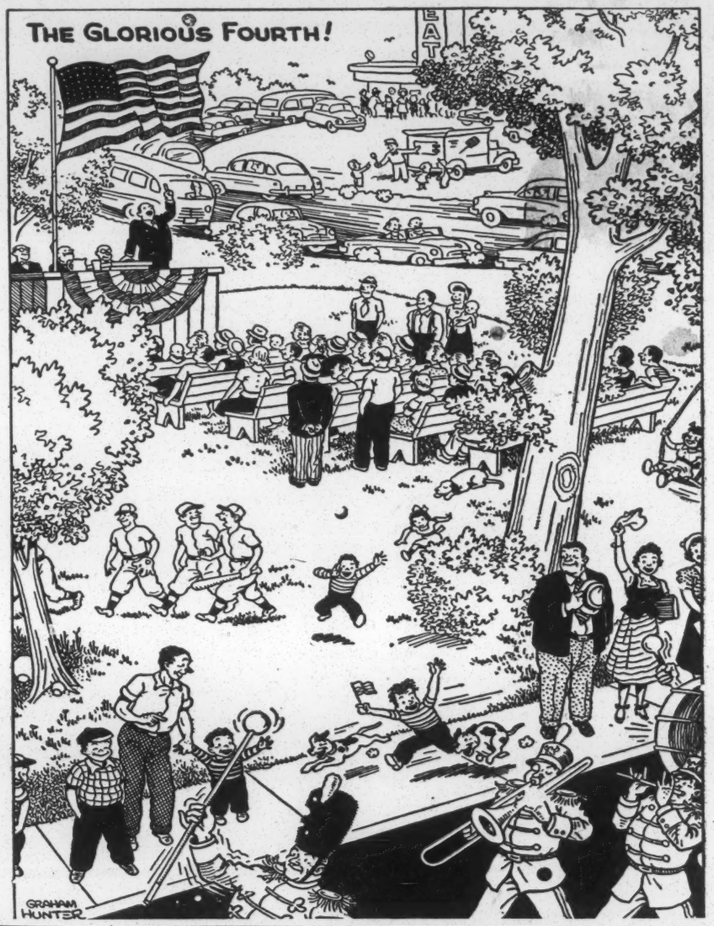
It seems to me that in the defense of our country we should emphasize those things in which we have advantages and by all means we should refrain from land combat with the Russians, Chinese and their satellites when they have manpower advantage over us of approximately ten to one.

Our defense should be predicated upon the world's mightiest air force. This air force should be capable of defensive as well as offensive action.

The greatest deterrent to the Kremlin is the belief that in a matter of minutes the American Strategic Air Force could destroy millions of Russians, including their military potential.

Herman E. Talmadge

Directors is composed of men and women with records of affinity for Communist-front groups and causes, according to records and reports of the House Committee Investigating Un-American Activities and citations by the Attorney General of the United States.



Georgia's Parade of Progress

From—THE MACON TELEGRAPH AND NEWS

One of the most impressive stories of Georgia progress is the report issued last week by Gov. Herman Talmadge to members of the state legislature.

True, such a report would be expected to present a favorable picture, but despite its political nature, the facts are undisputable evidence of our state's achievements in virtually every field.

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Serious Charges Which Demand A Serious Reply

The Augusta COURIER has raised serious charges against the Ford Foundation-financed Southern Regional Council. They are charges of such a nature that they demand a full and complete explanation by that bi-racial group which is working to destroy segregated schools in Georgia and the South.

Replying to the COURIER'S charges, an unnamed "spokesman" who obviously did not want his name revealed in connection with the organization, did not deny the charges but instead resorted to flimsy hedging. His statement answered nothing and attempted through raising a non-existent legal point to call attention away from the charges.

The point raised was that if officers of the Southern Regional Council were members of Communist-fronts why they have not been indicted under the Georgia Subversive and Sedition Act. Of course, no ground exists under the statute for such an indictment. As a matter of fact some of the leaders of this same Regional Council are those who sought behind the scenes to "water down" this law when it was passed by the Georgia General Assembly.

The Augusta newspaper, in a lengthy article documented by copious citations from the House Committee Investigating Un-American Activities and the Attorney General of the United States, reported results of an investigation by it into the membership, activities and affairs of the Southern Regional Council.

The newspaper charged as follows:

"1. It is the successor, in fact, to the old Southern Conference for Human Welfare which folded after being branded a Communist-front by the House Committee Investigating Un-American Activities. Officers and directors of the Southern Regional Council are, practically without exception, the same as those who ran and directed the SCHW.

"2. Two top members of the Southern Regional Council's Board of Directors, who were also high officials in the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, have been branded as Communists in testimony before congressional committees by former associates in the party.

"3. At least 38 officers, members of the executive staff or directors of the Southern Regional Council's Board of Directors have known records of association with multifarious organizations which have been cited as Communist-fronts by either the Attorney General or the House Committee Investigating Un-American Activities.

"4. Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council, was listed as a top official of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare in the report citing it as a Communist-front. His name has also been linked to other red fronts, according to records and reports of Congressional committees.

"5. The Southern Regional Council, though claiming to be dedicated to 'promoting racial harmony and reducing tensions' to qualify as a tax-free charitable effort, has instead been solely a political action group."

We have known all along that there is nothing Southern, nor Regional about the Southern Regional Council, its membership or its aims. It is as alien to the way of life embraced by the South as independence is to the satellite nations enslaved by Soviet Russia.

The Southern Regional Council is an inter-racial organization in the truest sense of the word. It is as dedicated to destroying segregation in the South as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

The Augusta COURIER charges that SRC's Board of Directors is composed of men and women with records of affinity for Communist-front groups and causes, according to records and reports of the House Committee Investigating Un-American Activities and citations by the Attorney General of the United States.

The Council, under the direction of Dr. George S. Mitchell, espouses ideologies completely foreign to the South and is dedicated to the overthrow of every tradition and institution held dear by the region.

The Council's statement of policy dedicates it to a South **"free of the stultifying inheritance of the past . . . where segregation will be recognized as a cruel and needless penalty on the human spirit and will no longer be imposed."**

Had the Ford Foundation bothered to check the background of this organization and its members with either the Un-American Activities Committee or the Federal Bureau of Investigation, it could have learned these things for the price of two three-cent postage stamps. Therefore, the only conclusion that can be drawn is that those in the Ford Foundation responsible for this grant are in sympathy with the avowed purposes of the Southern Regional Council and made no attempt to investigate it.

The man responsible for the grant is Dr. Robert M. Hutchins, former Chancellor of the University of Chicago. It is he who has been making speeches in his capacity as Associate Director of the Ford Foundation advocating an end to racial segregation and proposing complete integration of the races. It is he whose record, according to the records and reports of the House Committee Investigating Un-American Activities and material appearing in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, shows a particularly consistent attraction to Communist-front causes.

That this grant has met with revulsion among true Southerners is evidenced by the action of the Association County Commissioners of Georgia in condemning it at its annual convention earlier this year.

We cannot believe that this action has the understanding approval of the heirs of the late Henry Ford, that great automotive genius who made his fortune under the system the Ford Foundation now seems bent on destroying. We cannot believe that those in control of the Ford Motor Company now will let it stand.

Therefore, for all true Southerners, we suggest to the Ford Motor Company and the Ford Foundation that they do two things:

1. Revoke this grant and thus serve notice that it will have no truck with schemes to tear down traditions and constitutional government in any section of our great nation.

2. Discharge this man Hutchins and thus serve notice that the Ford fortune as dispensed by the Ford Foundation will be used for philanthropy and not political or sociological crusades.

Only in so doing can the Ford Motor Company and the Ford Foundation regain the confidence of their friends and well wishers in the South.

Striking Power The Russian Air Force is approximately twice the size of our own. In many respects its planes are equal to ours. They have recently demonstrated a large four-engine jet bomber that is comparable to our B-52 that could make bombing runs to the United States and return to their own land.

It seems to me that in the defense of our country we should emphasize those things in which we have advantages and by all means we should refrain from land combat with the Russians, Chinese and their satellites when they have manpower advantage over us of approximately ten to one.

Our defense should be predicated upon the world's mightiest air force. This air force should be capable of defensive as well as offensive action.

The greatest deterrent to the Kremlin is the belief that in a matter of minutes the American Strategic Air Force could destroy millions of Russians, including their military potential.

Herman E. Talmadge

Georgia's Parade of Progress

From—THE MACON TELEGRAPH AND NEWS

One of the most impressive stories of Georgia progress is the report issued last week by Gov. Herman Talmadge to members of the state legislature.

True, such a report would be expected to present a favorable picture, but despite its political nature, the facts are undisputable evidence of our state's achievements in virtually every field.

Further, current independent reports of non-political sources bear out the progress Georgia is making and our state's relatively high economy among other southeastern states.

It would be impossible to even summarize the contents of Governor Talmadge's 121-page story in so short a space as this editorial column. The report is chock full of statistics and comparative figures which show graphically what the story tells.

Here are some of the most important ones:

EDUCATION — Common school appropriations from Nov. 17, 1948 through Jan. 1, 1955 will total $451,688,542; compared with a total of $407,798,159 spent between 1871, the year the first appropriation for public education was made, and Nov. 17, 1948. Comparative figures for a decade, the first figure representing the school year 1943-44 and the second figure representing the year 1953-54 show:

Education appropriations $17,995,210; $99,890,557.
Teachers salaries $10,995,880; $71,257,400.
Numbers of teachers 21,195; 25,094.
Average annual salary $518; $2,820.

PUBLIC WELFARE—In 1945-46 Georgia's welfare program totaled $11,262,813 of which the state put up $5,068,329. This fiscal year the total will be $58,088,756 with the state appropriating $14,956,508. Number of persons on the welfare rolls has increased from 83,666 to 136,553 persons.

PUBLIC HEALTH—A total of 141 projects has been undertaken at a cost of $56,146,901 under the federal Hill-Burton plan enacted in 1947. These include 51 new hospitals, 68 health centers, 15 hospital additions. The state's share of the cost has been $13,103,009.

HIGHWAYS—Contracts let by the Talmadge administration through Dec. 31, 1953 totaled $189,915,300 of which almost $42,000,000 went exclusively for the construction of farm-to-market roads and the remainder for state and federal routes. The program has included work on 7,825 miles of state and federal routes and 4,957 miles of post roads, the greatest rural road program in Georgia's history.

COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY—In 1946 Georgia had 4,488 industrial plants employing 261,941 persons who produced goods valued at $1,637,040,000. Today approximately 7,000 plants employ 312,000 persons and produce goods valued at more than $4,000,000,000 annually. Georgia lead the entire South in industrial development last year with 270 new or expanded plants.

And so the story goes.

One independent source, the U. S. Department of Commerce, reported last week that Georgia had a 24 per cent increase in the number of newly incorporated businesses during the first quarter of this year over the corresponding period of 1953.

Still another independent source, Manufacturers Record Magazine, reports in its June issue that Georgia led the South and the national average in business volume for this same comparative period.

Georgia's parade of progress marches on!

matter herein are

ANOTHER STUPID INQUIRY

Under the conditions laid down by Chairman Reece the suspension of public hearings by the special House of Representatives committee to investigate foundations is inexcusable. Twelve witnesses have so far been heard in public session. Nine of these have attacked the foundations—on grounds fantastic almost beyond belief, as we have pointed out before. The committee thus far has called only one witness for the defense. To stop hearings now places the committee in an indefensible position. Even though it will admit written statements for the foundations, and continue its investigation in private, statements can never offset the effect of the attacks which the committee has featured in its public hearings.

The history of this committee has been a disgrace to Congress. There was no need for it to begin with. A special committee of the Eighty-second Congress with the very same assignment, under the chairmanship of the late Eugene Cox, made a thorough investigation of foundations. In supporting the resolution to make the first study Mr. Cox made a bitter attack on foundations, but, on the basis of the most detailed reports as to their activities for the past twenty-five years, the committee ended with a unanimous recognition of the enormous public service which foundations have rendered. The committee found only a few minor mistakes of judgment in supporting people and projects with Communist connections. Mr. Reece himself was a member of the Cox committee. Even though he attended only three of its meetings—because of illness in his family, he has said—he should have known better than to plow the same field all over again, even to get publicity for himself. Further study of foundations, if any were needed, had far better have been left to two regular committees of the House: the Ways and Means Committee, already charged with the study of tax-exempt organizations, and the Un-American Activities Committee.

In spite of all this—and with a background of political maneuvering not on the public record—the House voted, 209 to 163, with sixty-nine not voting, to authorize "a full and complete investigation and study * * * to determine if any foundations * * * are using their resources for purposes other than the purposes for which they were established, and especially to determine which * * * are using their resources for un-American and subversive activities, for political purposes, propaganda or attempts to influence legislation."

The activities of the Reece committee have been a travesty of this assignment. Far from "a full and complete study" Mr. Reece, often over the vehement objections of committee members Wayne L. Hays and Gracie Pfost, has staged a crude and ignorant attack on foundations through a series of public hearings featuring the reports of staff members and a few witnesses, none of whom gave evidence of the thoroughgoing objective knowledge of foundations which the occasion required.

These witnesses for the prosecution have failed to cite, as far as we are aware, a single specific instance of a foundation engaging in "un-American and subversive activities" (defined by the committee's research director as "any action having as its purpose the alteration of either the principle or the form of the United States Government by other than constitutional means") or even in political propaganda or "attempts to influence legis-

lation" as these terms are commonly understood or defined by the Bureau of Internal Revenue for tax-exemption purposes.

We urge the committee to reconsider its decision. It should wind up its affairs at once with a pronouncement that it has found no evidence of such wrongdoing and that none of the attacks on the foundations staged by it needs be dignified by further answer from those which have been so stupidly maligned.

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On The North Side Lines

By Matt G. Perkins

Sunnyside, an apparently peaceful little business community on Peachtree road near Wieuca, has no peace except for a little while at a time.

It seems that Sunnyside was practically born in trouble. The place hadn't been named more than a month or two, when on that sad day back in 1925 one Mel Gore emptied a six-shooter at close range into the body of "Buddy" Cheek, a groceryman. (I'm not sure, but I believe that Gore was the first to die in Georgia by the chair and push-button method.)

Now, we don't mean to imply that Sunnyside is about to have another shootin' scrape, but just the same, peace does not reign supreme in Sunnyside today.

A Mr. Matthews, an up-and-coming groceryman, wants to build a bigger store to take care of his customers, and a Mr. Smith, don't want Mr. Matthews to add the new space to the old store.
Theres no place supreme in Sunny-

The law has told Mr. Matthews to sink no shovel in the ground and drive no nail in a board until there can be a hearing.

Both Mr. Smith and Mr. Matthews are good business men, and both love a dollar, but they love peace and dignity more. So, this will probably be the mildest "war" Sunnyside has ever had.

Back in the days following World War II Sunnyside had some real scraps. The worst one was between a young man named Monroe Dodd, the Gulf Oil Company, and

Informality In A North Side Polling Booth . . .

Election Workers, No Voters, Bothering Them, Ponder Changing Times

What D'ya Mean "Austerity" When Your Credit's Good For 10 Million?

(An Editorial)

A week ago we asked Marc Miller, our camera man, to see what he could get pictorially around the bond election polls. . . something for

to get the story into the picture, which seems to be what the public wants. We merely surmise that—the public must want something.

Only [illegible] voted in last week's bond election.

Zone Rule Debate Delaying Matthews On His Expansion

A temporary injunction has been invoked to delay building operations that will mean more than doubling in size by J. D. Matthews of his Matthews Supermarket on Peachtree road, at Sunnyside, the legal action having been started by Raymond T. Smith and Thelma W. Smith, of Kingsboro road, owners of the property the Northside Pharmacy occupies next door to the Matthews operation.

The temporary injunction was obtained just three days before the first shovel was to be sunk into the ground to get the Matthews improvement under way in a development to cost approximately $150,000.

Non-Conformity Charged

The point of zoning commission debate offered by Smith was that the new Matthews building, planned by the North Side's Ellis Williams, owner of the property, and Matthews, the leassee, does not conform with a current city zoning regulation which requires all build ings on Peachtree road to be set back 40 feet from the thoroughfare. Variances have been granted to other property owners, some of whose buildings are recent additions to this block.

Mr. Williams tried to get the city to condemn the existing property on Peachtree Road and cut off the front of the existing buildings in that stretch of commercial property to conform with the regulation. The city protested that this could not be done; that it has too many similar cases for which it would be setting precedent.

Matthews Was Trying

Matthews, the Williams' tenant

North Side ROTC Middies On Cruise In War Training

Six North Side boys, among 700 Navy ROTC midshipmen on their summer training cruise, left Corpus Christi, Texas, this week for Little Creek, Va., where they will complete their training in amphibious warfare.

They are, Robert A. Johnston, the son of Mr. and Mrs. J. B. Johnston, of Powers Ferry road; John A. Neal, son of Mr. and Mrs. J. N. Neal, of Garden lane; Robert C. Nygaard, the son of Mr. and Mrs. V. C. Nygard, of Powers Ferry road, and James W. Benson, son of Mr. and Mrs. M L. Benson, of Piedmont avenue. All of these boys are students at Georgia Tech.

North Side students at Vanderbilt University who are attending are John H. David, Jr., son of Mr. and Mrs. J. H. David, of Birchwood drive, and Robert L. Smith, the son of Mr. and Mrs. H. R. Smith, of

practically born in trouble. The place hadn't been named more than a month or two, when on that sad day back in 1925 one Mel Gore emptied a six-shooter at close range into the body of "Buddy" Cheek, a groceryman. (I'm not sure, but I believe that Gore was the first to die in Georgia by the chair and push-button method.)

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Both Mr. Smith and Mr. Matthews are good business men, and both love a dollar, but they love peace and dignity more. So, this will probably be the mildest "war" Sunnyside has ever had.

Back in the days following World War II Sunnyside had some real scraps. The worst one was between a young man named Monroe Dodd, the Gulf Oil Company, and the venerable Henry A. Alexander.

Mr. Dodd ran a Gulf station which was partly on Gulf Oil property, but the other part was on Mr. Alexander's land. The oil company cancelled Mr. Dodd's lease and forbade him to use the pumps. But, Mr. Dodd by the light of the moon and electricity, dug new pits for new pumps one night and when the sun had risen over Sunnyside, Mr. Dodd was selling gasoline and lots of it.

That isn't all. Mr. Dodd got several huge chairs and padlocked the part of Gulf's station which was on Mr. Alexander's land, and Gulf didn't bother to cut the chains, and Dodd kept on selling gasoline, but not Gulf No-Nox.

Finally, Gulf and Mr. Dodd settled the feud and Mr. Dodd moved to Daytona Beach. The last we heard of him he had a string of cottages on South Daytona Beach nearly a mile long and was worrying nights because he had more money than he knew what to do with.

Sunnyside has had two or three other scraps in the last five or six years, most of them involving the building plans of Ellis Williams, the singer. Mr. Williams not only has a fine tenor voice, but he plays any woodwinds instrument well enough to have a chair in Mr. Toscanini's or anybody else's orchestra. But Mr. W.'s utterances, as he sought to put through his Sunnyside building plans, with first one and then another trying to block him, were not musical, although they were often sharp and flat.

Though Mr. Williams owns the property on which Mr. Matthews wants to build the addition to the Matthews super-market, he is not directly involved in the litigation, since Mr. Matthews has the ground under lease. Indications are that this "war in Sunnyside" will not go to the deep hatred and would-be-violent stage. If Mr. Matthews loses, he'll find some way to sell his groceries and meats to all who want them. And if Mr. Smith loses, he won't actually lose anything. To begin with, the type of building Mr. Matthews proposes, probably won't mar Mr. Smith's adjoining property. But even if the addition should slightly mar the Smith property, that particular block of Sunnyside property is so valuable that a few thousand more or less in property damage would bring no financial pain to the Raymond T. Smiths.

Calhouns Coming Home

Mr. and Mrs. Lawson Calhoun, of Robin Hood road, Lawson, Jr., Clay and Eleanor, will return this wek from Linville, N. C., where they have been spending some time at their summer home.

Informality In A North Side Polling Booth . . . Election Workers, No Voters, Bothering Them, Ponder Changing Times

What D'ya Mean "Austerity" When Your Credit's Good For 10 Million?

(An Editorial)

A week ago we asked Marc Miller, our camera man, to see what he could get pictorially around the bond election polls. . . something for color, we explained. . . just to give folks a preview of what things will be like come September 8 when personalities will not be hiding behind screens made of the best in bond paper.

Just above is what he brought back.

"I didn't even have to set this one up for color," he commented. "There it was. . . just as natural. . . One gal in shorts voting. . . It was about 11 a. m. . . Only 15 voters had been in all morning. . . almost one voter to each poll worker so far. . The workers were just sitting there, looking sort of bored. . . the lone lady voter just popped in between home and the pool. . . Think the pools will still be open September 8? If not, what will we do to get them to vote?"

A promising young photographer is Marc Miller. He knows how to get the story into the picture, which seems to be what the public wants. We merely surmise that—the public must want something.

Only 11,000 voted in last week's bond election.

More than 100,000 didn't bother to vote, but they were registered.

It's easy to win an election like that. The whole thing could be swung by the city payroll vote and a few interested friends—just a few is all that can get in on $10,000,000 these days.

We don't know the name of the lady voter—or how she voted. We do know, though, that if she was writing down a bitter protest against a city being up to its ears in debt, she might as well have gone on to the pool without bothering to stop off at the polling booth.

We wonder if this is a preview of September 8. What candidates we have talked to are more worried about public apathy than they are about their opponents. If something could be done about that apathy, this $10,000,000 two-picture warning might be worth the price.

Roy Harris, Fred Hand's Manager, In Mortal Combat With R. McGill, Now Supposedly Hand's Press Agent

(From The Augusta Courier,) Editorial Dated July 19—

The exposure of the Southern Regional Council, beneficiary of a $240,000 grant from the Ford Foundation, as a haven for known Communist-fronters and potentially the Communist Party appartus in the South, has created consternation among the liberal element in Atlanta and the South.

The Ford Foundation and the Southern Regional Council have been under fire for seeking to destroy segregation in the South.

Recent Developments

1. A hasty meeting between Morris Abram and Ralph McGill which resulted in a telephone call to the Attorney General of Georgia threatening him with opposition if he investigated the Southern Regional Council.

2. A statement by Morris Abram to the Attorney General of Georgia in a telephone conversation threatening the Editor of the Augusta COURIER.

3. A bitter letter from the Editor of the ATLANTA CONSTITUTION to the Editor (Roy Harris) of The Augusta Courier denying that Ralph McGill had ever been a member of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare;

4. The policy of the Atlanta newspapers (Journal & Constitution) to suppress all news not favorable to the SRC; and

5. Additional detailed information from the House Committee Investigating Un-American Activities and the records of the Attorney General of the United States regarding Communist-front activities and Communist Party membership of some of the leading lights of the Ford Foundation-financed Southern Regional Council.

Abram McGill Confer

Continued on Page 5

Frying The Political Fat

By Lamar Q. Ball

You can write down on your political calendar that last Sunday—July 18, 1954—could very easily prove itself Demolition Day for Fred Hand, who up to that disastrous moment had been a serious contender gubernatorially in Georgia.

Nice boy, Fred! Lovely chap! Many fast friends! Too bad he let Fred Hand get out of the hands of Fred Hand.

In the adjoining column, for instance, we reprint from The Augusta Courier, Roy Harris's political newspaper, a sample of the sort of stuff two strutting nitwits off the political stage cooked up as the very thing that Fred Hand needed to be elected Governor of Georgia. They seemed to forget that it's Fred Hand who's running for Governor. These hams are always trying to muscle into somebody else's act. Why does Fred Hand let them do it? Why should he team up with a pair of editorial elephant dancers of the Ralph McGill and Roy Harris heavy-footed sort? That pair can wreck any stage.

Ladies and gentlemen, let me assure you that all this is part of the contract Fred Hand took over when he made the mistake of saying to the Coxpapers: "Yes, I'll be your candidate! At your terms!"

THERE IS NO QUARREL between Ralph McGill and Roy Harris. That business printed in the columns of The Augusta Courier (as we have reprinted it for you here) is just a touch of hokum.

You know how it is with professional wrestlers, don't you? That's the way it is with Roy Harris and Ralph McGill, who pride themselves on being the showmanship team of Georgia politics. For the last three or four weeks Roy Harris and Ralph McGill have been calling one another liars in letters and in print (Augusta Courier).

This reprint in the other column is the third or fourth of the week-by-week arguments they have been staging in the columns of the Roy Harris paper. The idea is to make you and me believe they hate each other. Actually they're as close to each other as McCarthy's Cohn is to McCarthy's Schine. It's real affection.

They genuinely believe that the two of them, in a political team are unbeatable.

THE IDEA IN ALL this war-to-the-death hooey is to get people out in the two-vote counties of Georgia believing that this Fred Hand must be an irresistible man, he must have plenty on the ball. Why, Fred he can get two implacable enemies on his side, working together, shoulder-to-shoulder for the election of Fred Hand! He must be the sort that can get all Georgia harmonized!

More than that, the purpose also is to spread the belief around Georgia that Coxpapers and the Atlanta City Gang are split wide open in this state race. You mustn't believe that either. McGill has merely gone Machiavelian in a great big way.

Continued on Page 5

The News *Notes———*

Doctors who have leased office space—some really large quarters among them—are watching closely the fight Sam Massell Jr., builder of the new **Cyrus Strickler Medical Building** on Peachtree street, just north of Peachtree circle, is having with long-established home owners along Peachtree circle in Ansley Park. The residents, who have been promised in the Bartholomew plan nothing will be done to upset Ansley Park's historic residential sanctity, are complaining about the parking lot for Cyrus Strickler medic's clients that Massell has designed to adjoin their back yards, under some of their back bedroom windows. The fight is really serious. Doctors with leases are wondering what they'll do for office space if Massell does not produce the parking he promised medical men to get them away from Medical Arts or the Doctors Building. Strickler building construction is moving ahead fast toward the fall opening promised—but if there's not the parking promised, what'll the doctors do?

How's business? Couldn't be better, reports **Frank Burson** and who general manages the movement of money at Peachtree Federal and Loan Association, on Peachtree road. "Assets increased 20 per cent during the first six months of this year," reports Mr. Burson.

"SHORTY" DOYAL this week sets up North Side campaign headquarters in the old Jacobs drug store in the heart of Buckhead. At least, he is giving some warmth to what has been a bleak spot in the heart of Buckhead these last several months. He is in the race for the Fulton County seat in the Georgia State Senate and his effort will be to block the re-election of Everett Millican. He wants all Northsiders to be dropping by to hear the full story of why he is determined as he expresses it, to get the government of Atlanta and Fulton County "back into the hands of the people, where it belongs." He has some interesting stories about local government to tell. "And I've got some strong support," he says.

Williams Street Changes Helping Traffic On X-Way

Yesterday Northsiders found another "kink" taken out of their rush hour traffic tie-ups, with the opening of a revised traffic flow at the Williams street entrance at the South end of the North expressway.

Opening of the lanes eased the usual tie-up of cars entering the expressway moving into and out of the North Side, saving some of those valuable early-morning and late - afternoon minutes which can always be put to use.

The finest tires you can buy are 100% nylon-cord Dayton Blue Ribbon Thorobreds from Gordy Tire Co., 14th St. at expressway.

next door to the Matthews operation.

The temporary injunction was obtained just three days before the first shovel was to be sunk into the ground to get the Matthews improvement under way in a development to cost approximately $150,000.

Non-Conformity Charged

The point of zoning commission debate offered by Smith was that the new Matthews building, planned by the North Side's Ellis Williams, owner of the property, and Matthews, the leassee, does not conform with a current city zoning regulation which requires all buildings on Peachtree road to be set back 40 feet from the thoroughfare. Variances have been granted to other property owners, some of whose buildings are recent additions to this block.

Mr. Williams tried to get the city to condemn the existing property on Peachtree Road and cut off the front of the existing buildings in that stretch of commercial property to conform with the regulation. The city protested that this could not be done; that it has too many similar cases for which it would be setting precedent.

Matthews Was Trying

Matthews, the Williams' tenant, proposes to construct his new building in a curve so as not to mar the front of the Smith property. The city has given Matthews a variance to the building law at that point of Peachtree road, an evidence that zoning and building authorities are convinced of the soundnes of Matthew's present plan for the expansion of his supermarket operations at Sunnyside.

Matthews has two North Side stores, one at Pershing Ponit and this one at Sunnyside. The Sunnyside store now measures 40-foot front with 125-foot depth. He plans now a 105-foot width and a complete modernizing inside. He plans to air-condition; to install a complete gracery department, something not permitted in his cramped space of today. He will have a self-service and personal service meat department, as always; a complete bakery department and what he describes as the largest and most modern fresh fruit and vegetable department in Atlanta.

His Bakery A New Ideal

His bakery, he says will be the first complete bakery to be included in a supermarket's scope of operations anywhere in Atlanta. He will have what he describes as homemade style pies and pasteries and a refrigerated department for dainties requiring low temperatures.

The new fruit and vegetable department will be unusual featuring rare items such as out-of-season products from distant markets.

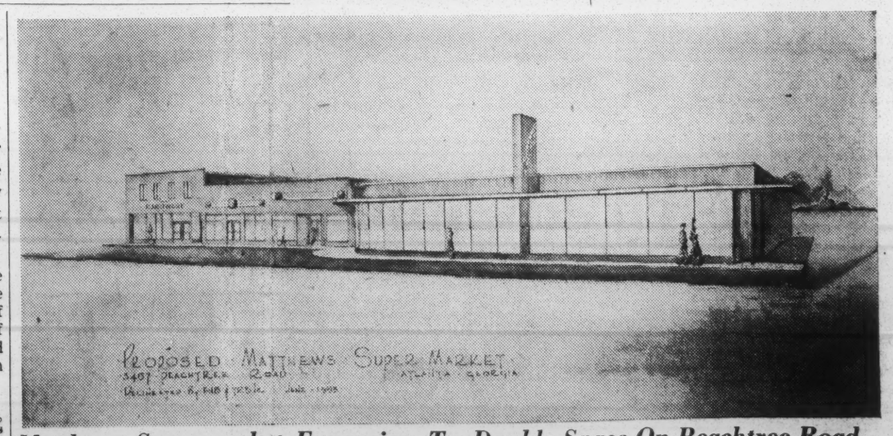
He will have a lounge where shoppers may rest before or during or after they make the rounds and there will be a corner to keep the children amused while parents shop.

Plenty Of Parking

Entrance to the building will be on the south side where there will be a vast parking lot and a canopy from the store to the lot. There wil be room for more than 200 cars.

The contract for the new building has been let to the Benning Construction Company. The work was to have begun last Monday but the injunction was served and the proceedings halted.

"I am not alarmed over the injunction," said Mr. Matthews. "Nothing will result but delay. Construction will begin as soon as possible."



Matthews Supermarket Expansion To Double Space On Peachtree Road

North Side ROTC Middies On Cruise In War Training

Six North Side boys, among 700 Navy ROTC midshipmen on their summer training cruise, left Corpus Christi, Texas, this week for Little Creek, Va., where they will complete their training in amphibious warfare.

They are, Robert A. Johnston, the son of Mr. and Mrs. J. B. Johnston, of Powers Ferry road; John A. Neal, son of Mr. and Mrs. J. N. Neal, of Garden lane; Robert C. Nygaard, the son of Mr. and Mrs. V. C. Nygard, of Powers Ferry road, and James W. Benson, son of Mr. and Mrs. M L. Benson, of Piedmont avenue. All of these boys are students at Georgia Tech.

North Side students at Vanderbilt University who are attending are John H. David, Jr., son of Mr. and Mrs. J. H. David, of Birchwood drive, and Robert L. Smith, the son of Mr. and Mrs. H. R. Smith, of Adina drive.

The boys are scheduled to return to their North Side homes sometime around August 8.

Airborne Officer From Sandy Springs Weds Decatur Girl

Very special guests at the George Coleman home on Mt. Vernon highway during the week-end were the Coleman's son, Lt. George E. Coleman, Jr., of Fort Benning, and his bride, the former Barbara Lee Buice of Decatur.

Their marriage was an event of July 10, culminating a romance which began when the two were students at North Georgia College, in Dahlonega from which they graduated, she in home economics, and he in business administration. He is a graduate of North Fulton High school.

They were married in the chapel of the First Baptist Church of Decatur, with many Northsiders in attendance.

The newlyweds have an apartment in the Pine Terrace Apartments, Columbus, where Lt. Coleman has been assigned to the 82nd Airborne Division, in the communi cations school at Ft. Benning.

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JUL 27 1954

Candidates Assail Thompson

By International News Service

Georgia's gubernatorial hopefuls moved busily through new speaking engagements today with many of the verbal punches aimed in the direction of M. E. Thompson.

The Thompson strategy, on the other hand, appears to be that of "turning the other cheek," at least for now.

A Decatur radio station, WEAS, meanwhile, pin-pointed a side issue in the whirling campaign by asking House Speaker Fred Hand why his campaign manager, Roy Harris, is feuding with the Atlanta newspapers. The Journal and Constitution have endorsed Hand for the governorship.

Harris, Augusta attorney, has lambasted the newspapers for alleged refusal to publish criticism of the Southern Regional Council. Hand told WEAS news director Bob Siegrist he knows nothing about the regional council, an economic-social study group operating in Atlanta.

In a speech prepared for delivery at Claxton, Hand called for a "businessman's administration" of state affairs.

Hand took two long pokes yesterday at two opponents, Thompson and Marvin Griffin, charging one could not be trusted and the other was jealous.

Meanwhile the candidates continued to vie with each other in obtaining endorsements. Thompson headquarters announce the support of Ivan Allen, Jr., Atlanta business and civic leader. Three state officials endorsed Griffin. They are Lawton Griffin, Eastman; Vaughn Rice, Hiawassee; and Senator J. C. Lord of Harrison.

Charlie Gowen, speaking in Lyons, attacked insurance companies saying they should live up to policy agreements. He added that hospital and hospitalization insurance rates can be reduced in Georgia. Gowen took a jab at the merit system saying "it can be improved".

In the Fourth District Congressional race, State Senator Robert H. Jordan withdrew from the race leaving three candidates vying for the seat of the late A. Sidney Camp.

Albert Wallace of Newnan was named as Frank Adamson's campaign manager. Adamson was the only candidate who qualified before Camp's death.

In the comptroller general race, Joe Miles charged that incumbent Zack Cravey is making a false charge of rate cutting to lure votes. Miles said Cravey's order to cut fire insurance rates is scheduled to become effective September 1, but he predicted that Cravey will cancel the order if he is renominated.

One of the lieutenant governor aspirants, Ernest Vandiver, lashed out at the supreme court school segregation decision saying, "they should have let us work out our own problems." He pledged to keep Georgia's schools segregated.

In the current gubernatorial talkathon, Gowen speaks at Swainsboro, Dublin, and Macon today. Griffin will talk in Homer and Royston. Linder will address a rally in Cuthbert. Thompson will be in Covington and Hand will speak before Savannah Kiwanians.

C
O
P
Y

Columbia Theological Seminary
Office of the President
Decatur, Georgia

Chicago, Ill.
August 14, 1954

Mr. Stephens Mitchell
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Owing to the fact that your letter of August 4 was forwarded to me here, I have been considerably delayed in replying.

As one of those who issued the call for the meeting at which the Southern Regional Council was organized in 1943, I wish to declare categorically that this organization was not formed as successor to the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, with which I have never had any relationship whatever. The Southern Regional Council came into existence as a result of a belief shared by many individual Southerners- some of these being persons of distinguished leadership - that such a Council could make a real contribution to the life and progress of our Southern States in our time. It is a thoroughly patriotic organization, loyal to the ideals and the Constitution of the United States of America.

Sincerely yours,

/s/

J. McDowell Richards

October 28, 1954

Governor Herman E. Talmadge
State Capitol
Atlanta, Georgia

My dear Governor Talmadge:

Friends have informed me that in your broadcast over WAGA-TV Tuesday evening, October 26, you made reference to the Southern Regional Council as a Communist organization.

Such a statement is without any basis in fact. The Southern Regional Council has never been cited by any official body as a Communist front or identified in any way with the Communist movement.

We request an early retraction by you of your unfair and untrue accusation against the Southern Regional Council.

Respectfully,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

cc: Mr. Marion A. Wright
Mr. Leonard Haas
Mr. Rufus E. Clement
Mr. Morris Abram

Copy to: Station Manager
Waga-TV
1018 West Peachtree, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

CHARLESTON NEWS & COURIER

October 4, 1954

One-Way 'Experts'

10-4

To The News and Courier:

"The South and the Race Problem, If Any" is the subject of a panel of "experts" to be discussed at the annual convention of the National Conference of Editorial Writers at Asheville, N.C., Oct. 6-9, with 200 editors attending from the U.S. and Canada. Such a discussion to be fair and factual should present unbiased viewpoints from all sides of the question.

But this vital subject, the "Race Problem," is scheduled for discussion by the following three speakers: (1) Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, president of Morehouse College (Negro), a member, sponsor or official of several organizations cited by the House Un-American Activities Committee and the U. S. Attorney General as Communist or Communist - front, as per his record published in the Augusta (Ga.) Courier, Aug. 16; (2) George S. Mitchell, executive director of the Southern Regional Council of Atlanta, formerly a member of the Board of Representatives of the Communist - front Southern Conference for Human Welfare (see page 139 of House Un-American Activites Committee report of July 21, 1947) and (3) Harry S. Ashmore, editor of The Arkansas Gazette.

Mays is a member of the board of directors of the Southern Regional Council, 38 of whose directors and officers are exposed by The Augusta Courier as having been associated with Communist-front groups or activities. The official monthly publication of the Southern Regional Council is called New South. Note that in August 1938 there was launched "the New South, an organ of the (Communist) party which was edited by Paul Crouch, Benjamin Davis, James W. Ford, Ted Wellman, and Henry Winston (notorious Negro Communist). It propagandized for certain issues which in time were taken over by the Southern Conference for Human Welfare." (See House Un-Amer. Acts. Com. report, July 21, 1947, page 137.)

Is this a mere coincidence?

Harry Ashmore is author of "The Negro and the Schools," a publication which fails to mention certain facts essential to complete discussion of this subject. It is evident that this group of 200 editors most probably will be given biased misinformation on the "Race Problem" in the South — unless some reliable speaker is secured to present the other side of this question.

STANLEY F. MORSE

Charleston.

June 30, 1954

The Honorable Eugene Cook
Attorney General
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Cook:

We were somewhat concerned by a news broadcast on Monday to the effect that you might be considering an investigation of the Southern Regional Council upon some theory of its alleged subversive nature.

We are gratified to observe in today's Constitution that you had been incorrectly quoted and did not contemplate such an investigation any more than you contemplated it against the American Legion or the Baptist Church.

We do not wish to seem to be unduly proud of our personnel. However, it is our conviction that the men and women who compose the organization, its Board of Directors, and its staff, will compare favorably with any group in the South. Each of them has a reputation which may be damaged by carelessly initiated investigations or rumors of investigations. It is encouraging to note that you are sensitive to the value of a good name and will not impair that value unless there is substantial reason for you to do so.

Your disclaimer of any present purpose to take action which would be detrimental to many of the South's foremost citizens, in our opinion, reflects a proper conception of the duties of your position.

Yours very truly,

M. A. Wright
President

MAW/eab

Probe of Group Denied by Cook

Atty. Gen. Eugene Cook Tuesday branded broadcast reports he is investigating the Southern Regional Council as false.

The attorney general said he would investigate the activities of any organization, including even the American Legion and Baptist Church, if evidence warranted it. He said he has no evidence concerning the Southern Regional Council.

Holiday at Camp

WAS

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED by the Democratic Party of the State of Georgia in convention duly assembled in the City of Macon on this September 30, 1954, as follows:

First: We condemn the Supreme Court of the United States for the decision which it rendered against the separate public schools. We denounce said decision as a gross and flagrant abuse and perversion of power and authority, and we denounce the personnel of said Court for the rendition of this political opinion.

Second: We condemn President Eisenhower for his appointment to said Court of Chief Justice Warren, for his having caused said Brownell, as Attorney General of the United States, to urge the Court to make said decision, and for having set in motion the forces which led thereto.

Third: Said Southern Regional Council is condemned for its activity in support of said decision. In the judgment of this Convention the workings of said Southern Regional Council are a menace to the institutions of this State, and the people of Georgia, by the force of their opinions, should drive this organization from our midst.

Fourth: We deplore the conduct of those of the present leadership of the Georgia Education Association who have caused the great teaching profession of this State to be credited in the National press with acts and opinions contrary to the actual views of Georgia teachers, and out of harmony with the ideals of Georgians.

Fifth: We call upon our Senators and Representatives in the Congress of the United States to introduce in that body appropriate Amendments to the Federal Judiciary Act, so that the Federal Courts, including the Supreme Court of the United States, may be

stripped of all power and authority to decide cases against the public schools of Georgia or any other State of the Nation.

Sixth: It is the sense of the members of this Convention that said usurped decision of the Federal Supreme Court should not be accepted in this State, but that it should be resisted.

Seventh: We applaud the position of our distinguished leader, Governor Nominate Marvin Griffin, with reference to said decision, as stated by him in the recent campaign before the people, in that he pledges that at all hazards separate schools will be maintained in Georgia and the Georgia way of life preserved. We in turn pledge him our support in this regard and stand ready to do whatever is necessary to this end.

Eighth: It shall be the duty of the nominees of this Convention said decision to the contrary notwithstanding, to uphold, maintain and defend the provisions of the Constitution of this State that there shall be separate schools for the white and colored races. Upon election to their respective offices, it shall be their duty to maintain this law with all the resources of the State and every power at their disposal, which duty each nominee, by acceptance of his nomination, pledged himself to perform.

November 23, 1954

From THE GREENVILLE NEWS, Greenville, South Carolina
Issue of Wednesday, November 10, 1954

NAACP SLOGAN RED-INSPIRED

Editor, The News:

That the principal speaker at the NAACP testimonial dinner to former Judge Waties Waring in Charleston should be the head of the Southern Regional Council of Atlanta is very appropriate. While the Southern Regional Council has not yet been cited as a Communist-front by federal authorities, it has been revealed recently by the Augusta (Ga.) Courier that "at least 38 officials, members of the executive staff or directors of the SRC have had known records of association with Communist or Communist-front groups." The Southern Regional Council is conducting a South-wide campaign against segregation.

The official monthly publication of the Southern Regional Council is called New South. It may be significant that New South was started in 1938 by a group of Communist leaders including the notorious Negro Communist Henry Winston (see House Un-American Activities Committee Report of July 21, 1947, page 137).

Just as thousands of White "intellectuals" have been duped by Marxian propaganda, so many intelligent Negroes have fallen for the presumably Red-inspired NAACP slogan, "Free by 1963." This means that Negroes are being told that by 1963 they can be so amalgamated with White Americans that there will be no racial distinction in the U.S.

Let sensible Negroes consider that their progress in the future, as in the past, will depend on their cooperation with that White civilization which has made America the most powerful and prosperous nation in the world.

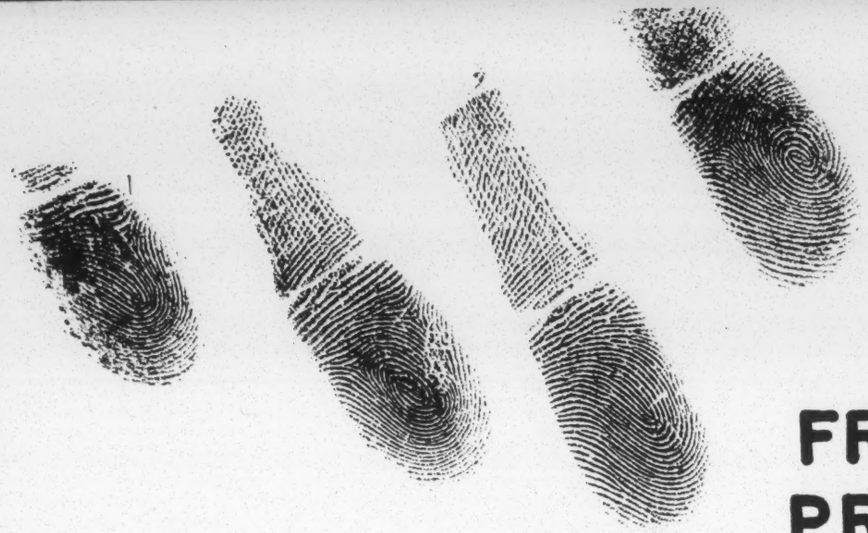
Stanley F. Morse
Charleston

Commendation File

From a Statement of Guiding Principles
issued by the National Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church
as printed in the Florida Edition of Forth, official organ of
the Diocese of Florida: February 1955 issue, pp. 26 & 28:

"Parish groups can promote study conferences to discuss facts and plans of local school districts; may take the lead in encouraging representation of all races on school boards; and may cooperate with other agencies concerned with the schools, such as the P.T.A., League of Women Voters, Councils of Churches and of Church Women, the Southern Regional Council, and interfaith groups."

"Diocesan and parish grups can promote circulation and distribution through tract racks and otherwise of material spublished by the Southern Regional Council, the Department of Racial and Cultural Relations of the National Council of the Churches of Christ, the United Church Women, and the National Council of this Church."



FROM THEIR OWN PROPAGANDA

The SHOCKING TRUTH!

about NORTHERN VIRGINIA'S PARENT-TEACHER GROUPS

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

AN INTERNATIONAL DAILY NEWSPAPER

Published by The Christian Science Publishing Society, One, Norway St., Boston 15, Mass.

CENTRAL NEWS BUREAU
Telephone: RAndolph 6-7641

333 North Michigan Avenue
CHICAGO 1, ILLINOIS

May 16, 1955

Confidential

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Associate Director
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Boston is inquiring as to what information we can supply them in answer to the charges made in the enclosed letter to our editor.

I am sending you the full letter so you will know exactly what the charges are and how they were presented. I must ask, of course, that you keep the contents confidential to avoid further exchanges between the writer and our editor.

You and Mr. Mitchell will know best, I am sure, how we should treat this correspondence and what information should be supplied to us for proper refutation.

Best personal regards,

Max K. Gilstrap

Max K. Gilstrap
Chief, Central News Bureau

MKG:KLM
Enc.

COPY

Confidential

April 24, 1955

Mr. Erwin D. Canham
Editor,
The Christian Science Monitor
Boston 15, Massachusetts

Dear Mr. Canham:

Thank you very much for your letter of April 7th regarding the Southern Regional Council.

I am taking the time that should be used for other matters to reply to your letter in the hope that the following information will appear in the Monitor in the cause of truth and justice.

Mr. R. V. Harris, editor of the Augusta Courier, Augusta, Georgia, and member of the firm of attorneys, Harris, Chance & McCracken, has made an exhaustive and fully documented study of the Southern Regional Council. The results of this study were reported in the Courier, editions of June 28, and August 9, 16, 23 and 30, 1954.

In these editions the following facts were published:

(1) The Southern Regional Council is the de facto successor of the Southern Conference of Human Welfare and has been formed directly, if not entirely from the membership of the latter organization.

(2) The Southern Conference of Human Welfare has been cited by the House Committee on Un-American Activities as a Communist-front organization.

(3) All except one of the organizers of the Southern Regional Council have been exposed as having records of affiliation with communist-front groups and activities.

(4) Two top members of the Southern Regional Council's board of directors have been branded as known communists in testimony before congressional committees by former associates of the Party.

(5) Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council, was a top official of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare and his name has been linked to other 'red' fronts, according to records and reports of the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

COPY

(6) The Southern Regional Conference, while claiming to be a tax-exempt, charitable activity, is nothing more than a political action group which has consistently followed the Communist Party line.

In view of the preceding, I can see no justification for the prominent article on page 3 of the March 12 edition of the Monitor, which quotes, in complimentary fashion, the statements of the Southern Regional Council.

Personally, there is no doubt in my mind regarding your prescience of the background of the Southern Regional Council. You will discover, however, that the time is rapidly approaching when you will find it difficult to pull the wool over the eyes of your readers regarding the organizations which constitute the Un-American movement in the United States.

Your reference to the Southern Regional Council as a "reputable organization" is questionable in the highest degree.

Very truly yours,

(Signed) J. E. Godkin

James Easton Godkin
13940 La Paloma
Los Altos, California

J
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G
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cc - The Christian Science
Board of Directors
107 Falmouth St., Boston

File appropriately under Criticisms

May 17, 1955

Christian Science Monitor

Mr. Max K. Gilstrap
Chief, Central News Bureau
333 North Michigan Avenue
Chicago 1, Illinois

Dear Max:

Thanks for your letter of May 16 and the enclosure. We will, of course, keep the matter entirely confidential.

Unfounded charges of the sort Mr. Godkin makes against the Southern Regional Council are a recurring nuisance. The source, as Godkin indicates, is an inflammatory political paper published by Roy V. Harris, whom you may remember as an intemperate and now largely discredited politician of Augusta, Georgia. His attacks on the SRC have been ignored by the reputable newspapers and other media.

In refuting such allegations, it is always difficult to know how much detail to supply. I hope this letter and the attached material aren't too burdensomely complete for your purposes. On the other hand, if more elaboration would be helpful, I will be glad to supply it.

As to the numbered charges that Godkin lists:

(1) The SRC is not the successor -- de facto, or otherwise -- of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. The SCHW was organized in 1938 and survived until 1949; the SRC was organized in 1944. As one might expect from this timing, and from their differing approaches to the problems of the South, the two organizations were widely regarded as rival agencies. That some members of the SRC's staff and board at one time participated in the Southern Conference is true. At its inception, the Conference attracted the cream of the South's liberal leadership; it was after these persons had become disillusioned and withdrew from the Conference that it acquired its dubious reputation. The attached copy of an editorial from the Atlanta Constitution helps clarify this history; the editorial was written by Ralph McGill, who was one of the incorporators of the SRC and is a continuing supporter of its work. Also attached are copies of letters from three of the founders of the SRC, written at a time when the same baseless charges were being clandestinely used against Morris Abram, an SRC board member who was then seeking office.

(2) In view of the facts cited above, this is irrelevant; however, it might be noted in passing that the evidence of communist penetration of the Southern Conference, even its latter stages, was not sufficient to warrant its inclusion on the U.S. Attorney General's list of subversive organizations.

(3) The organizers of the Southern Regional Council were Southerners of considerable distinction whose patriotism has never been seriously questioned. A mere listing of their names and identifications should be sufficient to expose this charge for what it is. The organizing meeting of the SRC was held in response to a call issued by the following persons:

C.H. Gillman, Georgia Director, C.I.O.
George L. Googe, Southern Director, A.F.L.
M. Ashby Jones, Baptist minister
Ryland Knight, Baptist minister
Rabbi David Marx, The Temple, Atlanta
Bishop Arthur J. Moore, The Methodist Church
Ralph McGill, editor, the Atlanta Constitution
Stuart R. Oglesby, Presbyterian minister
Rt. Rev. Gerald P. O'Hara, Catholic Bishop of Savannah-Atlanta
Dean S. Paden, President, King Hardware Company
J. McDowell Richards, President, Columbia Theological Seminary
Bishop John Moore Walker, The Protestant Episcopal Church
Goodrich C. White, president, Emory University

Following the deliberations of this group and a subsequent conference with Negro leaders, the SRC was chartered, the incorporators being Bishop Arthur J. Moore, Ralph McGill, President Rufus E. Clement of Atlanta University, President Charles S. Johnson of Fisk University, and the late Dr. Howard W. Odum, professor of sociology at the University of North Carolina. Dr. Odum served as the first president of the organization, 1944-1946.

(4) Godkin does not name these "two top members," but Roy Harris's paper provides the basis for this allegation. Two persons who were once members of SRC's board were recently accused of communist sympathies by Paul Crouch in testimony before a Senate Internal Security Committee subcommittee. We have no way of evaluating this testimony against two out of the more than 100 former members of the SRC board. However, no such charges were against these persons during their terms of service on our board -- 1945-1949. Nor by any stretch of the imagination could they be described as "top members"; neither held office or played any significant part in the formulation of SRC policy. (Ironically, one of them resigned from the board because he felt that SRC's position on segregation was not unequivocal enough.)

(5) Dr. Mitchell did hold membership for several years on the board of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, resigning when he found himself in disagreement with its policies. Harris's charges of other "red front" associations are based on a series of falsehoods and distortions which would require a great deal of space to review and refute. The high esteem in which Dr. Mitchell is held by all who know him and his work is typified by the award which he received in 1953 from the Catholic Committee of the South for his "significant contribution to the welfare of the South."

(6) The Southern Regional Council has been scrupulously non-political in all of its activities and has never been specifically charged otherwise. It operates under an official grant of tax-exemption from the United States Treasury Department. Anyone who will take the trouble to examine the Council's publications, statements, and activities will see that, from the beginning, it has stood for the exact opposite of communism.

It is a body of responsible Southerners of both races working for orderly, constructive progress in race relations. Nothing could damage the cause of international communism more than the success of this effort.

Over the years, the Southern Regional Council has received both financial and moral support from many of the major religious denominations in the South, including Methodist, Protestant Episcopal, Presbyterian, Congregational, Society of Friends, Catholic and Jewish groups. Its work has had the endorsement of many prominent persons; the following characterizations of the Council by three widely known Southern editors -- all of them intimately acquainted with its activities -- are representative:

> "An able and worthwile organization working in the field of racial relations. It has no radical tinge, but is, neyertheless, an aggressively energetic coordinating agency."
> Ralph McGill in the Atlanta Constitution

> "The sanest and best-informed Southwide organization dealing with race relations."
> Virginus Dabney in the Saturday Evening Post

> "The SRC is unique in a number of heartening directions. It is bi-racial, non-denominational and non-political. It does not engage in tom-tom beating, parades, or lengthy pronunciamentos slanted for non-Southern consumption and approval. But it is not an isolationist effort to separate the South's problems from the nation's -- or from the nation's concern."
> Hodding Carter in Collier's Magazine

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:rmf

enclosures:
- Current lists of SRC Board members
- Ltrs. - Odum, Richards, McNamara
- Editorial from the Atlanta Constitution

Readers Tell Views On Timely Topics

Some Background On The NAACP

Jackson Daily News: The origian of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) is not so well known as it should be to both negroes and whites. Therefore, as a danger signal to be heeded not only by all true Southerners but by all true Americans, I quote the following from Research Bulletin No. 1 (3) 18)54) of the Grass Roots League, Inc., Box 551, Charleston S. C., entitled "Negroes Menaced by Red Plot":

"Evidence that unsuspecting negroes are being used as tools by Communist and Socialist negro (and white) leaders may be found in the following statement of FACTS carefully checked and documented:

"The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) was organized in 1910 to aid negro progress. But in 1925 "the official report of the Communist Party's 4th national convention stated that the party had penetrated the NAACP". . .During the 7 years, 1923-1930, the NAACP received some $43,000 from the radical Garland Fund among whose directors were Communists Wm. Z. Foster, Eliz. Gurley Flynn and others.

"Today the chairman of the NAACP Board of Directors is Dr. Channing H. Tobias, listed at least 17 times as having been a member, or officer, or affiliate of Communist or Communist-front organizations. DR. W. E. B. DuBois, Communist-front negro leader, one of the NACCP founders, was its director of Research until about 1949. DuBois is listed at least 14 times by the House Un-American Activities Committee and the U. S. Attorney General as having been a member or officer or affiliate front organizations. . .Among other NAACP officers cited by the House Un-American Activities Committee's report of July 21, 1947, are: Maximillion Martin, secretary, and Gloster Current. Official records show that the NAACP has been affiliated with Communist and left-wing movements. The NAACP was a member of "American Youth for a Free World," cited by the Federal Government as having been "a Communist clearing house," and is listed as "heavily infiltrated and effectively dominated by the Communist Party." Gloster Current, representing the NAACP was one of fifty delegates in 1945 when the "world Federation of Democratic Youth" (cited in 1948 as "a part of the Communist international solar system" in House Un-American Activities, Document 137) was founded in London. The president of the NAACP is a white man, Arthur B. Spingarn of New York (also having Communist Listings). "The Communist negro drive was started in the United States in 1920. How to organize the negroes for the revolution in the United States was discussed in the official report Communist International held in Moscow in 1928, and Comrade Jones, USA, chairman of the negro delegation from the United States, stated: "The central slogan around which we can rally the negro masses is the slogan of social equality.

"The pro-negro propaganda drive

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"Today the chairman of the NAACP Board of Directors is Dr. Channing H. Tobias, listed at least 17 times as having been a member, or officer, or affiliate of Communist or Communist-front organizations. DR. W. E. B. DuBois, Communist-front negro leader, one of the NACCP founders, was its director of Research until about 1949. DuBois is listed at least 14 times by the House Un-American Activities Committee and the U. S. Attorney General as having been a member or officer or affiliate front organizations. . .Among other NAACP officers cited by the House Un-American Activities Committee's report of July 21, 1947, are: Maximillion Martin, secretary, and Gloster Current. Official records show that the NAACP has been affiliated with Communist and left-wing movements. The NAACP was a member of "American Youth for a Free World," cited by the Federal Government as having been "a Communist clearing house," and is listed as "heavily infiltrated and effectively dominated by the Communist Party." Gloster Current, representing the NAACP was one of fifty delegates in 1945 when the "world Federation of Democratic Youth" (cited in 1948 as "a part of the Communist international solar system" in House Un-American Activities, Document 137) was founded in London. The president of the NAACP is a white man, Arthur B. Spingarn of New York (also having Communist Listings). "The Communist negro drive was started in the United States in 1920. How to organize the negroes for the revolution in the United States was discussed in the official report Communist International held in Moscow in 1928, and Comrade Jones, USA, chairman of the negro delegation from the United States, stated: "The central slogan around which we can rally the negro masses is the slogan of social equality.

"The pro-negro propaganda drive spearheaded by the NAACP is aided by bi-racial organizations whose activities closely parallel those of the NAACP. The National Urban League, with branches in 60 cities and headquarters in New York, is demanding residential non-segregation. (A branch of the National Urban League — the Detroit Urban League — was 'reported to be a subversive organization' by the Adjutant General's office, according to a news story in the New York Times of July 28, 1954. other bi-racial organizations listed are: The Southern Regional Council of Atlanta, whose Communist affiliations are "disclosed in a series of articles in the Agusta (Ga.) Courier beginning August 1954;" The Southern Conference for Human Welfare, "linked to red fronts;" The Southern Conference Educational Fund, "headed by the former secretary of the Communist-front Southern Conference for Human Welfare." The House Un-American Activities Committee lists as subversive 87 Communist and Socialist organizations which have been active in the pro-negro campaign." — Res. Bulletin No. 2 — Grass Roots League, 10-1-54.

Deane Settoon Mernagh
New Orleans, La.

Harpers Mag. May 1955

"The Kept Witness" Richard H. Rovere

"another is Paul Crouch, generally regarded as the professional witness with the most experience and the highest earnings, who was once court-martialed for offenses against the Military Code of Justice, sentenced to forty years of hard labor on Alcatraz Island, and dishonorably discharged from the Army."

Defense File

T-[illegible] file

[illegible]

GEORGIA COMMITTEE ON INTERRACIAL COOPERATION
63 AUBURN AVENUE

For the Attorney General to label the Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation a "front" organization is not only ridiculous, but it is a libel on those Georgia leaders he labels as "dupes" and on Georgia officials as well.

True, the Georgia Committee is composed of "some of Georgia's most distinguished clergymen and most prominent civic and social leaders." And it is these same leaders who make up the board of directors and the executive committee of the group. It is these same leaders who plan and direct the policy and program of the Georgia Committee and are sincerely trying to help solve a difficult Southern problem.

The Georgia Committee has a history dating back to 1919. If, as the Attorney General claims, an investigation is being made of the Georgia Committee, why should it come at this time? The answer is obvious when one stops to consider the fact that there are some irresponsible people today who claim the Supreme Court of the United States is under the influence of Communists. Who could better claim the label of subversive -- those who seek to uphold the supreme law of the land or those who seek to circumvent it? The Attorney General is seeking to delay the solution and impugning the motives of those who seek to help work out a solution.

On a monument to the British soldiers who died on King's Mountain, S. C., is this inscription, "They came 3000 miles to keep the past on the throne." There are still those who fight to keep the past on the throne.

The Georgia Committee will welcome any investigation by <u>responsible</u> people. It has nothing to hide.

Guy H. Wells
Executive Director

The NAACP is being aided and abetted in its agitation by three "front" organizations on the Southern scene -- the Southern Conference Education Fund; the Southern Regional Council; and the SRC's affiliate, the Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation. The Southern Conference Education Fund and the Southern Regional Council are both dominated by individuals who, like the officials of the NAACP, have long records of affinity for and participation in Communist, Communist-front, fellow-traveling, left-wing and subversive organizations and activities. Sworn testimony taken by both House and Senate Committees has placed known Communists in both organizations and the Southern Conference Fund may soon be designated a subversive organization.

The Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation is a perfect example of an organization formed for the purpose of exploiting the names, reputations and services of well-intentioned do-gooders. It is composed of some of Georgia' most distinguished clergymen and most prominent civic and social leaders who have been duped into doing the bidding of the more sinister elements manipulating the Southern Regional Council.

Investigations are currently being made of all three organizations -- the results of which will greatly embarrass those good citizens who unwittingly have become involved in their activities. I urge all such persons to take immediate steps to disassociate themselves from these groups and to disavow their programs and their leaders before they, their friends and their congregations are exposed to the anguish and embarrassment which exposure of these groups will necessarily mean.

Excerpts from Attorney General Cook's
Speech before the Georgia Peace
Officers Association, October 19, 1955

October 27, 1955

Mr. Jeffrey Roche
New York Journal American
220 South Street
New York 15, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Roche:

Your letter addressed to Miss Katherine Stoney and received October 24 has come to my attention.

Enclosed are copies of the news releases announcing the Fund for the Republic's grants to the Southern Regional Council, a statement by our president on the Supreme Court's ruling of last May 31st, a list of the Council's board members, and a general promotion leaflet.

If you need further specific information, let me know and I will be glad to supply it.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director
for Information

encs.

Journal NEW YORK American
AN AMERICAN PAPER FOR THE AMERICAN PEOPLE
Daily and Sunday
220 South St., New York 15, N.Y.
Telephone COrtlandt 7-1212

OCT 24 1955

October 18, 1955

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
432 Auburn Avenue, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Attn: Miss Katherine Stoney

Dear Miss Stoney:

I am writing you as I am interested in the program being conducted by your organization for the Fund of the Republic.

I would appreciate it if you would send me at your earliest convenience information about this program. I would like to know more about the general scope of the program; how it is being conducted and names of personnel in charge.

If there have been any press releases on this program, I would like copies of those.

Thank you very much for your prompt attention to this request.

Sincerely yours,

Jeffrey Roche

Jeffrey Roche

THE ATTACK ON

THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

and

THE GEORGIA COMMITTEE ON INTERRACIAL COOPERATION

A Brief Statement on the
History and Aims of
The Southern Regional Council
October, 1955

THE ATTACK ON FREE OPINION

Last March the Southern Regional Council declared:

"There is presently a concerted attempt by official leadership (in the deep South) to stamp out independent thought and stifle all dissent with respect to school segregation...."

In recent weeks, the attempt to intimidate and silence those who believe in an enlightened, law-abiding approach to race relations has gone into high gear. Georgia's Attorney General Eugene Cook took up the attack in a diatribe aimed mainly at the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. In the course of his speech, Mr. Cook also attacked the Southern Regional Council and the Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation.

The object of this side attack on two constructive Southern organizations was to frighten off the thousands of religious, civic, labor, and business leaders who have joined together to work positively at the South's most urgent problem. It is revealing that, although the work of these two organizations goes back 35 years, Mr. Cook has only now chosen to strike at them.

Every intelligent person will recognize this cynical attack for what it is. Mr. Cook hints darkly at "subversion," "sinister manipulation," and"leftwing associations." There is on the statute books of Georgia a strong law providing severe punishment for anyone guilty of subversive conduct or association. As the chief legal officer of the state, Mr. Cook should be expected to act through the process of law, safeguarding the rights and reputations of good citizens. But Mr. Cook knows his charges are false. Neither the Southern Regional

Council nor the Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation has ever been listed or accused of disloyalty by the U. S. Attorney General or any other official body. So Mr. Cook must resort to smear and innuendo in the public forum.

This, in brief form, is the story of the Southern Regional Council. Many Southerners may disagree with the Council's point of view. But no fair-minded person, in full possession of the facts will doubt that it is an honest and patriotic organization, responsible in both its methods and its aims.

HOW THE SRC BEGAN

The Southern Regional Council and its predecessor, the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, have a history of 35 years of constructive activity. The Commission was founded in 1919 by a group of the South's leading church men and women. Among them were Dr. M. Ashby Jones, prominent Baptist minister, Mr. John J. Eagan, businessman and philanthropist, Dr. Plato Durham, dean of the Emory University Theology School, and Dr. Will W. Alexander, the Commission's director. Its work in behalf of sound race relations was acclaimed by the South's leading newspapers, religious leaders, and by many public officials. It provided a meeting ground where the best people of both races could work together to dispel prejudice, tensions, and violence. It made possible, through persuasion and education, much of the interracial progress of which Southerners today can be justly proud.

Early in the 1940s, leaders in the Southern interracial movement joined together to revitalize their efforts. As a result, the Commission on Interracial Cooperation merged in 1944 with the newly formed Southern Regional Council. The organizing meeting of the Council was held in response to a "call" issued by some of the South's finest leader-

ship, including:

C. H. Gillman, Georgia Director, C.I.O.
George L. Googe, Southern Director, A.F.L.
M. Ashby Jones, Baptist minister
Ryland Knight, Baptist minister
Rabbi David Marx, The Temple, Atlanta
Bishop Arthur J. Moore, The Methodist Church
Ralph McGill, editor, The Atlanta Constitution
Stuart R. Oglesby, Presbyterian minister
Most Rev. Gerald P. O'Hara, Bishop of Savannah-Atlanta
Dean S. Paden, President, King Hardware Company
J. McDowell Richards, President, Columbia Theological Seminary
Bishop John Moore Walker, The Protestant Episcopal Church
Goodrich C. White, President, Emory University

Following the deliberations of this group and a subsequent conference with Southern Negro leaders, the SRC was chartered early in 1944. The incorporators were Bishop Arthur J. Moore, Ralph McGill, Dr. Rufus E. Clement, president of Atlanta University, Dr. Charles S. Johnson, president of Fisk University, and Dr. Howard W. Odum, professor of sociology at the University of North Carolina.

Since this auspicious beginning, the Council's membership has included distinguished Southerners, white and Negro, in all walks of life. Dr. Odum was the first president of the organization. He was succeeded by Paul D. Williams, of Richmond, Va., a prominent Catholic layman and co-founder of the Catholic Committee of the South. Mr. Williams served as president for six years -- from 1945 until 1951. He was succeeded by Mr. Marion A. Wright, widely known as a South Carolina attorney active in civic and educational affairs, now living in Linville Falls, N. C.

The Council's present and past board members number well over 150. The quality of its leadership may be measured by the list of members of the Executive Committee over the past 12 years, appearing on page 9.

HOW SRC WORKS

The Southern Regional Council consists of a board of some 80 Southerners representing the major religious faiths, both races, and the 13 states of the region. The members listed on page 10, are respected residents of their states and their communities. These people are the Southern Regional Council. They make the policies and review all activities at an annual meeting. They elect an Executive Committee which meets at least every three months to give closer direction to the organization. And full reports of all activities are sent to the members quarterly. The Council is non-profit, non-political, and non-denominational.

WHAT SRC HAS DONE

The Council works through the sound methods of education, fact-finding, and persuasion. It seeks no legislation, it carries on no court action, and it uses no "pressure group" tactics. It collects the facts about racial problems and progress in the South and makes these facts available to private citizens and public officials. NEW SOUTH, the Council's monthly publication, has built an unchallenged reputation for reliability and accuracy. Following are some of the areas with which the SRC's educational program has been concerned:

* Employment of Negro policemen in Southern communities.

* Newspaper handling of racial news.

* Community self-surveys, in which local people study their problems as a basis for achieving local solutions.

* Conferences of leading white and Negro Southerners with common concerns and a common desire to further democratic practices in their areas of interest -- health, housing, education, etc.

* Voluntary decisions to open professional associations, private colleges, public libraries, and the like to all qualified persons without respect to race.

* Impartial enforcement of the law and administration of justice in the South.

* Orderly adjustment at the community level to the recent decisions of the Supreme Court holding public school segregation unconstitutional.

AFFILIATED STATE ORGANIZATIONS

With the aid of a grant from the Fund for the Republic, the Southern Regional Council is assisting interracial organizations in 12 Southern states. Each of these organizations has its own membership, officers, and staff. In each case, people of the state involved make their own decisions as to policy and program. Affiliation with the Southern Regional Council is voluntary, and the purpose of the short-term financial aid from SRC is to help the state groups become strong, self-sustaining bodies.

The affiliated organization in Georgia is the Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation. The Georgia Committee has a long and distinguished history, having operated continuously since 1919. Its directors and officers include some of Georgia's most respected clergymen, church women, and civic leaders. Its executive director is Dr. Guy H. Wells, President-Emeritus of Georgia State College for Women at Milledgeville. A list of the Georgia Committee's board members appears on page 11. To suggest that people of such intelligence and character would lend themselves to an unworthy cause is insulting

to them and absurd on its face.

CHURCH SUPPORT

Church people have always been the moving force in the Southern interracial movement. This is as true today as it was 35 years ago. All of the major religious groups represented in the South have taken their stand in favor of the principle embodied in the Supreme Court's segregation ruling. The court ruling was endorsed by the Southern Baptist Convention, many of the Southern conferences of The Methodist Church, the General Assembly of the Southern Presbyterian Church, the Province of Sewanee (Southeastern) of the Protestant Episcopal Church, the Catholic Bishops of the South, the various Jewish religious and fraternal groups, and virtually all of the other denominations found in the South. It is only natural that many religious Southerners should seek to put the principles of their faith into everyday practice.

The Southern Regional Council and the affiliated state groups have enjoyed both financial and moral support from religious bodies representing the three major faiths.

Dr. George S. Mitchell, executive director of the Council, received the 1953 Annual Award of the Catholic Committee of the South "for his significant contribution to the welfare of the South."

COMMUNISM AND RACE RELATIONS

Those who seek, for political or other reasons, to fan the fires of racial prejudice have set out to brand interracial progress as "communist-inspired." By this means they hope to confuse the public and discredit the growing number of individuals and organizations who believe in equal citizenship for all.

Not only is this phony "anti-communism" vicious; it offends the intelligence of every thinking person. The international communist movement has one, and only one, interest in our racial problems -- that is, to exploit them throughout the world. Some two-thirds of the people of the earth are dark-skinned, and the communists are trying desperately to win them with the claim that our kind of democracy is available only to white persons. If there were no racial discrimination or segregation in this country, the communist movement in Asia and Africa would lack its must effective weapon.

A perfect example of this fact is the reaction of Soviet Russian officialdom to the Supreme Court decision. For days, the government-controlled Russian press made no mention whatever of the decision. When at last they could ignore it no longer, they announced defensively that the decision meant nothing -- that it would never be implemented. This is precisely the argument that Attorney General Cook and his fellow demagogs make so noisily. Unwittingly perhaps, but undeniably, they do a great service to the cause of communism every time they raise their voices on behalf of "white supremacy."

Individuals and organizations that work responsibly and conscientiously for the growth of democracy in the South and the Nation are the opponents that the communists really fear. Yet it is precisely these individuals and organizations that Mr. Cook and his kind seek to defame and discredit. What could please the communists more than to get the credit for every effort to make our American ideal a working, living reality? What could please them more than a campaign to arouse suspicion and hatred of those citizens who work intelligently for a more just, democratic, and Christian society? How they must delight in the

irony of such Americans being stigmatized as servants and dupes of the communist cause!

No informed person believes that the communists want to see Negroes accorded equal rights and dignity or that they want to see our racial problems solved through the orderly processes of the law and constructive community action. The communists want to see us hopelessly bogged down in our prejudices and our fears. They want to see us defying the law of the land, whipping up racial hatred for political purposes. In this respect, they have a common purpose with Attorney General Cook and his kind.

TO KEEP OPINION FREE

The Southern Regional Council is a realistic organization. It was organized by Southerners and is run by Southerners who have lived with the problems of our region and know them well. Therefore, the Council recognizes the difficulties inherent in the changes now required of the South. But the people who make up the Council and the Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation believe that we can and will -- as, indeed, we must -- make the transition to a society in which citizenship is not qualified by race.

The issue here is not whether everyone can agree with this point of view -- obviously many do not. The issue is whether or not citizens can voice this and other legitimate opinions without suffering abuse at the hands of irresponsible officials.

The answer must be "yes" if we are not to have thought-control in the South. The power of state officials is great, and if misused it is dangerous to all. If any citizens can be penalized for legitimate opinions honestly held, then all citizens can be penalized at the pleasure of a few.

MEMBERS OF SRC EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, PAST AND PRESENT

Name	Identification*	Term of Office
Mr. Morris Abram	Attorney, Atlanta, Ga.	1954-1955
Mr. Francis R. Bridges	Tallahassee, Fla.	1944-1944
Mrs. Cassandra M. Birnie	Attorney, Atlanta, Ga.	1952-to date
Mr. Paul R. Christopher	Labor official, Knoxville, Tenn.	1951-to date
Dr. Rufus E. Clement	Pres., Atlanta University	1944-to date
Dr. A. W. Dent	Pres., Dillard Univ., New Orleans	1952-to date
Mr. John A. Griffin	Educator, Emory Univ., Ga.	1952-to date
Mr. Leonard Haas	Attorney, Atlanta, Ga.	1944-to date
Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton	Exec. Sec., Atlanta Urban League	1951-1951
Dr. Gordon B. Hancock	Educator, Richmond, Va.	1944-to date
Dr. Charles S. Johnson	Pres., Fisk Univ., Nashville,Tenn.	1944-1952
Dr. Guy B. Johnson	Educator, Chapel Hill, N. C.	1948-1951
Mr. C. H. Gillman	Labor Official, Atlanta, Ga.	1946-1950
Rt.Rev.Msgr.T. James McNamara	Savannah, Ga.	1944-1951
Mr. Alfred Mynders	Editor, Chattanooga Times	1952-1954
Rev. V.J. O'Connell, S.M.	New Orleans, La.	1952-1952
Dr. Howard W. Odum	Educator, Chapel Hill, N. C.	1944-1945
Mr. Edmund Preston	Richmond, Va.	1945-1945
Mr. Homer P. Rainey	Educator, Stephens College, Mo.	1944-1944
Rev. J. McDowell Richards	Pres., Columbia Theol. Sem.,Decatur	1954-1955
Dr. Harry V. Richardson	Pres., Gammon Theol. Sem., Atlanta	1952-to date
Capt. Frank W. Spencer	Businessman, Savannah, Ga.	1946-1949
Dr. Harold L. Trigg	Pres., St. Augustine's College, Raleigh	1947-1951
Mr. Carter Wesley	Newspaper publisher, Houston, Tex.	1944-to date
Mr. John H. Wheeler	Banker, Durham, N. C.	1949-1951
Miss Josephine Wilkins	Civic leader, Atlanta, Ga.	1944-50 [illegible]-55
Mr. Paul D. Williams	Textbook publisher, Richmond, Va.	1945-1951
Mr. Marion A. Wright	Attorney, LinvilleFalls , N. C.	1950-to date
Mr. P. B. Young, Sr.	Newspaper publisher, Norfolk, Va.	1944-1949
Very Rev. Maurice V. Shean	Dean of The Oratory, Rock Hill, S.C.	1953-to date
Rev. Andrew S. Turnipseed	Mobile, Ala.	1953-1954

*NOTE: Organizations and institutions shown are for purposes of identification only and represent the identification of the listed individuals at the time of their service on SRC's Executive Committee.

Rev. 10/25/55

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

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Atwood, R. B.	Educator	Kentucky State College, Frankfort, Ky.
Aycox, Mrs. Nanie B.%	"	Texas Southern Univ., Houston, Tex.
Barbare, Ralph	"	Winthrop Training School, Rock Hill, S.C.
Bates, Mrs. L.C.%	Civic Leader	1804 Bishop Street, Little Rock, Ark.
Bates, Mrs. W. F.	Church Leader	125 Atkins St., N. Little Rock, Ark.
Beckman, F. Woods#	Businessman	5908 Magazine Road, Knoxville, Tenn.
Birnie, Mrs. C.M.	Attorney	864 Hunter St., N.W., Atlanta, Ga.
Bond, Ulysses S.	Businessman	Madison, Arkansas
Brazeal, B.R.%	Educator	Morehouse College, Atlanta, Georgia
Brooke, W. C.#	Clergyman	Box 208, Staunton, Va.
Burney, I. H.	Ins. Exec.	P. O. Box 660, Jacksonville, Fla.
Carter, Hodding	Editor	Delta Democrat-Times, Greenville, Miss.
Christopher, Paul R.	Labor Leader	216 Flatiron Building, Knoxville, Tenn.
Clary, G. E.#	Clergyman	63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Atlanta, Ga.
Clement, R. E.	Educator	Atlanta University, Atlanta, Ga.
Clingman, Rt. Rev. C.	Bishop	421 South Second St., Louisville, Ky.
Crate, Mrs. James S.#	Civic Leader	2410 Inwood Dr., Houston, Tex.
Crossman, Jerome	Businessman	3400 Republic Nat'l Bank Bldg., Dallas, Tex.
Darragh, Fred#	Businessman	1401 East 6th St., Little Rock, Ark.
Davidson, Herbert M.	Editor	Daytona Beach News Journal, Florida
Dent, A. W.*	Educator	Dillard Univ., New Orleans, La.
D'Orlando, Albert#	Clergyman	1806 Jefferson Ave., New Orleans, La.
Duncan, O. D.	Professor	Oklahoma A & M College, Stillwater, Okla.
Ellison, J.M.%	Educator	Virginia Union Univ., Richmond, Va.
Evans, J. Claude#	Clergyman	P. O. Box 867, Columbia, S.C.
Finner, Paul F.#	Professor	930 West Park, Tallahassee, Fla.
Friedman, S. Thomas	Soc. Worker	1110 Bissonet, Houston, Tex.
Gomillion, C. G.%	Educator	Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee Inst., Ala.
Griffin, John A.	Professor	Emory Univ., Emory Univ., Ga.
Hammer, Philip	Planning Consultant	70 Fairlie St., Atlanta, Ga.
Hancock, Gordon B.*	Professor	P. O. Box 6056, Richmond, Va.
Hunter, Duncan#	Clergyman	Alexander City, Ala.
Johnson, A. L.%	Educator	Prentiss N & I Inst., Prentiss, Miss.
Johnson, Charles S.	Educator	Fisk Univ., Nashville, Tenn
Johnson, Guy B.	Professor	Univ. of N.C., Chapel Hill, N. C.
Lanier, R. O'Hara	Educator	Tex. Southern Univ., Houston, Tex.
Larkins, John R.%	Soc. Worker	Bd. of Charities & Soc. Welfare, Raleigh, N. C.
Lewis, Dr. Elsie%	Educator	Tenn. A & I, Nashville, Tenn.
Looby, Z. A.	Attorney	419 Fourth Avenue, N., Nashville, Tenn.
Mantinband, Charles#	Rabbi	808 Mamie St., Hattiesburg, Miss.
Mays, B. E.	Educator	Morehouse College, Atlanta, Ga.

McCann, John	Businessman	231 Baronne Street., New Orleans, La.
McDowell, E.A.	Professor	So. Bapt. Theol. Sem., Wake Forest, N.C.
Milner Clyde	Educator	Guilford College, N.C.
Milton, L.D.	Banker	Citizens Trust Co., Atlanta, Ga.
Mitchell, G.S.#	Exec.Dir.	SRC, 63 Auburn Ave., N.E., Atlanta, Ga.
Moron, A. G.	Educator	Hampton Institute, Hampton, Va.
Paul, Mrs. Marion%	Civic Leader	2324 Washington St., Columbia, S.C.
Penick, Rt. Rev.E.A.	Bishop	802 Hillsboro St., Raleigh, N. C.
Perry, W. H.#	Educator	2320 West Chestnut St., Louisville, Ky.
Rayzor, Mrs. J. N.	Civic Leader	3207 Groveland Lane, Houston, Tex.
Reddix, J. L.	Educator	Jackson College, Jackson, Mississippi
Richardson, H.V.	Educator	Gammon Theol. Sem., Atlanta, Ga.
Rinehart, Hollis	Attorney	Ingraham Bldg., Miami, Fla.
Robinson, Mrs. E. U.	Church Leader	Gallatin, Tenn.
Rousseve, Numa J.%	Businessman	4636 Willow St., New Orleans, La.
Richards, J. M.	Educator	Columbia Theological Seminary, Decatur, Ga.
Sanders, Irwin T.%	Professor	1350 Fontaine Rd., Lexington, Ky.
Shaw, Charles A.	Ins. Exec.	2206 Dowling St., Houston, Texas
Shean, Very Rev. M.V.	Clergyman	Box 895, Rock Hill, South Carolina
Smith, J. Edwin	Attorney	505 Scanlan Bldg., Houston, Tex.
Stroud, Mrs. Tommie	Civic Leader	2524 Old Oaks Drive, Waco, Texas
Sytz, Miss Florence	Professor	Tulane School of Social Work., New Orleans La.
Thomas, L. E.	Attorney	1035 N. W. Second Ave., Miami, Fla.
Tillman, Mrs. J. Fount	Church Leader	Lewisburg, Tenn.
Trenholm, H.C.%	Educator	Alabama State College, Montgomery, Ala.
Turnipseed, A. S.	Clergyman	251 Island Ct., Mobile, Ala.
Weiss, Morton	Businessman	182 Marietta St., Atlanta
Wellons, R.D.#	Educator	Pembroke College, Pembroke, N. C.
Wesley, Carter*	Publisher	Box 3086, Houston, Tex.
Wheeler, John H.	Banker	Mechanics and Farmers Bank, Durham, N.C.
Wilkins, Miss Josephine	Civic Leader	c/o Biltmore Hotel, Atlanta, Ga.
Williams, Paul D.	Businessman	3320 Gloucester Rd., Richmond, Va.
Wright, M. A.*	Lawyer	Top Knot, Linville Falls, N. C.
Young, Thomas W.	Publisher	Journal and Guide, Norfolk, Va.

SYMBOLS

* SRC Officer
\# Ex-Officio
% State representative

eab/

SRC AFFILIATED ORGANIZATIONS
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Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation

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(Educator & Minister)
240 Chestnut St.,S. W.
Atlanta

Dr. Rufus Clement
(Educator)
223 Chestnut St. S. W.
Atlanta

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Atlanta

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1426 Mozley Dr., S. W.
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(Doctor)
1025½ First Ave.
Columbia

(Continued)

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1407 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta

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(Minister)
1111 Palmyra Rd.
Albany

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LaGrange College
LaGrange

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Thomasville

Rev. G. A. Sewell
(Minister)
657 Spring St.
Macon

Mrs. Emmett Johnson
(Educator)
Wesleyan College
Macon

Rev. James Welden
(Minister)
2724 Oak Grove Rd.
Decatur

ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE

Dr. G. Clary - Chairman
Dr. McDowell Richards
Dr. B. R. Brazeal
Mr. Robert Cousins
Dr. Benjamin Mays

SOCIAL ACTION COMMITTEE

Rev. James Welden - Chmn.
Dr. M. L. King
Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Dr. Monroe Swilley

FINANCE COMMITTEE

Dr. Lester Rumble - Chmn.
Dr. Rembert Sisson

eab/
10/6/55

(Paid Advertisement)

FUND FOR REPUBLIC— "A GOOD INVESTMENT—" FOR WHAT?

The Virginian-Pilot
Norfolk-Portsmouth, Va.
Monday, Oct. 17, 1955

Ford Funds To Strengthen School Work

Regional Council Given $150,000 for Southern Project

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See Virginian-Pilot Above Date

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Organized by the Ford Founda-

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THE VIRGINIA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS — A State-wide group organized last July, the council is made up of professional, business and industrial participants representing both races and the three major religious faiths. It is one of 12 organized in Southern States as affiliates of the Southern Regional Council, and is financed by funds raised by the council and matched with funds from the Ford Foundation.

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Name 21 Pro-Reds on Board of Dixie Race Study Council

By Leon Racht and Jeffrey Roche

The board of directors of a Southern organization granted $240,000 by the controversial Fund for the Republic includes 21 members with past pro-Communist affiliations, a survey revealed today.

Investigation of the background of the Southern Regional Council also revealed that 13 of these supported the now-defunct Southern Conference for Human Welfare,* cited as an arm of the Communist Party by two Congressional committees.

***Frank P. Graham, former President of UNC, who is speaking in Norfolk today was a former Honorary President of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare.**

HEADQUARTERS IN ATLANTA

The Council, with headquarters in Atlanta, operates in 12 Dixie states. Its stated aims, in substance, have been to explore relationships between white and Negro in the South.

Early last year, the Council received the grant from the Fund which has been under strong attack recently for alleged leftwing activities. The Fund was set up by the Ford Foundation under $15,000,000 no-strings-attached grant.

Out of 14 members of the Council's executive committee, four were

✓ **The Rev. A. S. Turnipseed,** connected with the National Committee of Methodist Federation for Social Action, cited subversive by the House Un-American Activities Committee.

✓ **Paul R. Christopher:** signed protest against Dies Committee, under auspices of National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, cited subversive by Attorney General.

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Rufus B. Atwood: signed statement supporting Negro People's Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy, according to Daily Worker, Feb. 8, 1939.

B. R. Brazeal: Civil Rights Congress sponsor.

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Ralph O'Hara Lanier: also on board of Southern Negro Youth Congress.

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Those who were members of the openly pro-Communist Southern Conference for Human Welfare include Atwood, Christopher, Clary, Clement, Davidson, Johnson, Mitchell, Trenholm, Wilkins, Gomillion, Mays and Ellison.

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Organized by the Ford Foundation but now enjoying an independent status, the Fund for the Republic has a $15 million endowment. It has a board of directors composed of eminent citizens . . .

The Following Appeared In The Richmond News-Leader October 26, 1955:

Dean Resigns Fund Group Post

NEW YORK, Oct. 26 (AP) —Arthur H. Dean, former United States ambassador to Korea, said today he has resigned as a director of the Fund for the Republic for "policy reasons."

Asked if this meant he was quitting because of the organization's policies, Dean said, "yes." He declined to go into details.

The fund, an independent foundation set up to promote the principles of the Constitution, Bill of Rights and Declaration of Independence, has been accused by some groups of left-wing activities.

Dean, a corporation lawyer and head of the United Nations truce team that negotiated the peace terms in Korea, said he resigned September 27 as a member of the fund's 16-member board of directors.

The Following Appeared In The Journal and Guide Nov. 5, 1955:

For Legal Defense Fund

Fund for the Republic Gives NAACP $50,000

NEW YORK — A $50,000 grant was made to the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc., by the Fund for the Republic, Thurgood Marshall, Director-Counsel of Legal Defense, announced Monday.

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Out of 14 members of the Council's executive committee, four were found to have supported pro-Communist enterprises in one form or another. They are:

✓ **George S. Mitchell,** executive director: sponsor of the Civil Rights Congress, cited subersive by the Attorney General.

✓ **Rufus E. Clement,** chairman: sponsor of American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, one of the oldest subversive organizations in the United States. In addition, Clement has been a member of many other Communist fronts.

✓ **The Rev. A. S. Turnipseed,** connected with the National Committee of Methodist Federation for Social Action, cited subversive by the House Un-American Activities Committee.

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Albert D'Orlando: signed Amicus Curiae on behalf of the Rev. John Howard Mellish when latter was before Supreme Court fighting his ouster from a Brooklyn church for alleged pro-Communist activities.

✓ **Charles G. Gomillion:** On advisory board and secretary of Southern Negro Youth Congress on Attorney General's subversive list.

✓ **Charles S. Johnson:** sponsor of of American Committee for Foreign Born. Has other affiliations in same direction.

Ralph O'Hara Lanier: also on board of Southern Negro Youth Congress.

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Those who were members of the openly pro-Communist Southern Conference for Human Welfare include Atwood, Christopher, Clary, Clement, Davidson, Johnson, Mitchell, Trenholm, Wilkins, Gomillion, Mays and Ellison.

Disclosure of the Southern Regional Council's heavily pro-Communist tinge is the latest blow at leftwing activities of the Fund for the Republic.

Earlier, the Fund came under strong anti-Communist attack for its allegedly slanted bibliography on communism in the United States; its employment of Earl Browder, former secretary of the American Communist Party, as a "paid informant"; and employment of Amos Landman as publicity man, three weeks after he took the 5th Amendment when asked if he ever was a Communist.

Editorial Page

THE NEWS and COURIER

South Carolina's Most Outspoken Newspaper

Charleston, S. C., Friday, October 28, 1955

Do-Gooders Stirring Bloodshed

In the 1850s, before the Civil War, Northern do-gooders gave money to stir racial strife in the South. John Brown's murderous raid at Harper's Ferry, Va., for example, was financed by supposedly responsible people. Among the notable contributors was Gov. Salmon P. Chase of Ohio. Later he was chief justice of the United States.

Brown bought guns and pikes to arm a slave rebellion. His men seized a federal arsenal. The bewildered Negroes didn't rebel. But Brown's fanatics did some shooting anyway. Their first victim was a free Negro. He failed to halt on orders and stopped a bullet.

Wendell Phillips, New England orator, declared the State of Virginia a pirate and called John Brown a lord high admiral commissioned to sink every pirate. Ralph Waldo Emerson, the poet and philosopher, compared the "glorious" scaffold on which John Brown was hanged to the cross at Calvary. The governor of Virginia announced that any further invasions from other states would be met with armed reprisals. Meanwhile—it was 1859—federal troops kept order in "Bloody Kansas."

Today Northern do-gooders again are pouring money into organizations to goad the South. One of these is the **Fund for the Republic.** It has just donated an additional $150,000 to the **Southern Regional Council,** which is **dedicated to break down separation of the races in the South.** It is time that donors of money take responsibility for their beneficiaries. Money is power.

While slavery and secession no longer are issues, violence can take many forms. Already such incidents as the kidnaping of the Till boy in Mississippi are being blown up to inflame the public.

In Chicago a Negro policeman last week beat a 72-year-old man to death on the street. In Brooklyn, a judge sentenced three Negro members of a teenage gang to prison when they pleaded guilty to killing a rival youth. Meanwhile, another juvenile gang death was reported in the neighborhood as the toll of violence mounts.

Usually the race angle is omitted in the Northern press on crime news in its own backyards. Race is played up whenever a victim is a Negro in the South. Both white and colored Southerners know the tension is reduced and peace promoted by separation of the races. An unbiased review of the facts, both past and present, proves this contention.

A Member Of

THE DEFENDERS OF STATE SOVEREIGNTY
and INDIVIDUAL LIBERTIES

The Virginian-Pilot
Norfolk-Portsmouth, Va.
Saturday, Nov. 12, 1955

ESTABLISHED 1869

The Chattanooga Times

ADOLPH S. OCHS, 1878-1935
JULIUS OCHS ADLER, 1935-1955

Published Every Day in the Year by
THE TIMES PRINTING COMPANY.

ARTHUR HAYS SULZBERGER,
President and Publisher.

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Vice President and General Manager.

ADOLPH SHELBY OCHS,
Secretary and Treasurer.

BEN HALE GOLDEN,
Assistant Publisher.

ALFRED D. MYNDERS,
Editor.

NOVEMBER 13, 1955.

Next to the News

By ALFRED MYNDERS

————*

A SIMILAR smear, although on different lines, was a story printed in the **New York Journal-American**, saying that 21 members of the board of directors of the Southern Regional Council have "past pro-Communist sympathies." The lingo of the smear-bunds is now familiar to the American people. It is libelous to call a man a Communist unless one can prove it in court. But one can imply the same thing by saying a man is a "leftie," and that smear word is safe from libel action. Whether it is "safe" to say that a man has pro-Communist sympathies might some day be tested by libel suits.

The **Journal-American** named the 21 directors of SRC it claims have "past pro-Communist sympathies." But the Associated Press story concerning the **Journal-American** article didn't name any of them. It is not known whether the Associated Press consulted the Southern Regional Council on the 21 men attacked before giving wide circulation to gist of the **Journal-American** article.

————*

AMONG the 21 named by the **Journal-American** were Dr. George Mitchell, executive director of the Southern Regional Council; the Rt. Rev. Charles Clingman, retired Episcopal bishop of Kentucky; George E. Clary, executive secretary of the Southeastern Jurisdictional Commission of the Methodist Church; W. Carol Brooke, Episcopal minister of Virginia.

Especial emphasis was laid on leading southern Negro educators in the **Journal-American** listing. All of these are highly respected and are devoted to the South.

The **Journal-American** named Dr. Rufus Clement, president of Atlanta University. Dr. Clement is the only Negro within memory ever elected by the people to the Atlanta school board. In an effort to defeat him for that post covert charges were made that he had Communist sympathies. The Atlanta papers denounced the attack as a smear and the people of Atlanta elected Dr. Clement to the school board by the largest vote given any candidate in that election.

Other Negro educators listed by the **Journal-American** as having "Past pro-Communist sympathies" were Dr. Charles Johnson, president of Fisk University, and Dr. Benjamin Mays, president of Morehouse College, neither of whom by any stretch of the imagination could be seriously charged with having pro-Communist sympathies.

————*

THE **JOURNAL-AMERICAN** mentioned that the Fund for the Republic has contributed a total of $350,000 in two separate grants for the work of the Southern Regional Council. Dr. Hutchens, chairman of the Fund for the Republic, gave the perfect answer to the **Journal-American.** He said he knew a number of the council people and has the highest faith in them. Dr. Hutchens added that if anyone can prove that any of the 21 mentioned by the **Journal-American** are Communist sympathizers he would turn over all of the Fund for the Republic's remaining millions to the individual furnishing the proof.

There then is a chance for someone to make millions of dollars. But this columnist was for a number of years a member of the Board of the Southern Regional Council. He never met anyone in the council who had the slightest sympathy for Communism. The SRC, in fact, is anti-Communist. It is the outgrowth of the former Southern Commission on Interracial Relations, a group of Southerners of both races desirous to have Southerners work out Southern problems and to avoid violent frictions. Communism thrives on Southern racial frictions. Nothing could damage international Communism's propaganda apparatus more than to have the South solve these racial problems.

A WORD IS CORRUPTED

"Subversive—tending to subvert; having tendency to overthrow, upset or destroy."—Webster's International Dictionary.

In this country, the word "subversive" has been corrupted from its real meaning by the tendency to brand any person or any organization which—however long ago—may have had Socialists or even Communists among its members. A subversive may be one who merely, unknowingly, attended groups which may have had radicals in their memberships.

The corruption of the word "subversive" goes full cycle in a recent action in Mississippi. Gov. Hugh White has appointed Earl Evans of Canton, Miss., a former FBI agent, as chairman of a subcommittee to draft a bill whereby the Legislature would authorize the Mississippi attorney general's office to publish a state subversive list.

According to a United Press story, "It will be a state list aimed primarily at discrediting organizations whose purpose is to break down segregation in defiance of Mississippi's laws and customs."

Mr. Evans says that there will be no penalties in the law for persons belonging to one of the "subversive" organizations. Apparently, it will only be used for smearing persons.

It is announced that the Mississippi list "would serve as a guide for public officials and others in hiring people." In other words, there is the economic weapon to be used against those who don't like the attitude of Mississippi's politicians and Citizens Councils against the Supreme Court segregation ruling.

The United Press story says: "The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People would, of course, lead the subversive list." Now, the NAACP has certainly been too brash in trying to force immediate desegregation when even the Supreme Court wanted to give reasonable time. But since when did it become subversion for people—even Negroes—to try to secure rights declared for them by the United States Supreme Court?

Subversion means the overthrow or the attempt to overthrow American institutions. In this Mississippi move, subversion is corrupted to mean the attempt to *support* one of the leading American institutions—the Supreme Court.

This Mississippi move doesn't make any sense. A number of church groups with congregations in Mississippi are on record in opposition to segregation. A fraternity on the campus of a Mississippi State Negro college is charged with having given money to the NAACP and it is said that that fraternity would probably be on the subversive list. The fraternity also supported civil rights causes. In Mississippi, nowadays, civil rights is a subversive technique. Only states rights are supreme.

Such things, of course, make the word "subversive" have no meaning whatsoever and it is important for the life of this country that subversion have a definite meaning, for real subversion could bring about our ruin.

Chat Times 12/2/55

N. M. LOVEIN,
63 AUBURN AVE., N. E.,
ATLANTA, GEORGIA.

THE AUGUSTA COURIER

Be Not Content With The Appearance of Things, But Look For The True Meaning

Vol. 2 THE AUGUSTA COURIER, MARCH 5, 1956, AUGUSTA, GEORGIA No. 449

Southern Regional Council Working To Enforce Court's Racial Decision

* * * \

Congressman Davis Rips Into Race Mixing Plot Of GOP

Georgia Officials, Citizens Lauded For Stand Protecting Basic Rights

Decent white people everywhere resent the efforts of the Supreme Court and the federal government to force the unnatural mixing of the races in this country.

This statement was made by Congressman James C. Davis of Georgia in a speech to a joint session of the General Assembly of Georgia on January 24, 1956.

Eisenhower's Party

Congressman Davis pointed out that since President Eisenhower ordered the mixing of the races in the public schools in the City of Washington that the white people have been moving out of Washington as fast as they possibly could.

Congressman Davis said:

"Proof that white people do not intend to mix with Negroes, and cannot be forced to do so, is the manner in which the white people of Washington treated the order of the Federal government abolishing segregation in Federally owned swimming pools. Washington is a hot city in the summertime, and prior to the issuing of this order by the Federal Government, the white swimming pools have been crowded. When the order was issued in 1949, and 1950, it did not result in whites and Negroes swimming together, it simply resutled in the previously white swimming pools becoming Negro swimming pools, as the white people abandoned them to the Negroes."

Georgians Praised

The Congressman, in addition to pointing out this resentment of the white people, praised the people of Georgia for having a governor and other statehouse leaders who are willing to fight a packed Supreme Court and a appeasement-minded president in their efforts to destroy our Constitution.

In this connection, the Congressman said:

"Resentment of white people manifests itself in every section of our country—north, east, and west, as south over these efforts to force the unnatural practice of mixing the races. In Chicago, in many sections, a determined white population has successfully resisted forcible efforts to destroy their residential segregation pattern. This has been done although Illinois has had a Governor, and Chicago has had a Mayor who have sought by forcible means to ram this integration policy down their unwilling throats.

Riots in Chicago

"In Chicago on August 11, 1953, 1500 persons rioted in protest over a Negro family being moved into Trumbull Park Homes in the South Deering section of the City.

"The Police Commissioner had to send 3 shifts of 250 policemen, or 750 per day to keep down the violent rioting. On one occasion 1250 policemen were called out.

"The Commissioner was quoted 16 days later, on August 27th as saying that racial disturbances had required the service of 12% of his 6889 man force — in other words 826 policemen spent all of their time working with racial trouble.

"Under these circumstances the battle was carried on in Trumbull Park Homes for more than a year. The Negro family was finally moved out, and then brought a damage suit against the Chicago Housing Authority. In one year there was more racial trouble in Chicago than in the whole South put together, and it resulted from efforts to force intermingling between whites and blacks.

Praises Griffin

"Thank Almighty God that we do not have that kind of Governor in Georgia willing to join hands with a packed Supreme Court and an appeasement-minded Chief Executive in destroying our Constitution. I thank Him that we have in Georgia a Governor who has said:

"'I speak for the people of Georgia when I say that we accept this challenge. We accept it with the firm assertion that we shall not surrender to this Court the inalienable rights of our sovereign State. We shall not surrender our right to conduct and regulate our own educational institutions. The State created them. The State built them. The State finances them. The State shall run them.'

"I am thankful that we have a Lieutenant Governor who is holding up the hands of the Governor in this crisis.

Lauds Gene Cook

"I am grateful that we have in Georgia filling the high office of Attorney General an official who has the intelligence and ability to recognize this fraudulent scheme for the sorry thing it is, and the energy and courage to expose it and its backers not only to our people here at home, but in areas where hotbeds of radicalism exist in other sections of the country. I am grateful for the determined attitude of Georgia people who voted by a substantial majority to amend our Constitution so that if worst comes to worst, and the public schools in Georgia could only be operated as non-segregated and mixed schools, this intolerable thing can be avoided by elimination of public schools entirely and the teaching of our children in private schools.

"I am grateful for this Legislature and its officials who are resolutely and determinedly enacting a program of legislation to keep within our own hands the conduct of our own affairs.

Proud of Georgia Court

"I am grateful for the Chief Justice of the Georgia Supreme Court, who wrote the opinion, and for the six Associate Justices who joined with him in a unanimous opinion by that Court in the case of Williams vs. State of Georgia in which the Supreme Court of the State of Georgia said to the Supreme Court of the United States:

"'The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.—(Constitution of the United States, Tenth Amendment). Even though executives and legislators, not being Constitutional lawyers, might often overstep the foregoing unambiguous Constitutional prohibition of Federal invasion of State jurisdiction, there can never be an acceptable excuse for judicial failure to strictly observe it. This Court bows to the Supreme Court on all Federal questions of law but we will not supinely surrender sovereign powers of this State.'

"This was a courageous declaration by the highest Court of our State warning the United States Supreme Court to stay out of our State affairs—a declaration to one and all that the State of Georgia knows her rights, and will have them. It was a stinging and merited rebuke."

STRICTLY PERSONAL

(Continued from page 3)

It hasn't been un-Christian for nearly two thousand years.

Who changed the Christian religion? By what authority has this modern-day group of communists, communist-sympathizers, fellow travelers, subversives and weak-minded group changed the principles of the Christian religion?

For nineteen centuries good Christian people walked the face of the earth practicing and preaching against this mass amalgamation of the races.

Millions of people have believed and practiced it before us. Millions of good church-going people have preached and practiced it.

It has been one of the fundamental principles of Christian religion.

This bunch of weak-minded "good" people and socialist and communist-minded folks seem to think that the white people are responsible for the Negro being black and they seem to think that we are guilty of a great crime because he is black.

Now, who created the Negro? Who made him black? Who set him apart from the rest of mankind?

The mixing process is man's work.

3. Are we unconstitutional in our efforts to prevent this massed mixing of the races?

Those who wrote the constitution itself practiced segregation. Those who wrote the constitution even owned slaves. Those who wrote the constitution practiced separation of the races and believed in it.

For over a hundred and fifty years every court in the land held that segregation was not unconstitutional. This included both the federal and state courts and the courts of every state in the nation where the issue was ever made.

Now, in 1954 the Supreme Court of the United States came along and changed all of the law we had ever had in this country and changed the constitution without any authority.

This decision is just as unfounded and as illegal as anything can be. It does not deserve the respect of the people. It deserves the contempt of the people and deserves to be ignored.

4. When did it become scientific for massed mixing of the races?

The people of America insist on pure bred hogs. They insist on having pure bred cattle and horses.

Now, are our children not worth as much as a pig or a cow or a horse?

Even the birds of the field won't mix. They remain separate. The blue birds won't mix with the red birds. Even the crows and buzzards won't mix.

Yet, human beings are expected to pull off a massed mixing of all kinds and all races.

Now, if it is unscientific to develop pure bred hogs and cows when does it become unscientific to develop a pure breed of mankind?

There isn't a hog raiser in Georgia who would again mix his pure bred hogs with the old piney woods rooter. If he did he would soon have nothing but piney woods rooters.

The federal government and the states of this nation spend millions of dollars every year trying to improve the breed of hogs and cattle and every form of vegetable life. We spend billions of dollars in research trying to achieve this aim.

And now this would-be bunch of communist, communist sympathizers, fellow travelers, subversive agents and weak-minded crackpots would have you destroy a great race of people by massed mixing.

We spend billions to improve the hogs and the cows, but we seek to destroy the American people.

Yes, I believe that the whole country is beginning to realize that in the South we find a fight being made to preserve and perpetuate the Americanism of the founders of this Republic and of those who constructed the Constitution itself.

It is here that we find that the dream and the vision of the early American settler and those who forged the American way of life to be still a great emotion.

Those who are advancing the idea of massed mixing of the races are following a foreign and a strange doctrine. It is not American. It comes out of Russia and it follows the communist ideal.

Yet, the Russians do not practice what they preach for us. There are over one hundred different racial mixtures in Russia. These different stocks of people cover people of all colors.

Yet, you see only the white Russians holding position in the Communist Party or in the Communist government.

Attorney General Of Georgia Reveals Origin, Viciousness Anti-Southern Group

(Continued from Page 1)

Assistant Special Council, the Southeastern Regional Secretary, the West Coast Secretary, the Director of the Washington Bureau, the Director of Public Relations and two Field Secretaries have records of affiliation with or participation in communist, communist-front, fellow travelling or subversive organizations or activities.

There is no doubt that the NAACP is a South-hating group.

Hates Southern Whites

There is no doubt that the NAACP crowd hates the white people of the South.

There is no doubt that it was originated by and has been directed by communist sympathizers, fellow travelers or downright traitors to the whole nation from the beginning of the organization forty-six years ago to the present time.

It is nothing in the world but a subversive organization designed to stir up hatred, bitterness and bloodshed and to divide, conquer and destroy the American people.

The NAACP is the most effective weapon of the Russian communists in America today. It is being so used and will be so used.

The NAACP ought to be outlawed in every Southern state and the lead that South Carolina is taking is one which ought to be followed throughout the entire South.

Constitution's McGill One Of Incorporators Of Group Fighting Segregation Laws

(Continued from Page 1)

ern Regional Council's Board of Directors have known records of association with multifarious organizations which have been cited as communist-fronts by either the Attorney General or the House Committee Investigating Un-American Activities.

4. Dr. George S. Mitchell, executive director of the Southern Regional Council, was listed as a top official of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare in the report citing it as a communist-front. His name has also been linked to other red fronts, according to records and reports of Congressional committees.

Editor of Constitution

5. The Southern Regional Council, though claiming to be dedicated to "promoting racial harmony and reducing tensions to qualify as a tax-free charitable effort, has instead been solely a political action group and has consistently followed the Communist Party line as laid down for the South.

6. The incorporators of the Southern Regional Council are Ralph McGill, Editor of The Atlanta Constitution; Dr. George S. Mitchell, Dr. Rufus E. Clement, Negro, president of Atlanta University; Dr. Charles S. Johnson, president of Fisk (Negro) University; and Dr. Howard W. Odum, University of North Carolina. The charter of incorporation was applied for in Fulton County Superior Court, January 6, 1944, and was granted for a period of thirty-five years. Attorneys for the applicants were the Atlanta law firm of Haas, Lyons and Hurt, of which Leonard Haas is senior member.

THE COURIER GOES INTO HOMES IN EVERY COUNTY IN GEORGIA

Macon Telegraph

Atl Const.
5-3-56

Mr. Cook Should Be Removed From Public Office at Once

Atty. Gen. Eugene Cook ought to run for governor of Georgia. He has been talking like he wants to do that for some months now and there are repeated reports that he would like to be either our state's chief executive or congressman from the sixth district. (Mr. Cook mantains his legal residence in Wrightsville.)

With rare exceptions, Mr. Cook has captured the political spotlight on race matters in Georgia.

Time was when Herman Talmadge or Marvin Griffin was in the forefront. But, alas, Mr. Cook has moved forward with vigor and has actually usurped Gov. Griffin's place at the podium. In most states the chief executive is the principal spokesman, but not so in Georgia today.

Mr. Cook has shouted louder and longer than any of the others.

When tensions were easing slightly on the education front last July, it was Mr. Cook who came forward with the proposal that teachers be required to disclose whether or not they were NAACP members and that they either resign such membership or be banned from teaching in public schools.

Two months later, in October, 1955, Mr. Cook made a speech before the Peace Officers Association which would have done Joe McCarthy proud. While taking out after the NAACP—for which the Telegraph holds no respect and which organization is well on the way to discrediting itself — the attorney general also unleashed a bucketful of smears upon all citizens everywhere who seek to intelligently work out any sort of interracial solution to the mammoth problems before us.

Last week, lest he might have begun to lag in performance, the attorney general catapulted himself into the blazing, pure white spotlight again.

He courageously proposed, candidly and unabashedly, that Georgia make it a capital crime, punishable by death or life imprisonment for any public official to assist federal authorities in enforcing Supreme Court desegregation decisions.

Such a heretofore-unthought-of suggestion, coming from the top legal officer of a sovereign state, made front page headlines in newspapers across the nation.

And so, Eugene Cook continues to lead in pronouncements on this vital issue of our times.

His record, his ability, his astuteness are before us.

We think he should run for governor.

It is high time he be removed completely from public office.

Cairo Messenger

Sen. Walter F. George may have opposition in his race for reelection, but he is by far the most outstanding man in the U.S. Senate and it would be a disgrace to defeat him, especially at this time. He is badly needed to help guide this country in these times of trials and tribulations.

7/2/56

Colleges Due Ford Funds For Teachers

A total of $1,895,000 was placed in the mails for 15 Georgia privately supported colleges Sunday as the Ford Foundation's first payment in its program to help raise faculty salaries.

These payments are half the sum of two appropriations totaling $3,790,000 for Georgia Colleges to be made by July 1, 1957.

The foundation is donating a total of $260,000,000 to 630 private institutions throughout the nation. The money is to be added to each school's endowment fund and is expected to produce an annual income of about 4 per cent.

Under terms of the endowment program, the income must be applied in full to increase faculty salaries.

Accomplishment grants will be made to five Georgia colleges which have shown "special leadership within their own regions in improving the status and compensation of college teachers."

These accomplishment grants may be used by these institutions either to raise faculty salaries or for "other pressing academic needs," the foundation said.

The Georgia schools with amount of grants (with accomplishment grants in parentheses) are:

Agnes Scott College, Decatur, $110,000. ($60,000); Atlanta University, $65,000; Bessie Tift College, Forsyth, $40,000; Brenau College, Gainesville, $45,000; Clark College, Atlanta, $70,000; Emory University, $475,000, ($265,000).

LaGrange College, $40,000; Mercer University, Macon, $155,000; Morehouse College, Atlanta, $85,000, ($50,000); Morris Brown College, Atlanta, $75,000; Oglethorpe University, $50,000, ($30,000); Paine College, Augusta, $35,000; Shorter College, Rome, $50,000; Spelman College, Atlanta, $65,000, ($35,000); and Wesleyan College, Macon, $95,000.

* * *

Ford Foundation Has A Magnificent Record

The Ford Foundation's annual report reveals that since its founding in 1936 its philanthropic commitments have totaled an impressive 875 million dollars.

Outlined in the report is the program of grants and appropriations for the fiscal year, Oct. 1, 1954, to Sept. 30, 1955, coming to $137,063,164—the largest sum given away in any one year.

Many hospitals and private schools in Georgia were among those institutions receiving substantial aid in this program.

Among other projects, institutions and public needs supported during the fiscal year was mental health. The sum of 15 million dollars was given for research. Assistance to the more able high school graduates was given in the amount of 20 million, that sum going to the National Merit Scholarship Corporation, which grants the four-year awards on the basis of competitive examinations. Seven law schools were granted $7,500,000. Internationally the foundation gave educational assistance in south and southeast Asia and the Near East.

In previous fiscal years the foundation's contributions have been equally substantial and varied. It has proved its value to the nation both in support of its domestic and international problems. More and more it will demonstrate that the profits of the free enterprise system may be used to further the cause of a stronger and happier nation, the more committed to the American way of life.

7/2/56 cont

$75,000 Grant From Ford Fund To Morris Brown

Dr. John H. Lewis, president of Morris Brown College, announces that the college received on Saturday, June 30, a check in the amount of $75,000 from the Ford Foundation. This first installment represents approximately half of the total endowment grant made by the Foundation to Morris Brown.

The purpose of the $210,000,000 grant made last December by the Ford Foundation to accredited private colleges of the nation—the largest single educational grant in the history of philanthropy—is to provide for the increase of faculty salaries. By matching the income from this grant, Morris Brown will be able to increase salaries 6 or 7 percent.

Morris Brown, like most other small, privately operated colleges, is caught between the rising cost of education, which reflects the rising cost of living in general on the one hand and more-or-less static income on the other. This, coupled with the fact that its enrollment is steadily increasing, confronts the school with the grave problem of improving both the quantity and quality of educational offerings. This endowment, the income from which is to be used for teachers' salaries, fills therefore, a real need. But the need is too great to be met by the grant of any one foundation, however, liberal.

"America could ill-afford to lose the contributions made by the smaller, privately-operated colleges. There are certain values inherent in their educational philosophy which are vital to the development of leadership for this critical period in the life of the nation.

"We believe, therefore, that the alumni and supporting constituency of any private college have an inescapable obligation to help in the solution of this financial problem which confronts them all. We believe, further, that this generous

atl world 7/19/56

(1956) Foundation

Attack on SRC

SUMTER COUNTY CITIZENS' COUNCIL

P. O. DRAWER 429

SUMTER, SOUTH CAROLINA

TO ALL MEMBERS OF THE SUMTER COUNTY CITIZENS' COUNCIL:

Recently a press release in the Sumter Daily Item, as well as The State and The News & Courier, brought to light that a small group of Sumter people, both colored and white, were planning a "workshop" at Morris College, the colored college in Sumter, for the purpose of "finding workable ways of further extending the lines of communication between responsible leaders in our community, to break down barriers, to change thought, and to widen the reach of goodwill." This group styled themselves a "Bi-racial" group, and appears to be connected with the South Carolina Council on Human Relations, which receives annual grants of approximately $12,000.00 from the Southern Regional Council. The Southern Reginal Council has been listed by the House Un-American Activities Committee. This workshop was scheduled for 18 July 1956, and was to be held from 5:00 P. M. to 9:00 P. M., accordng to the announcement made by Earle L. Kirby, the owner of Kirby's, a business establishment on East Liberty Street in Sumter, S. C., who is the chairman of the "Bi-racial" group. The Secretary of the group is Anna D. Reuben, the wife of O. R. Reuben, the President of Morris College. The meeting was to have been conducted by Ira Kaye, a lawyer who is a native of New York, but who has settled in Sumter after coming here while in the armed forces.

Insofar as can be determined by your Committeemen assigned to study the Press release and the information on the "Bi-racial" group which has been assembled, the group is composed of persons who believes that the Decree of the Supreme Court of the United States with regard to integration of the races should be obeyed and that all barriers should be broken down and our thoughts on the subject changed, and that Negroes should be accepted by us in all walks of life. Accordingly, it was determined that a member of any such "Bi-racial" group could not possibly have the same standpoint as that expressed by the Citizens' Councils, for the reason that such a group favors integration on a gradual basis while we of the Citizens' Councils have unequivocably taken the position that there will be no integration at all.

Immediately a meeting of the Policy Committee, the Membership Committee and the officers of the Sumter County Citizens' Council met and adopted the following resolution:

WHEREAS, the sole purpose of this organization is to maintain and preserve segregation; and

WHEREAS, this organization does not condone the actions of any group seeking to bring about integration in the public school or elsewhere in this State, whether directly or through the process of "gradualism," now therefore,

BE IT RESOLVED: That any member of the Sumter County Citizens' Council who knowingly joins or affiliates with any group seeking to bring about integration in the public schools of South Carolina, or in the lives of our people, shall immediately be expelled from this organization.

Thereupon, as Earle L. Kirby was a member of the Sumter County Citizens' Council, he was summarily expelled from membership, was so notified by letter, and his membership fee returned.

The "workshop" was called off.

This report is made for the information of Members of Citizens' Councils. For additional information the following news is furnished: The "workshop" panel, chosen, according to the Press release, "because they have wisdom and experience in ways that work to relieve tensions and promote understanding for better living in South Carolina," were, in addition to Ira Kaye, the attorney from New York, Jack O'Dowd, of the Florence Morning News, who has written many editorials favoring the Decree of the Supreme Court and integration (Mr. O'Dowd has now moved to Chicago), Rev. Henry L. Parker, Orangeburg, Rev. Hawley Lynn, Columbia, and Rev. J. D. Rice, from Morris College.

It should be noted that the "workshop" was scheduled from 5:00 P. M. to 9 P. M., a time during which most of us are at home eating supper.

After the occurrance of the matter reported above, the Mayor of the City of Sumter, M. Priscilla Shaw, who is also the Vice-President of Shaw Lumber Company, wrote from North Carolina that she was in favor of the "Bi-racial" group established here. She mentioned on several occasions in her letter which was published in the Sumter Daily Item that she thought the group would prevent "violence" and "bloodshed." The Citizens' Councils have not advocated any such bloodshed and violence. Your Committee does not understand the frequent reference to "violence and bloodshed" in that the Citizens' Councils initially went on record as being opposed to any violence and, having so stated, has quietly stood on its record, believing that such a course is calmest and best, rather than to continuously refer to such unsettling phraseology.

Your Committees and your officers have met frequently to discuss questions raised by the turn of events as related. Your Policy Committee and the officers recently adopted the following resolution:

"*WHEREAS*, the purpose of the Sumter County Citizens' Council is to maintain and preserve segregation and

WHEREAS, any person or Bi-racial group advocating and seeking to bring about integration of the races in our public schools or otherwise in the lives of our people are instruments of destruction of our society and therefore should be recognized as such, now, therefore

BE IT RESOLVED, by the Policy Committee of Sumter County Citizens' Council in meeting assembled that these facts be brought to the attention of the membership of the Sumter County Citizens' Council.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that a copy of this resolution be sent to all members of the Sumter County Citizens' Council for their consideration."

Your Committees and your officers realize, of course, and appreciate the sentiment of the members of this Council. The foregoing is brought to your attention to show how insidiously those opposed to our views approach this situation, and the necessity of a watchful and united effort of those who wish to preserve our way of life.

Your Committees wish to commend to your attention that Ford, Phillip Morris, Philco, and others have been forced to retreat from certain active support of the forces of integration and the NAACP by actions of members of the Citizens' Councils and other anti-integration groups. Let us keep up the good work. We never know when, where, and in what form, the forces of integration and the destruction of our country may show themselves.

F. E. GIBSON, Chairman
Policy Committee

T. D. KEELS, Chairman
Sumter County Citizens' Council
August 14, 1956

Ford Foundation — Great Philanthropy

Chicago Chronicle 9-27-58

Persons who would criticize and/or boycott Ford Motor Company because Ford in the past has made donations to organizations which these critics disapprove of ought to be awarded a medal for their achievements in ingratitude.

Because we were practically born and raised in a chevrolet—our father having been one of the pioneer GM dealers in the two Carolinas—we might have had a highly conditioned prejudice against Ford, since they were our most successful competitors back in the depression days, when it really took some selling to move a car.

But that fact does not deter us from acknowledging the tremendous generosity and great humanitarian impulse which motivates the Ford family . . . a generosity which found expression last year in the greatest single act of philanthropy that this world has ever known.

The people of America owe a great deal to the Ford family, which has shown, through its Ford Foundation, that it is responsive to the obligations of good citizenship and good government which its powerful position in our economy imposes upon it.

Last year the Ford Foundation gave away to hospitals, schools and colleges $1 billion, with absolutely no strings attached. Just this week other gifts were announced, including a half million dollars to Duke Hospital. Many hospitals and colleges in South Carolina received large sums. Ford gave it because they had faith in our free enterprise system and in the American people; because they wanted to strengthen both by building a stronger, healthier, better educated America.

Compared to this tremendous act of Christian charity, these pigmy critics of Ford sound absurd. In the first place Ford does not stand alone in donating money to certain organizations whose purposes some of us may not entirely endorse. Most of the larger industries, including other auto industries, have given to the same outfits. In the second, it's not in the American tradition to boycott someone or some industry because they may not share all of our social or political views. In the third place, such boycotts are classic examples of cutting off ones nose to spite ones face.

We do not imagine that those people who would boycott Ford—because of a small gift it may have given in past years to some organization they didn't like—would refuse to send their child to some university under a scholarship made possible by Ford's philanthropy; or that they would refuse to send a loved one to a hospital for a new surgical technique, a new drug, or some new treatment made possible through research financed by Ford's gifts to hospitals and scientific centers.

One should, we would think, buy a car, a soft drink, a suit of clothes, a bottle of beer because they liked its performance, its taste or its appearance, and not because they liked or disliked the political or social views of the corporation which manufactured the products.

Foundation - Fund for the Republic

Staff

ATTACKS ON NAACP

Resolution adopted by the Administrative Committee of the American Jewish Congress on October 21, 1956 at New York City.

The effort by Southern state governments to nullify the Supreme Court decision declaring segregation in public schools unconstitutional has now become a concerted attack on the fundamental constitutional guarantees of freedom of thought and freedom of expression, through the device of destroying freedom of association. To that end, a number of states that have openly asserted their intention of preventing enforcement of the Supreme Court decision have enacted laws or initiated legal proceedings to outlaw or paralyze the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and to punish those who support its program.

This newest method of defending the institution of jimcrow is a greater menace to constitutional liberties than mob violence. In the guise of legality and with the stamp of governmental authority, these states are attempting to stop lawful organized protest against segregation and to deprive the Negro community of its chosen instrument for obtaining equality and the full rights of citizenship.

Some of the events that reveal the nature of this attack may be briefly described:

> The State of Alabama has obtained a court decree ousting the NAACP from the state for failing to register as a corporation and on the ground of other alleged illegal practices. In this proceeding, the state obtained an order directing the Association to divulge its membership list. When the Association refused to comply with that order because of the dangers to which its members would be exposed if their names were made public, a ruinous $100,000 fine was levied on it. Independently

of this action, Alabama has enacted a statute requiring all organizations, except military and religious bodies, to file membership lists every year.

Louisiana has also obtained court orders to exclude the Association from the state and to require it to make public the names of its members.

Texas has started proceedings to outlaw the NAACP because it did not register under an archaic statute and because its efforts to facilitate desegregation lawsuits are claimed to be illegal. In this proceeding, too,the court has issued an order forbidding the organization to function in the state.

Virginia has enacted a law containing elaborate registration and reporting requirements, including the disclosure of names and addresses of members, for all organizations promoting or opposing the passage of legislation "in behalf of any race or color" or advocating racial integration or segregation. It will be impossible for the NAACP to function in Virginia in accordance with this law's requirements.

Four states - Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi and South Carolina - have enacted laws making it difficult if not impossible for NAACP members to teach in the schools or hold any other government position.

Legislative investigations of the NAACP have been launched in Florida and Virginia to harass the Association and intimidate its members.

In Mississippi, the lesgislature has created a public commission, with a large appropriation and subpoena powers, to fight all elements antagonistic to the state's "way of life."

South Carolina has carried its campaign against the expression of dissent to the point of banning from state libraries all books that are "antagonistic and inimical to the traditions of South Carolina."

These measures are obviously designed to stifle the NAACP, the organization best equipped to organize the struggle against segregation, the organization chosen by the victims of segregation as the channel for the expression of their demands. Those who attack the NAACP recognize that efforts

to give reality to the high promise of the Supreme Court decision require effective organization. The oppressive actions described above are designed to interrupt communication among those who share the views of the NAACP and thereby to keep them from expressing those views effectively.

The democratic process of popular government depends on the existence of voluntary organizations. Wherever they are proscribed, constitutional freedoms are abrogated. And it matters not whether the proscription is accomplished by outlawry, exorbitant fines or exposure of the identity of members and supporters to a hostile community.

The right that is at stake is not that of the NAACP or organizations as such, but the right of individuals - of the people as a whole - to express themselves. Just as freedom of the press exists for the benefit not of the press but of those who may read, freedom of organization exists for the benefit of those who may make known their views and needs through organization.

Supreme Court decisions have established both the right of Southern Negroes to go to unsegregated schools and their right to voice opposition to state legislation that would nevertheless maintain segregation. These rights - of equality and freedom of expression - are no more than paper promises to those who cannot organize for their assertion. Individually, the Southern Negro is helpless against the power of a hostile state government. Joined with others, he can safeguard and exercise his constitutional rights.

These efforts by Southern state governments to establish the racially segregated "way of life" as "official" and to bar all organized opposition

to such doctrine are a threat to all Americans. Today the NAACP bears the brunt of these attacks; tomorrow it will be any other organization, civic, educational, labor or even religious, that dares to challenge any of the South's peculiar institutions. The entire nation will lose a part of its liberties if this attempt at controlling thought succeeds. All organized groups must recognize that they face a menace to their freedom of action.

The Federal government, in all its branches, has the obligation to oppose this already partly successful move to destroy constitutional guarantees. Since it is the Federal constitution that has been challenged, there can be no ground for adopting a hands-off policy. The theory of the Fourteenth Amendment is that, at those times when state governments oppress their own people, the national government must intervene to protect the democratic processes necessary to the republican form of government.

The President himself, elected by and representative of all the people, is in a position to remind us all, and particularly the officials of Southern states, of the importance of freedom of association and of the role played in our popular government by the NAACP and similar organizations. He should make it clear that he regards the steps described above as an illegal attempt to destroy the NAACP and that he will marshal the resources of the Federal Government to prevent such a denial of constitutional rights.

The Department of Justice has in the past recognized that it cannot be silent on the issue of state-imposed segregation. The briefs filed by both Democratic and Republican Attorneys General in the school segregation cases when they were pending in the Supreme Court embodied the position

of the national governments on that issue. But the filing of those briefs did not discharge the Federal government of its responsibility. Now that the Supreme Court has spoken, the Department of Justice has the further duty to make its voice known and its influence felt in the continuing judicial battle to give the Court's decision reality. The Department of Justice has recognized that duty in at least one recent Federal case in which it urged court action against mob violence. It is at least equally important that the Department of Justice intervene in the state court proceedings now pending in which the legality of the measures designed to suppress the NAACP will be determined.

The challenge to constitutional liberty must likewise be met by the United States Congress, acting under its express power to enact legislation to enforce the guarantees of the Fourteenth Amendment. As a necessary first step, it should hold full hearings that will inform Congress, and the nation as a whole, of the nature, extent and implications of the measures that have been taken to prevent the NAACP from opposing the illegal aims of Southern state governments. Indeed, one may hope that their exposure to the public will compel their abandonment without further Congressional action.

NOW, THEREFORE, the Administrative Committee of the American Jewish Congress

1. Calls upon all individuals and organizations dedicated to the maintenance of constitutional liberty to come to the defense of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People against the unprincipled attacks to which it is being subjected, recognizing in these attacks a threat to that freedom of association necessary to the exercise of other constitutional freedoms;
2. Calls upon the United States Congress to conduct a public investigation of the extent to which constitutional freedoms have been invaded by these attacks and, on the basis of its findings, to take appropriate action under its legislative power to enforce the Fourteenth Amendment;
3. Calls upon the United States Department of Justice to intervene in the various proceedings in the Southern states that are designed to outlaw the NAACP, paralyze its lawful activities or curb advocacy of its program of desegregating the public schools;
4. Calls upon the President of the United States to realize the vast potentialities for moral leadership inherent in his office by condemning publicly this campaign of oppression and exercising his influence to bring it to an end.

Sent in by Helen Louise
Cohen, 94 Olivet St., Rochester,
New York.

see "Co, gen. cards" ltr
dtd 1/2/57

~~see "Co", gen. card~~

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Not A Successor

To The News and Courier:

We do not feel called upon to speak in derogation of any other organization. But we think that the record should be set straight as to the origin of the Southern Regional Council in view of a recent letter in The News and Courier from Mr. James E. Godkin of Beaufort.

Mr. Godkin charged that the Southern Regional Council is the successor of an organization called the Southern Conference for Human Welfare.

The Southern Regional Council was chartered early in 1944 and is the direct outgrowth of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, which was founded in 1919. The Southern Conference for Human Welfare was organized in 1938 and survived until about 1949.

One can readily see that the Council was in existence about five years prior to the disbandment of the SCHW; and therefore, the Council could not possibly be the successor of the SCHW as Mr. Godkin charges.

GEORGE S. MITCHELL
(Executive Director, Southern Regional Council)
63 Auburn Ave.,
Atlanta.

NC Dec 7 1956

the Messrs. Butler and Humphrey, | talking with Senator Humphrey

Regional Council

To The News and Courier:

George S. Mitchell, executive director, Southern Regional Council (described as "the most effective interracial organization in the South" in The New York Times, Oct. 17, 1955), apparently is attempting to befuddle the public by his letter to The News and Courier claiming that the Southern Regional Council is not the (or a) successor of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare.

The fact is, nevertheless, that all five persons who organized and incorporated the SRC in 1944 were or had been members of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare (SCHW). These were: Dr. George S. Mitchell, formerly a vice-chairman of the SCHW; Ralph McGill, editor of the Atlanta Constitution, an early member of SCHW; Dr. Rufus E. Clement (Negro), president of Atlanta University, member of executive board of SCHW; the late Dr. Charles S. Johnson (Negro), president of Fisk University, member of executive board of SCHW, and the late Dr. Howard W. Odum, a sponsor of the second Southern Conference for Human Welfare. This information is from the records and reports of the House Un-American Activities Committee and The Bulletin of the Fund for the Republic.

The SCHW was first cited as a Communist front by the HUAC in 1944. The HUAC has stated that the SCHW's "professed interest in Southern welfare is simply an expedient for larger aims serving the Soviet Union. . ." Apparently the SCHW leaders, realizing that the citing of the SCHW as a Communist front would expose its Red aims, set up the Southern Regional Council to carry on the questionable activities of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare.

STANLEY F. MORSE
Charleston.

Dec. 16 1956

HATTIESBURG 3/14/57

Letters To Editor

MUST CLEANSE OUR HEARTS

I am not in the habit of reading articles airing the views of Communists or ex-Communists but someone called my attention to an article in the Hattiesburg American for March 9 which mentioned so called "Southern Red fronts" and gave officers and directors of the Mississippi Council on Human Relations. The list, which included my name was out of date. I allowed my name to be used as a director for a short time but withdrew it several months ago, as did the other Hattiesburg lady mentioned. I felt that there should be an organization containing good white people that good Negro leaders could turn to in time of tension. During that time I attended one meeting which was held in the Y. W. C. A. in Jackson. For most of that short period the president was one of our finest Christian leaders and a woman of superior social standing. She is travelling abroad at this time.

As to the accusation of a red-tainted origin, my information is that its former organization was the old Southern Anti - Lynching Society which was made up largely of Southern white women of high character. The testimony given in the Saturday paper was from self-confessed ex-Communists who were excited by politicians listening to their views and suspicions.

My father was a sawmill man who employed many Negroes. He worked for their welfare and helped them with their problems. I was taught that was our responsibility, not only as Christians but as first class citizens. We who are praying for a Christian revival will not have it until we cleanse our hearts of suspicion and replace it with active goodwill.

Mrs. E. E. Deen

Editor The American:

I wish to endorse the statement of Mrs. Deen and to say further that from the two meetings of the Mississippi Council of Human Relations which I attended and from any other possible source of information I have never had any reason to believe that either the Southern Regional Council or the Mississippi Council of Human Relations were other than they claim to be, strictly non - political, non-pressure groups, or that either had any connection whatsoever with any pressure groups.

Signed,
Alma Hickman

THANKS

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Race Relations

A FRANK TALK TO NORTH AND SOUTH ABOUT "INTEGRATION"

A Southern leader with a reputation as a moderate raises a storm warning on the current struggle over integration.

Virginius Dabney, newspaper editor and former teacher, discusses these problems:

- **Has there been too much haste in mixing whites and Negroes in some schools?**
- **What do white Southerners fear most about sending children to mixed schools?**
- **Does the "civil rights" program before Congress threaten traditional liberties?**
- **Is the North covering up its own racial strife by pointing a finger at the South?**

Mr. Dabney reviews a vexing issue.

Following is full text of an address by Virginius Dabney, editor of the Richmond, Va., "Times-Dispatch," before a meeting of the National Association of Secondary-School Principals in Washington, D. C., Feb. 26, 1957:

Mr. Chairman and members of the Association:

I am glad you asked me to speak to you this morning on "Where We Are on Integration" rather than "Where We Are Going on Integration." I would much prefer to try to tell you what the present posture of interracial relations is than to try to predict what the next few years will bring forth. As a newspaper editor, I have to dust off my crystal ball from time to time and to gaze knowingly into my tea leaves, but the job of forecasting the immediate interracial future in certain areas of the South is, I confess, beyond my powers.

As public-school principals, you are inevitably concerned over the effect of the interracial controversy upon the public-school systems of the various States. In some of those States the effect has not been particularly pronounced one way or the other, whereas in others it has been profound—even potentially catastrophic.

This latter aspect of the problem is one which also concerns me greatly. As a citizen, as a former teacher in a private preparatory school and a parent with a son in a public high school, I am deeply troubled by the thought that the growing intensity of the struggle over integration in some eight or nine Southern States may disrupt, and even close down entirely, the systems of public education in several of those States.

A more chaotic condition would be difficult to imagine. Aside from the educational problems involved, consider the enormous rise in juvenile delinquency which would inevitably accompany such a development.

Already we are encountering acute problems in the educational field in a number of Southern States, and the end not yet. Appropriation of school funds from month to month, uncertainty of the future for schoolteachers, reluctance of citizens to accept appointments to school boards are some of the disturbing phenomena which confront us.

In the Border States, where integration has been proceeding smoothly for the most part, there have been problems growing out of the two to three-year educational lag often noticed in the performance of Negro students by comparison with white students of the same age. Granted that much of this is due to inferior school facilities heretofore available to colored pupils in those areas, and to inferior living conditions—the problem is a huge and bafflin one, nevertheless.

The question of how to avoid handicapping white children by throwing them into classes with Negro children who are incapable of doing the work must be giving many of you genuine concern. The parallel question of how to bring the colored students up t the required level of achievemer doubtless concerns you no less.

Here in this great city of Washington, where 70 per cent of the school population is colored, these problems are particularly acute Although integration is now in it third year here, solutions are a long way off according to the best information I can get. It seems clear to me that mixed schools were put into effect here with too much haste and too little preparation.

The situation described by the principal of the John Pitman Elementary School in Kirkwood, Mo.

Virginius Dabney comes of an old Virginia family, numbers Thomas Jefferson among his forebears. Winner of a Pulitzer Prize for journalism in 1948, he is editor of the Richmond "Times-Dispatch," one of the South's most influential dailies.

Born in Virginia in 1901, Mr. Dabney was graduated at 19 from the University of Virginia, where he was a member of Phi Beta Kappa. After getting an M. A. and teaching for a year, he entered journalism in 1922.

As an editor Mr. Dabney is considered to be a liberal. Among the causes for which he has fought are the end of segregated transportation and for a two-party system in the South.

A Southern Editor Who Favors Desegregation In Buses and Streetcars Discusses:

Why the South Fears "Mongrelization"

How "Civil Rights" Plan Threatens Liberty

What Negroes Do to Hurt Their Own Cause

Effects of "Haste" in Mixing Schools

one of the first schools in that State to desegregate—is a disurbing one. At the end of two years of desegregation, Mrs. . A. Compton, the principal, said to a representative of Southern School News" that the teachers there felt that "the holastic disparity remains just as great and that it is now mplicated by feelings of frustration and defensiveness on the rt of the Negroes—feelings which come out in the form of ater aggressiveness, arrogance and bad temper." It was ded, however, that none of this constitutes an argument inst integration, and that progress in the immediate future hoped for.

Over against such a report as this must be put that made recently for the city of Baltimore, for example, by Superintendent of Public Instruction John H. Fischer, who said, "On the basis of our experience it seems clear that, by desegregating our schools, we have substantially improved the educational opportunities of Negro children without reducing in any way those available to white children."

Baltimore, unlike Washington, did not make the mistake of trying to integrate everybody almost overnight. If we are to have integration generally—and many of us in the South are strongly of the opinion that we are a long way from ready for this in numerous parts of the region—the Baltimore system is far superior to the Washington ystem.

Baltimore did not try to force the races together. It allowed pupils of both races to decide which schools they wished to attend. The first year, only 3 per cent of the Negroes enrolled in white schools. This rose to 7.4 per cent the next year and the figure is now 13.8 per cent.

But even Washington, dubious as its school policies seem to me to have been in certain respects, is more restrained than New York City in its approach to the problem. As you are doubtless aware, they are transporting children all the way across town in New York, away from the neighborhood schools which they have been reaching conveniently on foot these many years, and compelling them to enroll with members of the opposite race.

All this is being done at great inconvenience and expense, on the theory that a modest degree of integration is not enough. We must have total and complete integration everywhere and at once, it would seem. The folly and absurdity of this strikes me as obvious.

In my home State of Virginia, the U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals ruled, on motion of the NAACP [National Association for the Advancement of Colored People], that an excellent regional high school for Negroes in Christiansburg was operating illegally because some of the colored children had to travel longer distances to that school than some of the white children in the area had to travel to their schools.

But we now have this same NAACP instrumental in forcing Negro children in New York to travel all the way across town, instead of attending their neighborhood schools, in order that every child may have what is termed "the right to attend a mixed school." Words fail me in commenting on this fantastic arrangement.

Benjamin Fine of the New York "Times" says many New Yorkers are leaving the city for the suburbs because of it, and that the suburban schools are superior, one reason being that they are more "homogeneous."

I find it easy to understand when Omer Carmichael, superintendent of the smoothly integrated Louisville schools, declares, as he did last week, that the NAACP is chiefly responsible for the Southern chaos over desegregation. Not content with achieving reasonable gains, this organization continues to press for drastic changes that cannot possibly be granted, and would not work in the South if they were.

The attitude manifested in Arkansas last year illustrates the point. The plan worked out there for progressive integration in the Little Rock schools, beginning on the high-school level in 1957, was rejected by the NAACP as unsatisfactory. Its leaders were unwilling to admit that this plan represented a long advance toward their goal. Obviously, they insist on having the moon handed them on a silver platter and are unwilling to proceed by gradual steps. Such an unstatesmanlike attitude is hard to reconcile with the genuine advances the NAACP has achieved for the colored people of this country.

In Virginia, I regret to say, the State Legislature has been unfair to the NAACP. It has passed bills designed to harass that organization by obtaining and publicizing the names of all its members and their financial contributions. This is a dangerous action, and one which the Virginia Assemblymen may well live to regret. The legislative harassment of an

. . . In Deep South, "resistance to integration is tremendous"

organization which happens to be unpopular could easily prove a boomerang for the responsible parties.

True, the statutes in question apply equally to such organizations as the White Citizens' Councils, which are fighting integration. I am awaiting tangible evidence that these organizations will be harassed in the same manner as the NAACP.

There is no doubt of the unpopularity in the South of both the NAACP and the Supreme Court's 1954 decision ordering an end to segregation in the schools. The latest Gallup poll, which reported that it reflected the views of both white and colored citizens in the Southern States, found two thirds of those canvassed to disapprove the Court's

—USN&WR Photo

ON MIXED SCHOOLS, Mr. Dabney says, "it behooves us all to evidence a greater measure of good will"

ruling. By contrast, the poll found nearly two thirds of those in the rest of the country applauding the same ruling.

All of which raises a question as to the implications of such a situation for the South. How long can the South afford to remain in flat and violent disagreement with the North and West on so fundamental an issue as race relations?

Yet there are no indications whatever at this time of a shift of opinion in nine of the 11 States which constituted the Confederacy. In Texas and Arkansas, the so-called "black belt" areas appear to be as adamant as ever against integration, although some mixing has gone forward in other regions, especially in Texas.

But in Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana the resistance to integration is tremendous. Except for the much-disputed entry of about a dozen Negroes into the Clinton, Tenn., high school, there has been absolutely no integration in the public schools of these nine States.

If I had to single out one anti-integrationist argument that seems to influence the greatest number of Southern whites against mixed schools, it would be the argument that mixed schools lead to "mongrelization." Other sections of the United States sneer and jeer at this argument. Herbert Ravenel Sass of Charleston, S. C., presented the ultraconservative Southern position on this about as well as it can be presented in the Novemb 1956, issue of the "Atlantic Monthly." Promptly the mag e was flooded with derisive letters from the North and West hooting at Mr. Sass and his thesis.

Now, it may be possible to argue that integration woul not increase the likelihood of racial amalgamation—althoug any visitor to most of the countries of Central and South America with his eyes open would be likely to reach the opposite conclusion. But even if we accept this argument, which I do not, the desirability that every race strive to maintain its own integrity seems to me to be indisputable There is nothing in my thesis of bigotry or prejudice, an nothing having to do with supposed racial superiority or in feriority.

My point is that the Negro should wish, no less than th white, to retain his racial identity and his cultural heritage, t the end that his race's indisputably great achievements can l properly recognized and handed down to his posterity.

"Acts of Violence" Are "Criminal"

Perhaps the most alarming phenomenon in the South this time is to be found in the repeated acts of violer against Negroes which are not only criminal and utt wrong, but which are bringing the entire region into disrepute in the eyes of civilized people everywhere. The bombings, beatings and shootings which are occurring in some areas, with whites as the guilty parties, are in glaring contrast to the passive and law-abiding attitude of Negro leaders—in the Montgomery bus boycott, for example.

On the other hand, the criminality and immorality of many Negroes is one of the chief reasons why white Southerners object so strongly to mixed schools. Granted that other races might have similar records if they had been enslaved for centuries and then had had to live in slums and to fight against all manner of handicaps. Yet the fact remains that the Negro crime and illegitimacy rates are everywhere so vastly greater than those of the whites that these statistic have an alarming impact on the minds of parents, especiall those of adolescent white boys and girls who would b thrown into rather intimate contact with colored boys and girls in integrated schools.

If I may be pardoned a personal reference, I should like to say that, for the past quarter of a century, I have striven to eliminate some of the major handicaps from which Negroes have suffered in the South. I was a member of the Atlanta conference which met in the early 1940s, in response to an appeal from Negro leaders who had met shortly before at Durham, N. C., and had asked that Southern Negroes be treated more fairly and equitably. I was a director of the Southern Regional Council which was then organized in an effort to achieve these objectives.

I was the first Southern newspaper editor to urge abolition of segregation on streetcars and buses. I proposed this late in 1943, but was unable to persuade the legislature of Virginia to accept my suggestion.

(Continued on page 116)

. . . "The race problem is not regional but national"

Our inability to get this and other reasonable concessions for the Negro from the white leaders of the South caused the Negro leaders of the region to turn to their racial compatriots in the North. The South's Negro leadership would have been satisfied, I believe, at least for a time, with much less than the all-out objectives subsequently sought by the NAACP.

But the white leaders of the region were unable to deliver, and the result was that the effort of the Negro leadership of the South to "keep the capital of the Negro race in Atlanta," as one of them put it, failed. It was then that the NAACP's drive for the abolition of segregation got under way, with the support of Southern Negro leaders, and the "capital" moved to New York.

How Races Were "Driven Apart"

The tragic fact today in the South is that hardly any liaison remains between the white leadership and the Negro leadership. Not only so, but, until a few years ago, Negroes were being elected regularly to city councils and school boards in several Southern States, and it was the most natural thing in the world for white and colored leaders to sit down together for discussion of their mutual problems.

These things are no longer true. The two races have been driven apart by the rancorous arguments over segregation, with the result that hardly any avenues of communication exist in most areas. The NAACP leadership has committed all Negroes so completely to its drive for total integration that any white who dissents from this view is stigmatized as an enemy of the Negro race. Of course, Negro dissenters are assailed with still greater violence, and are pilloried in much of the Negro press as "Uncle Toms," "handkerchief heads," and so on.

I hold no brief for the extremist journals in the South published by whites. Some of them are no better than organs of the resurgent Ku Klux Klan. But it is dismaying to find a once well-balanced Negro paper such as the Norfolk "Journal and Guide" saying, apropos of anti-integrationist legislation adopted in Virginia, "We have a determination on the part of a majority of Virginians to continue slavery in spirit and practice."

And the temper of the more extreme Negro press is seen in a recent editorial which appeared—soon after the birthday of Robert E. Lee—in the "Afro-American" chain, largest Negro chain in the nation. It dealt with the proposal in Congress by a Northern member to have Lee's citizenship restored. The "Afro-American" said, in part: "If Lee was stripped of his citizenship it was because the country just after the war felt that should be the penalty for a traitor who violated his oath and carried on a war to destroy the union and preserve slavery. . . . He was engaged as a rebel and traitor in a foul and dirty business. The dear God passes judgment on him now."

In view of the universal verdict of leading historians in this country and Great Britain as to the nobility of Lee's character and the purity of his motives, further comment on this outburst seems unnecessary. It does serve to illustrate the bitterness which infuses a large segment of the Negro press.

The Negro schoolteachers of the South should be deeply concerned over this whole controversy. There are from 75,000 to 80,000 of them, and the great danger is that many of them will lose their positions if matters are pushed to the ultimate conclusion and mixed schools are forced in certain areas.

The unwillingness of many white Southerners to have their children taught by colored teachers is the crux of this situation. Some will consider this attitude narrow-minded, but it exists in such definite form that it cannot be ignored. Several hundred Negro teachers have lost their jobs already in the Border States, chiefly Oklahoma, but I understand that most of them have been re-employed elsewhere.

The criticism heaped upon us by our Northern friends because many white Southerners, by and large, do not wish their children taught by Negro teachers, would come with better grace, I submit, if the public schools of the North employed more Negro teachers. The number, as is well known to each of you, is infinitesimal by comparison with the number in the South. Even where the colored population is enormous, as in New York, Philadelphia, Detroit and Chicago there are few Negro teachers. No satisfactory explanation for this has ever come to my attention.

Permit me to remark parenthetically that the average salary of the tens of thousands of Negro teachers in the South is about equal to that of the white teachers, and in at least three Southern States—Virginia, North Carolina and Tennessee—the average annual salary of Negro teachers is higher than that of white teachers. It must be confessed that the NAACP is largely responsible for bringing Negro teachers' salaries up to white level. There is no telling how long it would have taken to achieve this objective, had it not been for the suits filed and won by that organization.

While we are discussing the attitude of the North, or certain segments of it, to the race problem, it seems appropriate to emphasize that this problem is not regional but national.

Troubles in Northern States

Just the other day I read of how a Negro man was beaten to death on the streets of Boston by white hoodlums who had begun yelling epithets at him when they saw him escorting a white woman.

You are, of course, familiar with the situation in Chicago, where scores if not hundreds of police had to guard Negro families around the clock for more than three years at the Trumbull Park housing project. The clear implication of this situation is that these Negroes would have been mobbed long ago for moving into that housing development, but for the protection afforded them.

The mayor of Dearborn, Mich., makes it a well-publicized practice not to allow a single Negro to settle in that community of 125,000 people. "Negroes can't get in here," His Honor declared last year. "Every time we hear of a Negro moving in we respond quicker than you do to a fire." The mayor was given an overwhelming vote of confidence recently, so his policies evidently are regarded with favor and approval by the people of Dearborn.

I hope it is unnecessary for me to say that I abhor the sort of thing that is here described as happening in Boston, Chicago and Dearborn. These things are disgusting and disgraceful. The fact remains that these occurrences—and others which might be mentioned—have all taken place outside the South. Furthermore, the fact that Negroes had to be protected from mobs 24 hours a day for more than three years in the State of Abraham Lincoln is not without its ironic and tragic implications.

Another point which needs to be made, I believe, is the attitude in the North toward the South's so-called "lawless-

(Continued on page 118)

. . . Negroes should "see the folly of forcing the issue"

ness" and "flouting of the Constitution and the Supreme Court."

I do not defend or condone lawlessness, whether in the North or the South, but it is a bit dismaying to observe that some of our Northern compatriots seem to regard lawlessness as something which is not only acceptable but admirable when it occurs in accordance with what is deemed to be the sentiment of their particular communities.

Only a few weeks ago, for example, Mayor Richardson Dilworth of Philadelphia applauded this attitude. Speaking apropos of a State law forbidding Sunday basketball in the City of Brotherly Love, His Honor said:

> "Free people refuse to knuckle under to laws which completely ignore their welfare and desires. . . . Just as long as the legislature refuses to permit cities the right to determine what activities their citizens are entitled to engage in on Sunday, it is inevitable that the law will be ignored."

I wonder whether the Philadelphia newspaper which has been denouncing Southerners who boggle at all-out integration as bigots and flouters of the "law of the land" has been equally caustic in its references to Mayor Dilworth, who loudly proclaims his intention to ignore the law. Incidentally, Mayor Dilworth is all for "liberalizing" the Democratic Party and putting those law-violating Southerners in their place.

And while we are on this general subject, a great many of those in the North who are blasting the South for failure to comply with the mandates of the Supreme Court on integration violated the Constitution and the statutes wholesale during the prohibition era.

Of course, I realize that no one in *this* audience could conceivably have patronized a bootlegger when the late lamented "noble experiment" was our prop and stay, but there were thousands, aye millions, who did so. In doing so, they flouted a duly enacted amendment to the Constitution and duly approved acts of Congress—not opinions handed down by the Supreme Court. Yet some of these very drinkers of white mule and bathtub gin are loudest in clamoring today that the South has no respect for law and order!

The Problem of "Intolerance"

Ladies and gentlemen, we are heading into an era of intersectional tension and misunderstanding, and the intolerance that is being manifested on both sides of Mason and Dixon's Line is not reassuring. It behooves us all to evidence a greater measure of sanity and good will and to stop hurling epithets.

The recent actions of a federal judge in Tennessee in connection with the racial disorder at Clinton have alarmed many students of the Constitution, both North and South. They feel that the jurist in question showed a lamentable disregard for certain constitutional verities, and ignored the time-honored right of defendants to free speech and to a jury trial. They feel that the court was too sweeping in its injunctions.

The whole episode seemed symbolic of the prevailing tendency in certain quarters to go to the utmost extremes if integration is thereby promoted—whether by hauling school children many miles away from their neighborhood schools or by stretching the Constitution and the statutes in the name of "liberalism," "democracy," "brotherhood," or what have you.

I would not wish to seem to imply that all the examples of extremism are to be found in the North. In South Carolina, for instance, something very close to witch hunting and book burning has been approved almost unanimously by the State Legislature. That body adopted a resolution last year asking the State Library Board to remove existing books and to screen future books that are "antagonistic and inimical to the traditions and customs of this State."

The "civil rights" program now before Congress is a perfect example of the sort of extremist legislation which frightens and dismays the South—and should frighten and dismay the whole country. Has it been seriously contemplated before in this land that persons "about to engage in" certain acts could be arrested and haled into court?

Dangers of "Thought Control"

Yet, one of the provisions of a pending civil-rights bill embodies this amazing language. Even Congressman Adam Clayton Powell, of New York, not exactly a "race baiter" or a "white supremacist," has said that this plan to arrest persons "about to engage in" certain activities seems to him dangerously like "thought control."

The civil-rights program also appears to negate the right to trial by jury, and it would enable the Attorney General to file, *at public expense*, suits on behalf of persons who contend that their civil rights have been violated. Another provision would seem to empower a proposed civil-rights commission to summon any citizen from any part of the United States to any other part to defend himself against charges, the nature of which was completely unknown to him prior to receipt of the subpoena.

Most of the foregoing is vouched by former judges who are now members of Congress as being in accord with reasonable interpretation of the language of these "civil rights" bills. Such far-reaching legislation should have much more careful scrutiny than it appears to be getting. A majority of Congress seems to be so bemused by the phrase "civil rights" that it is reluctant to vote against anything which bears the label, no matter how dangerous its potentialities. And these particular measures have about as many potentialities for evil, and for interracial conflict, as have been presented to Congress in a long time.

In conclusion, let me say that I end as I began—reluctant, indeed unwilling, to try to forecast the future of the current interracial upheaval in the South. We are heading into stormy seas, I fear. The Deep South, it must be said in all frankness, has no present intention of integrating its public schools.

Several of those States have a fixed determination to close their schools entirely rather than mingle the races in them. All courts, as far as I know, agree that this would be legal, however deplorable from an educational and social standpoint.

Let us hope, therefore, that the NAACP will see the folly of forcing the issue in these States, and will exhibit a statesmanlike restraint. Enormous gains have been made by the Negro race in education and every other sphere throughout the entire South, and additional gains will be made if only the responsible leadership of the race will assert itself.

What the ultimate future holds is not for me to say. I only know that the course of wisdom for the NAACP today is for that militant organization to "back up," to consolidate its gains and to refrain from pushing matters so fast and so far as to pass the "point of no return." Otherwise, it will do irreparable harm to the cause of Negro advancement and interracial amity. [END]

Ex-Reds Bore Into Integration Issue

This is the last in a series of reports on the school integration issue, written after a two-week trip through South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama and Mississippi.

By Alfred Friendly
Managing Editor

For three days last month, a special Louisiana state legislative committee conducted hearings in Baton Rouge. They were designed to show Communists were at the bottom of the integration movement—and that they had infiltrated or controlled organizations working for desegregation of the South's schools.

Prime target was the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Star witnesses were a number of professional ex-Communists well known to the headlines three or four years ago. The most notorious of them was Manning Johnson, principal denouncer in the loyalty investigation of United Nations Undersecretary Ralph J. Bunche. His accusations were discredited.

In Baton Rouge, Johnson assailed the NAACP and then went on to accuse the Southern Regional Council, [illegible] of being founded by Co[illegible] from that stage, he proceeded [illegible] venerable Mississippi [illegible] on Human Relations as "affiliated" with the Southern Regional Council. The facts are that the Mississippi Council was founded in 1919 by some of the South's leading clergymen, and once accepted a grant of money from the Southern Regional Council, itself eminently respectable.

One of the persons named by Johnson as a board member of the Mississippi Council (along with the Catholic Bishop of Mississippi and several other outstanding ministers) was a Mrs. D. S. Wheatley, of Greenwood, Miss.

Johnson testified on March 8. Six days later a shot was fired into Mr. and Mrs. Wheatley's house.

Presumably it was not intended to kill but just to [illegible] the gun was fired [illegible] dark-ened dining [illegible] Mrs. Wheatley was [illegible] under a light in another part of the house. The bullet drilled a neat hole in the dining room window, pierced a dividing wall, knocking out a chunk of plaster, hit the far wall of the living room and dropped to the floor.

The Wheatleys are scarcely agitators or radicals. They have run a cotton business in Greenwood for many years. The husband is a born Southerner; the wife has lived in Mississippi for 30 years or more. She is the daughter of an Episcopal clergyman, the sister and sister-in-law of other Episcopal [illegible] and missionaries, and he[illegible] president of the Episcopal women[illegible] tion of her state.

She is soft-spoken, middle-aged, gray-haired, unassuming. Sitting in her pleasant but momentarily chipped living room, Mrs. Wheatley recently reminisced to a visitor about the Mississippi Council on Human Relations. She admitted, ruefully, that it hadn't really done very much. It had a few hundred members, mostly Negro, and met once a year, just for some discussion. In fact, said Mrs. Wheatley, it didn't do a thing, when you come to think of it.

Mostly, she felt, it was for [illegible] benefit of the white mem[illegible] [illegible] them to see some [illegible] [illegible]gressive Negroes.

To too many Southerners, she explained, the Negro is known only as a sharecropper, field hand or domestic servant. They have not seen Negroes of better position and better education. And so—with a glance at the bullet hole—you must have a lot of sympathy for these people.

And you know, Mrs. Wheatley mused, some good may come of the shooting. For a wonderful thing happened. On his way to work next day, 50 persons shook Wheatley's hand, expressing horror and outrage at what had happened. They said that sort of thing just wasn't Greenwood. And much the same thing happened to Mrs. Wheatley: So many people telephoned her to express indignation and sorrow. And there was not one unpleasant call.

The story is told here because it centers on a point of great importance for the future of school integration, and of race relations, in the Deep South—the point of violence.

When, under court order, some beginning is made in the Deep South toward school desegregation in the next few years, as is inevitable, there will be the threat or the actuality of violence.

[illegible] question will be the [illegible] best people' in each town, the good citizens who, though not themselves the political officeholders, nevertheless hold the ultimate power and responsibility in each community. They oppose integration for their time and age, but their instinct and their interest is in law and order.

They feel deeply and sincerely that desegregation is wrong for their town. Accordingly, will they look the other way while the riff-raff, who are willing if not eager to use violence, attempt to stop integration by violent acts? Or will they say that much as they oppose integration, they hate law violation and breach of the peace worse, and therefore try to stop it? Will they feel that if the rowdies stop desegregation by violent methods, their position and authority will be threatened? And if they do try to maintain law and order and abide by rulings stemming from the Supreme Court's desegregation decisions, will they be strong enough to win, and to carry the community with them?

One watches for clues to the future in what happened at Clinton, Tenn.; and at Clay and Sturgis in Kentucky; at Hoxie in Arkansas and Mansfield in Texas, and even in Greenwood. In some places the readings show one thing and in other places another.

In scores of cities and towns in the Deep South, the most respected and influential citizens are members of Citizens Councils, organizations dedicated to the preservation of racial separation. Yet one hears these citizens often remark that "at the first sign of violence, we're getting out."

Will they get out? No one knows about that or about anyone's behavior when the last-ditch segregationists seek to defend their cause with terror.

But the way in which America's single greatest domestic problem is resolved hinges on the answer to that question.

The End.

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8657 APR 29 '57

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

WASHINGTON, D. C.

Civil Rights Section
Criminal Division

29 Apr 1957

WD:RMH:sbh
146-7-51-136

Mr. Roy Wilkins,
Executive Secretary,
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored
People
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Mr. Wilkins:

This acknowledges your letter of March 28, 1957 referring to testimony recently given by a witness, Manning Johnson, before a joint legislative committee of the State of Louisiana. According to your letter, Manning Johnson has been quoted in several news organs, including the Charleston, South Carolina NEWS AND COURIER, issue of March 9, 1957, as having testified that he is "now employed as Director of Research for the Department of Justice in Washington" and that the NAACP "has become a vehicle of the Communist Party designed to overthrow the Government of the United States." You request that we inform you whether Manning Johnson is employed by the Department as Director of Research or otherwise, and whether, in the testimony as quoted, he spoke for this Department or reflected its views.

Manning Johnson is not employed by the Department of Justice as Director of Research or in any other capacity. In fact there is not nor has there ever been any such position as Director of Research in this Department. Further, with respect to any testimony Manning Johnson may have given before the above mentioned committee, he had no authority to speak for or on behalf of the Department of Justice. You may be assured that his testimony

concerning the alleged relationship between the NAACP and the Communist Party does not, in any manner, reflect the views of this Department or any findings it has made.

We have advised THE NEWS AND COURIER of Manning Johnson's non-employment with this Department. We understand that this newspaper published a corrective article in its issue of March 12, 1957.

Sincerely,

WARREN OLNEY III
Assistant Attorney General
Criminal Division

By: Arthur B. Caldwell
ARTHUR B. CALDWELL
Chief, Civil Rights Section

U. N. Third Finger — W. H. O.
WORLD HEALTH ORGANIZATION

W. H. O. ORGANIZED IN NEW YORK.
From "The United Nations and How It Works", page 23:

"The World Health Organization was started by a Conference in New York in July, 1946, where representatives of 61 countries set up an interim Commission to work on International health. The permanent organization came into being on April 7, 1948, when 26 members had ratified its Constitution, April 7 is now celebrated all over the world as World Health Day."

W. H. O. BACKED THE BILL WHICH MAY BECOME A SIBERIA FOR THE UNITED STATES.

Senate Bill 2973; H. R. 6876 Alaska Bill for Mental Health provides one million acres to be purchased in Alaska for mental health. Under this Bill your rights of protection could be swept away. The Bill provides for "MENTAL OR RELATED ILLNESSES", also "HAVING A PHSYCHIATRIC OR OTHER DISEASE". You may be taken to Alaska without warning by appointed officials who feel that you are not a fit citizen.

Mental health leaders—The Social Hygiene and Mental Health Assn. of Jefferson County installed its 1957 officers at its annual meeting at Liberty Life Insurance Co. auditorium last night. From left they are the Rev. Alfred W. Hobart, second vice president; Mrs. James V. Kidd, first vice president;

Workshop for retarded adults will be opened

A workshop where mentally retarded young adults will have a chance to use their abilities, and be paid for their work will open here this week.

The workshop is in the old Salvation Army Building at 744 18th-st, s, adjacent to the Medical Center.

PIGMAN

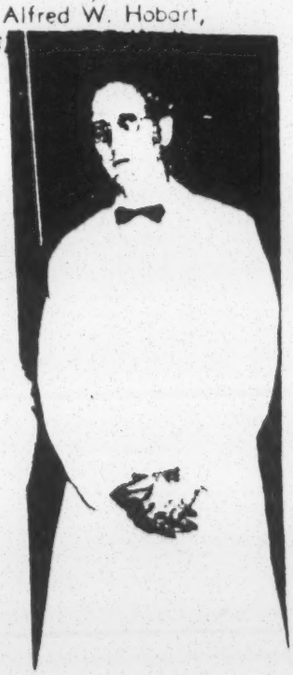
It will be under a federal grant issued to the local Assn. for Aid to Retarded Children which operates Opportunity Center. Ward Pigman, director of Opportunity Center, will also serve as director of the workshop.

ONDAY, DECEMBER 30, 1957

Expert talks on Sputnik

Science and technology need a more secure place in the policy-making levels of American government, Dr. Ward Pigman of the University of Alabama Medical Center said Sunday.

DR. PIGMAN addressed the annual meeting of the American Assn for the Advancement of Science in Indianapolis, Ind.



WILLIAM WARD PIGMAN B S M A Ph D

Motives

Why are people in favor of fluoridating public water supply systems?

Communists approve of fluoridation, and the reasons are obvious. If you can establish the practice of giving mass medication to the people through public water supply systems, how easy will it be to start introducing tranquilizing drugs into the water — to make people placid and amenable to control and authority: to improve their mental health, in other words?

Wednesday, November 6, 1957

Water Fluoridation Rejected By Big Vote

DOVER, N.H. (AP) — A proposal to fluoridate the city water supply was defeated decisively yesterday by a vote of 3,948 to 651.

Two members of the Board of Health campaigned vigorously against the plan claiming fluorides were poison, especially harmful to aged people, and that their use was advocated by Communists. It was supported by the Dover Dental Society and several parent-teacher groups.

From The American Mercury, June, 1957

AMERICAN MERCURY
250 West 57th Street, New York 19, N. Y.

Mental Health Molds the Mind

THE NON-CONFORMIST in a controlled society will have no defense against imprisonment under a legal code which sweeps away all protective red tape for the individual vaguely accused of being "mentally ill" or having a "psychiatric disorder." As defined by one state mental hygiene department, "psychiatric disorders" shall mean "psychotic reactions, neurotic reactions, mental deficiencies, behavior disorders, addictions, perversions, and psychosomatic disorders insofar as they are amenable to prevention, rehabilitation, or treatment." With the Fund for the Republic alleging Bricker Amendment supporters are more than a little paranoid; with pro-UNESCO-ITES tossing the allegation "paranoid" at anti-UNESCO-ITES; and with the Eastland sub-committee's *Handbook on Communism* alleging that Communist Party membership involves psychopathic personality, who will be left to run the world with both right-wing and left-wing locked away in sanitariums?

Of the 768 individual American members in the World Federation more than ten percent are either United World Federalists, parlor pinks, or persons already cited by Congressional Committees for membership in Red fronts. In view of this and the nature of the legislation these persons are sponsoring, requests have been made to members of Congress for an investigation of this movement. The Hon. Usher Burdick, North Dakota, introduced in the last session of the 84th Congress, House Congressional Resolution 267, designed to bring about such an investigation. Its passage is doubtful unless the American public becomes cognizant of the situation and demands that action be taken.

1025 South 19th Street
Birmingham, Alabama
PHONE FA 3-5052
MRS. ALICE PIGMAN
Director

How Opportunity Center Was Started

JOSEPH F. VOLKER, A.B., M.S., D.D.S., Ph.D.
Dean, University of Alabama School of Dentistry

Volker, International figure in the UNITARIAN movement. 1946, he led the Unitarian Medical Teaching Mission to Checkoslovakia birthplace, of Dr. Fredrick W. Kraus. Volker, former Dean and school mate of Kraus at Tufts College. Volker, is now listed as a member of the Board of Directors of "Aid for Retarded Children Assn. Inc. of Jefferson County. Mrs. William Ward Pigman is director of their workshop "Opportunity Center". Volker, like PIGMAN has again recently began their program of advocating flouridation for the city of Birmingham, which was on November 2, 1954, overwhelming defeated by the voters of this city.

FREDRICK W. KRAUS, M.D., D.D.S., D.M.D.
Associate Professor of Dentistry

Unitarians Regard Jesus As Spiritual Leader, Reject Doctrine Of His Divinity

BY TRAVIS WOLFE
Post-Herald Religion Editor

Although Unitarians regard Jesus Christ as a "great and inspired moral and spiritual leader," they reject the doctrine of His divinity.

Unitarians don't believe Christ is God in the flesh. They love the person and message of Jesus and consider Him the rarest of personalities.

They endorse His prophetic preaching, His moral teaching and His spiritual insight but they refuse to make a "god" of One Who was so human in His words and deeds.

Generally, a Unitarian is a religious person whose ethic derives from that of Jesus, who believes in one God (not the Trinity) and whose philosophy of faith and life is founded upon freedom, reason and tolerance.

Unitarians are individualistic in their religion. They prefer that every Unitarian speak for himself about his faith.

Unitarians are Christians in the sense that they profess and seek to practice the religion of Jesus. They think the orthodox Christian world has forgotten the real human Jesus and has substituted a Christ of dogmatism, metaphysics and pagan philosophy.

WOLFE

The name "Unitarian" first was used in the 16th century—for certain Christians who protested the teaching of the Trinity. In 1568, King John Sigismund, of Transylvania (Hungary), a Unitarian, gave the Unitarian faith a boost by issuing a decree for religious freedom.

By 1600 there were 425 Unitarian churches in that country. Unitarianism came to America more than 125 years ago.

Unitarians don't believe the Bible is infallible. They hold it dear but reserve the right of critical appreciation.

Many Unitarians practice baptism of infants and more rarely, of adults. They regard it as an act of dedication with only symbolic meaning. It is possible to become a Unitarian without baptism.

Communion is a symbolic rite of remembrance and fellowship in the Unitarian church.

Unitarians turn thumbs down at the doctrine of the virgin birth.

Literal interpretations of heaven and hell as places of eternal bliss or damnation is alien to the mind of the Unitarian. Unitarian attitudes to immortality vary. Unitarians believe life goes on and tomorrow will be determined by our actions now.

Unitarians recognize evil in the world but don't believe in original sin. Man has capacities for good and evil, they teach. They believe in "salvation" by character.

Unitarians recognize no theological doctrines on divorce and birth control.

Science cannot replace God

False Gods are always with us. Millions put their trust in science instead of Christ today. Scientific advance has amazed present-day men to the extent that we worship things instead of God. We act as if the hope of the world rested in tall buildings, long guns, fast planes, tricky rockets and space ships. As those things are poured out of our factories we feel we are marching toward the promised land.

NATIONALISM is fast become a false god. Many nations are getting their freedom and realizing that freedom is not enough, dictators come in, spiritual values are swept aside, and a few men build an altar to the state. When the Communists came to power, they substituted science and communism for God.

Science, nationalism, culture, easy-chair cults, social security, no high wages will or can save us. We have all these things and look at our nation. We are in danger of falling apart into broken bits, full of hate, ill will and distrust, with section rising against section, class against class, race against race, and group against group. This can be our undoing.

ABOUT THE ONLY THING we have in common is mutual ill-will and distrust. What we really need in America is not more things but better men. This is the task in the church. Are we doing it?—Excerpts from message of DR. GALVIN PINKARD, pastor, in the Trinity Methodist Church Bulletin.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

Four out of five top scientists deny resurrection of the Savior

BY HERMAN R. ALLEN
WASHINGTON, March 25—Smith said, "because of its definiteness" as contrasted to SMITH FOUND 606 scientists listed in Who's Who

(Not printed at Government expense)

Congressional Record

United States of America

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 85th CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

Origins and Aims—Report on Negro Voters

SPEECH

OF

HON. PAUL H. DOUGLAS

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, July 26, 1957

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, at various times in the past I have quoted the publications of the Southern Regional Council. The Southern Regional Council is composed entirely of southerners, men and women of good will of both races in the South. It is in no sense a lobbying organization. I have been able to obtain material it provides through the Library of Congress, at my request.

I think the statement which has been prepared on the origins and aims of the Southern Regional Council should be printed in the RECORD at this point so as to indicate the high qualifications of the council and its emotional attachment to the South. So I ask unanimous consent, Mr. President, that the statement be printed in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL: A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF ITS ORIGINS AND AIMS, APRIL 1956

"The South of the future toward which our efforts are directed, is a South freed of stultifying inheritances from the past. It is a South where the measure of a man will be his ability, not his race; where a common citizenship will work in democratic understanding for the common good; where all who labor will be rewarded in proportion to their skill and achievement; where all can feel confident of personal safety and equality before the law; where there will exist no double standard in housing, health, education, or other public services; where segregation will be recognized as a cruel and needless penalty on the human spirit, and will no longer be imposed; where, above all, every individual will enjoy a full share of dignity and self-respect, in recognition of his creation in the image of God." (From a Statement of Policy and Aims of the Southern Regional Council (1951).)

SRC AND THE COMMISSION ON INTERRACIAL COOPERATION

The Southern Regional Council and its predecessor, the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, have a history of 35 years of constructive activity.

In the troubled days following World War I, race conflict and the lawlessness of terror organizations reached such proportions that the need for new techniques of restoring harmony could not be ignored. To meet this need, interracial committees were formed in cities and towns throughout the South. It was found that by bringing together influential members of both races grievances could be aired, mutual problems discussed, and a meeting of minds effected. This method had such beneficial results that interracial committees became an established part of the life of the South in the early twenties. Their influence became southwide through the formation of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, a central organization with headquarters in Atlanta.

The commission was founded in 1919 by a group of the South's leading church men and women. Among them were Dr. M. Ashby Jones, prominent Baptist minister, Dr. John Hope, president of Atlanta University, Mr. John J. Eagan, businessman and philanthropist, Dr. Plato Durham, dean of the Emory University Theology School, Dr. Robert Moton, president of Tuskegee Institute, and Dr. Will W. Alexander, the commission's director. Its work in behalf of sound race relations was acclaimed by the South's leading newspapers, religious leaders, and by many public officials.

The commission helped organize, extend, and guide the work of State and local interracial committees. It assisted them in making their influence felt by newspapers, civil authorities, churches, school officials, police administrators, and health officers. It gave much attention to factual analysis of the problem of lynching and other forms of interracial violence. Its auxiliary, the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching, under the direction of Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames, did much to educate public opinion in the causes and possible remedies for such violence.

From these early activities, the commission built up a body of acquaintance and confidence that has been an increasing asset through the years. The traditional barrier between the races was broken down to allow an interchange of ideas and mutual trust. The notion of cooperative action by people of good will, both white and Negro, took root and has continued to grow. In its 25 years of operation, the commission made the meeting of white and Negro citizens for the discussion of common problems an accepted practice almost everywhere in the South. It marshalled thousands of southern church people in opposition to lynching and other injustices, brought new light to bear on race relations, issued 2 million copies of pamphlets and leaflets, and symbolized the faith of the southern white people and Negro people in the processes of mutual agreement and cooperation.

Transition to SRC

In 1939 the leaders of the commission began to explore the possibility of expanding the activities of the organization to permit a broader approach to the problems of the South. In October, 1940, the commission instructed its executive committee to "take whatever steps are necessary to carry out the plans for the formation of a council on southern regional development," which would include in its program "the work of the commission and other activities connected with the economic, educational, and social development of the South."

Meanwhile the efforts of other progressive southerners were leading them to a similar purpose. The first movement in that direction took place when a group of southern Negro leaders met in Durham, N. C., on October 20, 1942, to set forth just what the Negro wants and is expecting of the postwar South

and Nation, and to enlist the aid of interested white southerners. The result of this historic conference was a comprehensive statement covering the following areas: Political and civil rights, industry and labor, service occupations, education, agriculture, military service, and social welfare and health. Many social thinkers regarded the Durham statement as the most hopeful pronouncement on race relations that had come out of the South in the last 75 years.

In April 1943 a group of southern white leaders met in Atlanta to consider the statement of the Durham conference. These white leaders found the statement so frank and courageous, so free from any suggestion of threat and ultimatum, and so demonstrative of good will, that they gladly pledged their cooperation. "The need," they concluded, "is for a positive program arrived at in an atmosphere of understanding, cooperation, and mutual respect."

SRC organized

Representatives of both the Durham and Atlanta conferences met in Richmond in June 1943, to work out further details. The Durham statement was adopted as a general guide to action, and a continuing committee was appointed to devise practical means of approach. The organizing meeting of the council was held in response to a call issued by some of the South's finest leadership, including C. H. Gillman, Georgia director, CIO; George L. Googe, southern director, AFL; M. Ashby Jones, Baptist minister; Ryland Knight, Baptist minister; Rabbi David Marx, The Temple, Atlanta; Bishop Arthur J. Moore, the Methodist Church; Ralph McGill, editor, the Atlanta Constitution; Stuart R. Oglesby, Presbyterian minister; Most Rev. Gerald P. O'Hara, bishop of Savannah-Atlanta; Dean S. Paden, president, King Hardware Co.; J. McDowell Richards, president, Columbia Theological Seminary; Bishop John Moore Walker, the Protestant Episcopal Church; Goodrich C. White, president, Emory University.

Following the deliberations of this group and a subsequent conference with southern Negro leaders, the SRC was chartered early in 1944. The incorporators were Bishop Arthur J. Moore; Ralph McGill; Dr. Rufus E. Clement, president of Atlanta University; Dr. Charles S. Johnson, president of Fisk University; and Dr. Howard W. Odum, professor of sociology at the University of North Carolina. At the charter meeting, the Commission on Interracial Cooperation met and formally merged its program and assets with those of the council. A strong and democratic council had been established to attain through research and action the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the region.

Since this auspicious beginning, the council's membership has included distinguished southerners, white and Negro, in all walks of life. Dr. Odum was the first president of the organization. He was succeeded by Paul D. Williams, of Richmond, Va., a prominent Catholic layman and cofounder of the Catholic Committee of the South. Mr. Williams served as president for 6 years—from 1945 until 1951. He was succeeded by Mr. Marion A. Wright, widely known as a South Carolina attorney active in civic and educational affairs, now living in Linville Falls, N. C.

How SRC works

The Southern Regional Council consists of a board of some 80 southerners representing the major religious faiths, both races, and the 13 States of the region. These people are the Southern Regional Council. They make the policies and review all activities at an annual meeting. They elect an executive committee which meets at least every 3 months to give closer direction to the organization. And full reports of all activities are sent to the members quarterly. The council is nonprofit, nonpolitical, and nondenominational.

Financial support for the council has come from many different individuals and organizations. Some of the organizations are: the Julius Rosenwald Fund, General Education Board, the Fund for the Republic, Division of Home Missions and Church Extension of the Methodist Church, Woman's Division of Christian Service of the Methodist Church, Phelps-Stokes Fund, Catholic Committee of the South, Board of Education of the Methodist Church, Ashby Jones Memorial Fund, Committee on Woman's Work of the Presbyterian Church of the United States, the National Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church, the Marshall Field Foundation, the Doris Duke Foundation, various trade unions, and some business firms. Individuals support the council through contributions, legacies, and payment of membership dues.

What SRC does

The council's present functions may be summarized as follows: (1) Clearinghouse and coordinating work with numerous agencies working on southern problems; (2) research and survey to determine the facts and the state of public opinion as a basis for sound social action; (3) educational activities through a monthly bulletin, the New South, and through pamphlets, press, radio, television, conferences, and personal contacts; (4) consultative services to private and official agencies; (5) promotion of specific programs of action through the council staff and affiliated State organizations.

Following are some of the areas with which the SRC's educational program has been concerned:

Employment of Negro policemen in southern communities.

Newspaper handling of racial news.

Community self-surveys, in which local people of both races study their problems as a basis for achieving local solutions.

Conferences of leading white and Negro southerners with common concerns and a common desire to further democratic practices in their areas of interest—religion, health, housing, education, etc.

Voluntary decisions to open professional associations, private colleges, public libraries, and the like to all qualified persons without respect to race.

The right to vote without racial discrimination or intimidation.

Impartial enforcement of the law and administration of justice in the South.

Orderly compliance at the community level with the recent decisions of the Supreme Court holding public school segregation unconstitutional.

Church support

Church people have always been the moving force in the southern interracial movement. This is as true today as it was 35 years ago. All of the major religious groups represented in the South have taken their stand in favor of the principle embodied in the Supreme Court's segregation ruling. The Court ruling was endorsed by the Southern Baptist Convention, many of the southern conferences of the Methodist Church, the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church (southern), the Province of Sewanee (southeastern) of the Protestant Episcopal Church, the Catholic Bishops of the South, the various Jewish religious and fraternal groups, and virtually all of the other denominations found in the South. It is only natural that many religious southerners should seek to put the principles of their faith into everyday practice.

The Southern Regional Council and the affiliated State groups have enjoyed both financial and moral support from religious bodies representing the three major faiths.

Dr. George S. Mitchell, executive director of the council, received the 1953 annual award of the Catholic committee of the South "for his significant contribution to the welfare of the South."

Affiliated State organizations

With the aid of a grant from the Fund for the Republic, the Southern Regional Council is assisting interracial organizations in 12 Southern States—Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia. Each of these organizations has its own membership, officers, and staff. In each case, people of the State involved make their own decisions as to policy and program. Affiliation with the Southern Regional Council is voluntary, and the purpose of the short-term financial aid from SRC is to help the State groups become strong, self-sustaining human relations agencies.

Toward the South of the future

The Southern Regional Council's main asset is and has always been those southerners who believe deeply in democratic practices, and who know firsthand the problems of the region. On such people rest the hopes of the South. They have wanted a regional organization, not out of any provincial desire to separate the South's problems from the Nation's, but out of the conviction that such an organization has unique advantages. It can express the best and often neglected elements of Southern thought and con-

science; it can serve as a convincing demonstration of southerners working together as fellow citizens without regard to race; and it can tap local resources and initiative often inaccessible to national groups.

The Southern Regional Council and its affiliates seek to be practical organizations, aiming at working solutions rather than spectacular pronouncements. They hold the belief that every community must ultimately find its own answers within the framework of law and conscience. They offer no master blueprint, no sovereign remedy for the South's human problems. But they do offer a method—that of representative citizens, white and Negro, coming together in equal dignity to find the best ways to move ahead.

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, following the statement with respect to the Southern Regional Council, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the body of the RECORD a most extraordinarily able survey the Southern Regional Council has made, which is just off the press, under date of July 18, 1957. Again I wish to emphasize I have obtained the material at my request from the Library of Congress to show that it was in no sense forced upon me, so to speak.

The survey deals State by State with the various ways in which Negroes are prevented from voting in the South. I highly commend this factual account to the Members of the Senate, as we debate part IV of the bill.

There being no objection, the survey was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE NEGRO VOTER IN THE SOUTH—PART OF A REPORT OF A SURVEY BY THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

(Furnished on his request to Senator DOUGLAS by the Library of Congress, Legislative Reference Service)

DISCRIMINATION AND INTIMIDATION

Just as the main segregationist movement has switched from the white sheet of the Ku Klux Klan to the white collar of the citizens council, so has the pattern of discrimination against the Negro southerner changed in recent years.

In no field is this gradual shift to subtler methods seen more clearly than in a study of Negro registration and voting. Killings, beatings, the dragging of Negroes from their homes in the middle of the night—these are now rare occurrences, compared to previous decades.

Overt violence is, in brief, the exception rather than the rule for racist dealing with assertive Negro citizens. The threat of violent tactics, however, is kept alive in some areas by anonymous telephone calls to Negro leaders. Crosses still are burned, jobs threatened. Occasionally, homes are shot into or bombed.

But, today, with less obvious means employed generally, Negroes interested in voting are far more likely to be barred by a question on the Constitution than by a rope or whip.

Alabama

The Alabama consultant directed a field survey in each of the counties in his State. According to these reports:

Negroes might be treated courteously, as in Bullock County, Ala., where the board of registrars has received Negro applicants pleasantly, let them fill out forms, then told them they didn't pass—with no reasons given. In this county, with 5,423 Negroes of voting age, only 6 were registered in the summer of 1956. In 1953, more than 100 attempted to register; in 1955, only 20 even tried, and of these 19 were refused. One of the six registered succeeded only on his seventh trip to the board.

In other counties of central Alabama, like Bullock, Negroes encounter greater difficulty. This is the black-belt section of the State, so-called because of the dark rich soil, an area where 15 counties have populations over 50 percent Negro.

Among these is Dallas, where only 275 of the 18,132 Negroes of voting age are registered.[1] In 1956 alone, at least 350 were turned down. Some reported that they filled out questionnaires 3 or 4 times but still were not sent registration certificates. Many reported they were given no help in filling out forms although white applicants were. One Negro teacher who registered was fired allegedly for being "too smart;" this frightened many other teachers.

Marengo, another county in the Alabama black belt, simply seems to have stopped registering Negroes. Of 10,223 eligible, 170 were registered before the Supreme Court decision calling for an end to segregated schools. This, plus formation of a local citizens council, is reported to have hardened the lines of white resistance to Negro equality and to have put the brakes on Negro registration.

In Monroe County, Ala., where 140 of the 5,914 Negroes of voting age are registered, other hopeful applicants said more often than not they found the board of registrars had "misplaced the application forms" or told them to return later. Registrars in Hale County, where 130 of 7,036 eligible Negroes are on the voting roll, have turned down 300 in the past 2 years for "failure to fill out forms correctly."

One Negro teacher in Alabama said she was refused because she didn't know the address of her estranged husband. Many Alabama boards require two voters to vouch for all Negro applicants and some require Negroes to produce white character witnesses. Registrars in one county where about 2 percent of nearly 7,000 Negroes over 21 have registered announced that a "good white man" must accompany Negro applicants.

In a black-belt county which is somewhat less than 50 percent Negro, registrars closed their office when a group of Negroes appeared. Other Negro applicants said they were told when the board would meet but then found no one present on arrival. A Negro leader who encouraged other Negroes to vote reported he was threatened anonymously by telephone and told to stop his activities or he would be run out of town. Only about 200 of over 5,000 Negroes have registered.

A Negro leader in Coosa County, Ala., also said he was threatened. Crosses were burned in front of the homes of two leaders of a Negro voters' drive in Choctow County. In the latter, 112 of 4,819 Negroes of voting age are registered; 28 said they were turned down on their first try, but accepted the second time. Most of those initially refused are teachers; maids and yardmen have found it somewhat easier to enroll.

Birmingham and surrounding Jefferson County present one of the gloomiest pictures for Negroes in the South. In no other major city of the region has it been so difficult for them to vote. Only about 7,000 of 121,510 Negroes over 21 are registered; at least that many more have been turned down. Instead of the standard form and the character witnesses, Jefferson County registrars have employed another method unique in the State: Added questions about government. They might ask on what date the 10th amendment to the Constitution became effective, what was the 14th State to be admitted to the Union, on what date did Oklahoma change from a territory to a State? They have recognized no limits to their power to interrogate. While Negroes have been the board's main target, white union members, particularly if they wear overalls or work clothes, have reported that they sometimes find registration difficult or impossible. Negroes appearing before the board often have been questioned for from 35 to 40 minutes; they have had to line up separately, and the longer the line the longer the questioning.

Strong, in his study of Jefferson County, described the method used by registrars to avoid suits with the following hypothetical case: a person who failed to satisfy the board was told orally he did not qualify; the applicant then secured an attorney and filed a suit, which was a signal for the board to register the plaintiff. His suit collapsed and no court has an opportunity to pass on section 33 of the Alabama Code and the "qualified to register" phrase.[2]

In Macon County, Ala., home of famed Tuskegee Institute, many college trained Negroes have found the barriers impregnable. Negroes outnumber white persons about 5 to 1; of the 14,526 of voting age, 1,100 have reg-

[1] Registration figures used are those of 1956.

[2] Donald S. Strong, Registration of Voters in Alabama (Bureau of Public Administration, University of Alabama).

istered. By contrast, the Associated Press reported in April 1956, that 2,700 out of a total Macon County white population of 5,000 had registered, or that fewer than 100 white persons over 21 had failed to do so. An Alabama observer said that the board of registrars would sit until all white citizens interested had registered and then resign. In any event, for the major part of 1956, there was no board in the county, for 2 of the 3 members resigned and it takes at least 2 to transact business. This was at least the third time in a decade this had happened.

North Carolina

In North Carolina, as in other States with literacy laws, the registrar has considerable latitude. He can have the applicant copy indicated sections of the State constitution or he can dictate. Some Negroes have protested the use of dictation, since a registrar often reads too fast or uses a particularly difficult section. However, the State board of elections has upheld a registrar's right to use this means of testing.

A Negro attorney in a rural eastern county of North Carolina said that in certain precincts of this and adjoining counties, "It takes a white man only a few minutes to get registered, but it may take an hour for a Negro. Actually, the latter is given an academic rather than a literacy test. In this county, the tests are tough and the literacy rate low, which doubly handicaps the Negro. The tests given here actually require an interpretation of law."

A Negro college graduate in North Carolina who attempted to register for the May 1956, primary said he was turned down because he could not write a section of the State constitution from memory. Some registrars who want to disqualify Negroes have asked for a definition of such words as "ordained," "sovereignty," "posterity," etc. The replies often do not satisfy the registrar.

But there are counties throughout the State, including the rural piedmont and eastern sections, where literacy requirements are ignored for anyone, white or Negro, who wants to register. In others, only Negroes are required to do some reading. In some rural North Carolina counties, Negroes can register with a minimum of trouble only if sponsored by white persons.

Louisiana

Louisiana applicants for registration have been given a rather complicated form and the law has barred any help in filling it out. In most instances, completion is regarded as evidence of literacy although the registrar may, if he wishes, examine an applicant. There has been wide variation in the practice of helping applicants and in the strictness with which forms are scrutinized for mistakes. In some parishes, Negroes have found it almost impossible to satisfy the high standards demanded of them. In others, both Negroes and whites have been permitted to copy from previously completed forms and mistakes have been overlooked.

If a person is unable to complete the form satisfactorily, he still may qualify in some parts of Louisiana. In a number of parishes many white and Negro illiterates have registered under the physical disability provision of the State constitution. This makes it possible in some instances to control their ballot, because such registrants are entitled to ask for assistance in voting. Practice varies widely with respect to registration of illiterates but, as a rule, where literate Negroes have found it easy to qualify, illiterate Negroes also have met few obstacles.

Under one Louisiana statute which adds to the difficulties of Negro voting, two bona fide registered voters can challenge by affidavit the right of a person to be registered. The person challenged has to respond within 10 days by appearing before the registrar to prove his right to remain on the voting list. If a person fails to appear, his name is removed automatically. Citizens council groups have purged several hundred Negroes from voting lists through this device in more than a dozen parishes, including Natchitoches, Webster, and La Salle. They are able to learn which Negroes have registered under another Louisiana law which permits any 25 registered voters, by application, to copy or photostat registration records.

The Colfax Chronicle, county weekly of Grant Parish, reported (October 12, 1956) that members of the citizens council worked in the registrar's office that week in a frank effort to disfranchise the county's 864 Negro voters. The Chronicle also reported:

Their action followed a White Citizens Council meeting in Dry Prong attended by State Senator William Rainach and other Louisiana segregation advocates. W. J. B. Jones of Colfax County, WCC president, said the group voted unanimously to try to purge Negro voters. Louis Earl Stevens, council secretary, subsequently estimated that at least 90 percent of the Negro registrants were challenged in Grant Parish.

Where, instead of writing out colored on registration blanks the applicant simply put "C," the applications were challenged as being incorrect. Each Negro's age in years, days, and months was refigured and often found off by a day or so. The Chronicle checked the first 100 white registrations in one ward and found only one card which would meet the standards set by the WCC for Negroes. Four, including the superintendent of schools, figured their ages incorrectly. In a further check, the Chronicle discovered that not a single member of a citizens council committee had filled in correctly all the blanks. Needless to say, only the Negroes were challenged. Of the more than 700 Negroes purged 2 weeks before the November general election, 399 had cleared the challenges a week before the deadline.

The Chronicle commended Registrar Maxine Mosley for her fairness in dealing with the Negroes challenged.

Not all members of the white community supported the purge effort. District Attorney Sam L. Wells said he would be a witness and sign affidavits for those challenged registrants whose place of residence he knew of his own personal knowledge. J. M. Straughan of route 8, Colfax, wrote the Chronicle:

"I'm a southerner born and raised right here in central Louisiana and I am opposed to integration as strongly as any southerner could be. But what has integration got to do with the removal of Negroes from the registration rolls. I for one, will be glad to sign an affidavit for those colored voters I know to help keep them from being imposed on."

On February 25, 1957, the Justice Department made public some FBI findings on registration of Negroes in Louisiana. Assistant Attorney General Warren Olney III, said the FBI material indicated that testimony by Louisiana Attorney General Jack P. Gremillion to a House Judiciary Subcommittee "might have left a misleading impression in a number of respects." Olney's statement was in a letter to Chairman EMANUEL CELLER, Democrat, of New York, who presided at hearings in which Gremillion testified against the Eisenhower administration's civil-rights proposals.[3]

Olney said that Gremillion had mentioned "some difficulty with respect to voting" in Ouachita Parish, but contended this was "more or less an exception."

In fact, Olney asserted, the FBI investigated the handling of registrations in 10 Louisiana parishes and found that 8,552 Negroes were challenged when they tried to register in 1956.

Olney said that in Ouachita Parish there were some 4,000 registered Negro voters in the early fall of 1956 but that after a purge in October "there were in excess of 3,000 Negro voters deprived of the right to vote in the general election of November 6."

The Justice Department official challenged a number of Gremillion's statements, including his claim that registrants had a free choice in selecting the section of the United States Constitution they wished to interpret as part of their test.

"In none of the 10 parishes is there any evidence that the registrar permitted the applicant to choose which clause of the Constitution he wished to interpret," Olney said.

"Specifically, in the case arising from Ouachita Parish, the investigation by the FBI disclosed that the registrar of voters in examining applicants used a card on which was written an excerpt from the Constitution, which card was given to the registrar by the Citizens Council of Ouachita Parish."

Gremillion had told the committee that when a registered voter was challenged, the registrar sent a record of the challenge to the registrant, including a reply form, giving him 10 days to appear and establish his right to remain on the rolls by presenting statements from three voters registered in the same parish.

Olney said this did not appear to be the general practice in the parishes investigated. In six, he added, registrars "did everything to discourage the filing of reply affidavits

[3] Associated Press, Washington, D. C., February 27, 1957.

in the statutory form and generally refused them when offered." He told Chairman CELLER that the FBI found instances of registrars refusing to accept white persons as supporting witnesses for Negroes on grounds they were of a different race.

There appeared to be a concerted effort in October 1956 by white citizens councils in Louisiana and other Southern States to get Negro registrants off the rolls or to prevent their registration, Olney added.

"With respect only to cases which have been investigated by the FBI," he continued, "the following numbers of Negro voters were challenged in each of the following parishes:

"Bienville, 560; Caldwell, 330; De Soto, 383; Grant, 758; Jackson, 953; La Salle, 345; Lincoln, 326; Ouachita, 3,240; Rapides, 1,058; and Union, 600."

However, there still are areas in Louisiana where there are no Negro registrants to challenge. For example, in one parish, which is over 50 percent Negro, none of the 4,500 Negroes of voting age had registered at the time of the 1956 general election. Only one had tried in recent years. A local priest recounted the Negro's experience: when he appeared, the registrar immediately took him to the sheriff, who asked, "Aren't you happy here? Is something wrong with the way things operate around here? If you aren't happy perhaps we could arrange for you to leave." The hapless Negro promptly assured the sheriff of his happiness and allowed that his attempt to register had been a tragic mistake. He remained in the community but his wife lost her job.

There are no Negroes registered in Tensas, East Carroll, Madison, and West Feliciana Parishes, all counties with populations over 50 percent Negro. "In these parishes," the Louisiana consultant said, "subterfuge is unnecessary to discourage Negro registration. Negroes know they should not and cannot register and therefore rarely attempt to do so."

In the general election in November 1956 Louisiana voters defeated a proposed constitutional amendment designed to help the Citizens Council cut Negro voting even more. The measure was drafted by the legislative watchdog committee on segregation which previously had won approval easily for its proposals. The amendment, which was turned down by an unofficial total of 190,410 to 178,833, required certain administrative steps before a voter losing his registration could take the matter into court. Thus, said the Associated Press in a dispatch from Baton Rouge, it would have set up "administrative barriers to a Federal court action."

South Carolina

In South Carolina the prevalence of discriminatory tactics in some counties where Negroes are in the majority is quite evident. Registration books are moved from place to place to keep Negroes from getting a certificate; they are given literacy tests that have little to do with reading and writing the State constitution, as required by South Carolina law; Negroes complain that if a number go together to register in some counties, clerks will pass only one or two and tell the rest the books are closed for the day. In a few counties, Negroes who had been certified have complied with demands of employers and other white persons that they remove their names from registration books. Some have said they were threatened with harm for attempting to vote, and many landlords reportedly have warned their Negro tenants that if they registered they would be fired.

Calhoun County, S. C., with more than twice as many Negroes as whites—10,449 to 4,304—has no Negroes registered, although 4,437 of them are of voting age. "Any Negro who tries to get a registration certificate is called a smart Negro and sooner or later leaves the community," a field consultant said.

McCormick County, S. C., where the population split is 5,998 Negroes, 3,589 whites, also has no Negroes registered out of the 2,625 over 21. All Negroes who had registration certificates in 1948 had their names purged from the voting list. The majority of Negroes in the county are sharecroppers; reportedly, they could not sell their produce until their names were removed.

In another South Carolina county, Abbeville, where only 15 of the 3,687 Negroes of voting age are registered (as compared to 6,000 of the 8,951 whites), an atmosphere of fear was found. Three years ago a Negro cottonwood worker was said to have been beaten at night for voting. Since then, Negroes have not taken part in elections and almost all of those who had registration certificates have lost them.

Texas

Intimidation as a means of limiting Negro voting in Texas was found to be relatively rare. Recent violence in the State usually has been aimed at school integration, notably in Mansfield. There have been occasional reports of local discrimination against potential Negro voters, generally in the form of a segment of the white population playing on the ignorance of the poorly educated among the Negroes—to imply, for example, that property taxes must have been paid to vote. But, by and large, the poll tax remains the only obvious deterrent.

Virginia

While discrimination in applying provisions of the Virginia poll tax and registration law is not found generally in that State, nevertheless it has been reported in certain counties and a few cities. Some Negro leaders feel that poorer white citizens often experience the same difficulties as do Negroes.

The poll tax can be an effective barrier for the politically uninformed, the educationally handicapped, and the socially disadvantaged. Just the use of words confuses many of the poorly educated who often do not know that in paying their Virginia capitation tax they have paid their poll taxes. Some tax collectors reportedly have discouraged voting by telling Negroes they do not have to pay poll taxes. Many Negroes have reported they did not receive poll-tax bills along with their property-tax notices, as did their fellow white citizens. These and similar methods have been employed to discourage Negroes from paying their poll taxes in some counties and it often seems that only those who know the legal requirements and insist on paying can win their right to register.

As for registration itself, Negroes sometimes encounter further barriers in Virginia. The same discriminatory methods of administering literacy tests found in other States turn up here and there in the State, where in some counties Negroes have to meet all the technical requirements of grammar, punctuation, and handwriting in filling out their application forms; they alone are given reading or education tests, or have to complete printed forms containing legal phraseology. Some white registrars will see white applicants at any time but are busy or ill or do not have their books when Negroes appear. When registrars operate in their homes, this presents a particular problem because of the long-standing southern custom of Negroes appearing in white homes only in a servant capacity.

Florida

In 1940, Florida had 51 counties with no Negroes registered, by 1946, only 4, and 10 years later only 2. However, the number of counties in which Negroes are registered gives an exaggerated picture of the extent of Negro registration. In some counties Negro electors constitute a small proportion of those on the voting lists. This is seen, for example, in the following counties:

County	Negro population over 21	Negro percentage of total population	Number of Negroes registered, 1956
Flagler	872	45.6	13
Gadsden	10,930	56.1	3
Liberty	333	18.1	1
Taylor	1,945	30.5	77

In the counties where Negro suffrage is limited most sharply, fear is a major deterring factor. In parts of the State, indirect methods are used to discourage Negro voters and the open threat has been reported, too. In one county, the first Negro registrants in history were subjected to several forms of intimidation—cross burnings, bomb-throwings and shots fired into their homes. All but one of the registrants in this county withdrew their names from the rolls.

In another Florida county, in the plantation section, it was reported that Negroes, most of whom live in rural areas, are not permitted in the business district on election day. In still another county one supervisor of registration has told Negro applicants, "Come on in and register," while sitting with his legs stretched across the door. Other Negroes complained that loungers around a courthouse told them, "Go ahead and register if you can take what comes afterward."

Georgia

Field studies were made in a number of Georgia counties representative of the various subregional areas of the State. One of these is Early, located in the extreme southwest portion of Georgia on the Alabama line. It is in a cluster of counties considered the hard core of the State in terms of resistance to integration. In such counties as Early, Miller, Seminole, and Decatur, the Negro population is from 30 to 50 percent of the total. In other southwest counties such as Clay, Calhoun, Baker, Dougherty, Quitman, Randolph, Terrell, Lee, Sumter, Webster, and Stewart, the Negro percentage of the total population is over 50 percent. The means of excluding Negroes as registrants in these counties is similar to that reported in other areas of the South. In some, there is the ever present threat of racial violence, which erupts on occasions. Often, police brutality against Negroes indicates to them they cannot depend upon law enforcement authorities to offer them protection if they try to vote. In recent years, economic pressures have been directed against Negroes militant enough to demand educational and political equality.

In some instances, Georgia sheriffs, instead of the boards of registrars, question prospective Negro registrants about the Constitution. Sheriffs, being white and also the "law," Negro applicants thus receive two warnings at one time.

In Early County, only 226 Negroes of the 4,790 over 18 (the legal voting age in Georgia) are registered. Many others who went to the courthouse to register said they later were summoned to appear there before the board of registrars to answer questions. The majority of those who showed up were disqualified and those who did not were removed from the list automatically. This is an effective method of disqualifying Negroes there who often think of going to the courthouse for any reason with misgiving. They know they are not expected to drive their cars up to the courthouse square to park.

Separate ballot boxes for white and Negro votes continue in use in many Georgia counties. This practice of separating ballots on a racial basis is an indirect technique of disfranchising some of the Negro voters who are unwilling to take a chance on having white persons discover how they voted.

Often, racial incidents have an effect both in the community involved and in adjacent counties. There is disagreement on the extent to which they deter registration, but fear of violence is bound to condition the thoughts and actions of some. In Walton County, Ga., many Negroes interviewed said there is more fear of lynching outside the county than inside. This county was the scene of an unsolved daylight lynching in 1946 of 4 Negroes—2 men and 2 women, 1 of whom was pregnant. One Negro in Walton said he did not think that Negroes generally are afraid to register there. He added that the so-called leading Negroes are afraid but the Negro working by the day isn't. Negro teachers and ministers seem to be afraid because of what they may lose; but what it is, I don't know."

Arkansas

In Arkansas, on rare occasions, clerks in the sheriff's office may tend to discourage poll-tax payments through various means of discourtesy. For the most part, however, the poll tax is more important in Arkansas as a source of revenue than as a device for the disfranchisement of the Negro. In 1956, voters rejected an amendment to repeal it. Some important Negro leaders opposed its abolition. They believed that if the State dropped the poll tax it might adopt registration procedures requiring the filling out of forms or answering of questions and that Negroes then would experience far more difficulty than at present.

Mississippi

Finally, Mississippi. All forms of violence, intimidation and discrimination reported from other States were found here. Where other sections usually rely on 1 or 2 means of limiting Negro registration, Mississippi, home of the White Citizens Council, apparently uses them all. As a result, the State which has the highest percentage of Negroes in the country has the lowest percentage registered. Only 4 percent were on the list of qualified voters in 1955, although Negroes make up 41 percent of the total population of voting age.

In the 13 Mississippi counties listed as having a population of more than 50-percent Negro, a total of 14 votes was cast in the 3 elections on which information was available for 1954. Five of the counties had no Negroes qualified and 3 had 1 registered who never voted. In the 7 counties having more than 60-percent Negro population, 2 votes were cast by Negroes in 1954.

Violence, threats, and economic reprisals discouraged Negroes interested in voting in Mississippi. Some instances were publicized but it may reasonably be supposed that others went unreported. In 1955 alone, a string of reports of brutality and illegal tactics came out of the State.

In the early spring of that year, Gus Courts, a Negro grocer at Belzoni, Miss., was told to move from his home and withdraw his name as president of the local NAACP chapter. He was forced to move his grocery store and advised to remove his name from the voting rolls. He refused; and, in November 1955, he was shot and seriously wounded by a group of men in a car who fired into his store.

Recovering from his wounds, Courts told a reporter: "I've known for a long time it was coming, and I'd tried to get prepared in my mind for it. But that's a hard thing to do when you know they're going to try to slip up and steal your life in the night and not in the bright. It's bad when you know you might get shot just walking around in your store. That's a hard kind of life to lead."

Courts was puzzled as to why anyone would want to shoot him for, "I've never been a troublemaker and I've never had on handcuffs. I'm 65 years old and I've never had the vote. That's all I wanted."

Courts' predecessor as NAACP president in Belzoni, the Rev. George Washington Lee, was killed May 7, 1954. The United Press, in a story from Belzoni on the Courts shooting, gave this background on the Lee death:

"The Reverend Lee was shot, allegedly on the day he refused a request from a white citizen that he remove his name from the voters' registration list. In that death, first of three race killings in Mississippi this year, Lee reportedly was driving down a Belzoni street when a car in which two white men and a Negro were riding suddenly came from behind and a shotgun blast shattered the Negro's car."

A coroner's inquest returned a verdict of accidental death and made no reference to the wounds in the dead man's face.

Other incidents in Mississippi in 1955, as reported by wire services and newspapers: T. V. Johnson, Belzoni Negro undertaker, was told to remove his name from the voting rolls if he desired continued credit; the Rev. James Hargroves fled the State after he was threatened with the fate of the Reverend Lee if he continued to work for the NAACP. In August, Lamar Smith, a Lincoln County Negro, was shot fatally; no indictment was returned, although reports indicated there were several witnesses to the shooting. Elsewhere, the home of a Negro leader was fired upon, and crosses were burned in front of the homes of two others. There were additional instances of violence against Negroes for activities other than voting.

If, despite the harassment and brutality, Negroes still try to vote in Mississippi, there is the State's registration law to act as a deterrent. The rigid education test, the essay on citizenship, all the requirements of the tighter registration law passed in 1954, present innumerable opportunities for the white registrar opposed to Negro registration.

LEGAL, SOCIAL, AND ECONOMIC FACTORS

The legal weapon most widely used in the South to discourage Negro registration is some form of literacy or constitutional interpretation test.

This weapon is the successor to the white primary—long the most effective method of restricting voting. Another weapon effective in the past, the poll tax, also has lost much of its sting with increased economic opportunity. Today only five States retain the poll tax—Alabama, Arkansas, Mississippi, Texas, and Virginia.

Some of the requirements in Southern States based on literacy or constitutional interpretation tests include:

Alabama

In addition to the usual basic qualification, the Voters Qualification Amendment of

1951 provides: "The following persons * * * shall be qualified to register * * * those who can read and write any article of the Constitution of the United States in the English language which may be submitted to them by the board of registrars, provided, however, that no person shall be entitled to register as electors except those who are of good character and who embrace the duties and obligations of citizenship under the Constitution of the United States and under the constitution of the State of Alabama, and provided, further that * * * each applicant shall be furnished * * * a written questionnaire * * *. Such questionnaire shall be answered in writing by the applicant, in the presence of the board without assistance."

Georgia

A registrant must be able to read correctly in English any paragraph of the State or United States Constitution and correctly write the same when read to him. Only those unable to read or write because of physical inability may qualify if they can understand and give a reasonable interpretation of constitutional sections read to them. There is a property alternative: 40 acres of land in the State on which an elector resides or property in the State assessed for taxation at $500 or more.

Mississippi

In 1954, Mississippi voters approved a constitutional amendment tightening the State's registration law. It makes ability to read and write a prerequisite; before that, an applicant could register if able to read or understand the Constitution when read to him. In addition to literacy, the amendment requires a new applicant to satisfy the county registrar as to his knowledge of citizenship under a constitutional form of government and to state why he feels he should be given the right to vote and what it means to him. Applicants are to write their own statements without aid.

Virginia

Unless physically unable, the prospective voter must apply to the registrar in his own handwriting, without aid, in the presence of the registrar, stating therein his name, age, date and place of birth, residence and occupation at the time and for the 1 year next preceding and whether he has voted previously and, if so, the State, county, and precinct in which he voted last. Also, he must answer on oath any questions affecting his qualifications as an elector, submitted to him by the registrar; questions and his answers must be reduced to writing, certified by the said officer and preserved as part of his official records.

South Carolina

A registrant must be able to "read and write" any section of the State constitution. An alternative is ownership and payment of taxes for the previous year on property in the State assessed at $300 or more.

Arkansas

Except for the usual requirements of age and residence, the one dollar, noncumulative poll tax is the only requirement for voting. Members of the Armed Forces are exempt. Certain adults are required by law to possess a poll tax receipt: those receiving wages, salaries, or other compensation paid from public funds (this includes white and Negro teachers) and those who apply for a license or permit from the State.

Louisiana

A prospective voter must be able to read and write and understand the duties and obligations of citizenship "under a republican form of government." Also, he must be able to read any clause in the State or United States Constitution and give interpretation satisfactory to the registrar. If he is unable to read or write, the applicant is entitled to register if he is a person of good character and reputation, attached to the principles of the Louisiana and United States Constitutions and if he is able to interpret any section of either. If an applicant is unable to read or write due to a physical disability, then the foregoing requirements may be waived. However, such an applicant must be accompanied by two witnesses who are registered voters from the applicant's precinct. No person may be a witness for more than two applicants.

North Carolina

Prospective voters must be able to read and write any section of the Constitution to the satisfaction of the registrar, who may have the applicant copy indicated sections of the State constitution or may dictate any section he chooses.

With such broad discretion left to registrars it is easy to see why Negroes may find it almost impossible to qualify in one county and comparatively easy in the next. In the last analysis, a Negro's ability to vote in a State with a literacy law still often depends on an individual registrar's sense of justice—or prejudice.

Socioeconomic factors also operate in determining the number of Negroes who vote. Racial, economic, and social patterns of any southern community exert a powerful influence on Negro registration.

Statistics on education, urbanization, farm tenancy, income, and racial composition help paint a fairly accurate picture of why Negro registration is above or below average.

Relatively few Negroes are likely to be registered in counties where they make up a large proportion of the population, in counties where education and income medians are low, and in counties that are predominantly agricultural and have a high rate of farm tenancy.

At the same time, in counties where Negroes comprise a large part of the population, white registration tends to be above normal.

Negroes are more likely to be registered in counties where they represent a small percentage of the total population, where they are better educated, are less dependent on the whims of white landlords and employers and are in a sounder economic position generally.

There are exceptions to these generalizations, of course; but Georgia presents a fairly typical picture.

In Georgia's 157 counties with Negro population of voting age, the median percentage of eligible Negroes registered is 25. However, the range of the registration figures is wide.

In only five Georgia counties does the number of Negro registrants exceed the number of white registrants, although there are more Negroes than whites of voting age in 27 counties.

The population ratio and its effect on voting is strikingly shown in Georgia figures. In counties where the percentage of Negroes in the population is below the State average, 69 percent show Negro registration above the State median; 68 percent of the counties above the State average in Negro population are below the median in Negro registration. The association is even more marked in counties with a population over half Negro—80 percent of these fall below the median in Negro registration.

The relationship between education and political participation also turned up in the Georgia survey. In counties where Negroes rank above the State median in the number of school years completed, 89 percent also are high in Negro registration. By contrast, only 37 percent of the counties below the median in Negro educational attainment have high registration figures.

As to the significance of economic factors, it is found that of the Georgia counties having median family income above the State figure of $1,130, 61 percent have high Negro registration. In counties below the median income level, only 35 percent are high in the number of Negroes qualified to vote. In short, Negro registration tends to increase along with overall income.

Also, there is a tendency in Georgia for predominantly industrial counties to rank higher in Negro registration than those primarily agricultural. Among counties in which farm income exceeds manufacturing income, 37 percent are high in Negro registration, as contrasted with 58 percent in counties where manufacturing exceeds agricultural income.

The agricultural counties in Georgia deriving more farm income from livestock, dairying, and poultry are somewhat higher in the percentage of Negroes registered than those in which the income stems largely from row crops. Also, there is a definite relationship between tenancy and registration. Among the Georgia agricultural counties which exceed the State average in the number of farms operated by tenants, only 34 percent have high registration figures, but among the counties below the State average in tenancy, 63 percent rank high in Negro registration.

Social and economic factors which influence Negro registration in Georgia apply in large measure over much of the South.

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U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE: 1957

SRC -

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Room 201
Atlanta 3, Georgia

C O N F I D E N T I A L

File
Criticism: Ala.

MEMORANDUM

TO: Norman Jimerson, Alabama Council on Human Relations

FROM: SRC Staff

RE: Anonymous attack on SRC (unsigned pamphlet, "Communism, Negroes, and Integration")

There follows a section by section commentary on this attack.

I. Introduction

1. As a general introduction to the subject of "Communist infiltration" and this type of attack see the attached editorial from the (Greenville, Mississippi) Delta-Democrat Times of August 25, 1957.

2. The FBI, the Justice Department, and other federal agencies keep a very close watch on the activities of Communist individuals and groups and those suspected of subversive activities. At no time has the SRC been listed by the FBI, on the U.S. Attorney General's list of subversive organizations, or on the similar list issued by the House Un-American Activities Committee.

(Source: U.S. Department of Justice, "Organizations Designated Under Executive Order #10450" and House Un-American Activities Committee "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications, Re-issued.")

3. It is a well known fact that the Communist party in the United States has been active in seeking support of Negro citizens. As no less an authority than J. Edgar Hoover has repeatedly testified, it is a fine commentary on the good sense and deep patriotism of this group of Americans that the Communists have failed so completely in this effort.

(Source: Masters of Deceit, J. Edgar Hoover; Henry Holt & Co., New York, 1958.)

4. The pamphlet "Communism, Negroes, and Integration" gives the impression of substantial documentation. Yet it is interesting that no individual or organization is identified as author or sponsor. It is a highly questionable procedure to accept at face value any document for which its author(s) will not accept public responsibility. Particularly, when such a document raises serious questions as to the loyalty of established citizens and organizations.

By contrast, this memo is being prepared by the staff of SRC for use by you and your friends who do not have the information herein readily available. It is not done to dignify the irresponsible charges made by a person or persons who would refuse to associate themselves with their serious charges.

This memo is interested exclusively in SRC and SRC board and staff. We do not subscribe to the methods and charges in the "report" and do not presume to speak in defense of, or to place guilt on, any other organizations or individuals mentioned.

Section II - U.S. House of Representatives, Subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities.

1. This section of the "report" does not refer to SRC. However, it is of interest that this hearing was held in Atlanta, site of the offices of the SRC, and that no member of the board or staff of SRC was called to testify.

There is in the SRC files a letter from Congressman Francis E. Walter which states "...The Southern Regional Council has not been cited as subversive or un-American by this Committee nor by the Attorney General."

(Source: Letter, Congressman Walter to George S. Mitchell, copy attached)

Section III - Southern Conference for Human Welfare.

1. As the "report" states, the SCHW was formed--in a spirit of great hope and promise--in 1938. Not until 1944--some 6 years later--was any question seriously raised about the organization. During that time a number of outstanding and loyal Americans were a part of it. To question their motives or loyalty is absurd. For a further interpretation, see the attached editorial from The Atlanta Constitution of May 12, 1953.

2. This section of the report refers to a November 1938 meeting of the SCHW in Birmingham. Mrs. Roosevelt did speak and the President of the United States did send a letter to the meeting. This in itself should give an indication of the nature of that meeting.

Thereafter--and as an excellent example of the methods of this "report"--the unknown author(s) begin to choose only those facts which fit the purpose at hand.

Since serious charges are being made, under the guise of fact, would not it have been more fair to list all the major participants of this meeting?

From the same source as that listed in the "report" we learn that among those people conveniently omitted as having participated in the November 20-23, 1938 meeting of the SCHW, are the following:

Judge Louise O. Charlton - General Chairman (Judge, Birmingham, Ala., U.S. Commissioner and Member of State Democratic Executive Committee.)

Mrs. William Hughes Tarpley - Vice Chairman, Publicity Committee (President, Jefferson County /Ala./ League of Women Voters)

W. Cooper Green - Chairman, Finance Committee (Postmaster, Birmingham, Ala.)

The Hon. Luther Patrick - Chairman, Sponsorship and Participation Committee (Congressman, Birmingham, Ala.)

The Hon. John H. Bankhead - Honorary Chairman, Farm Tenancy Section (U.S. Senator, Democrat, Alabama)

John Temple Graves, II - Co-chairman, Race Relations Section (The late Mr. Graves is most widely known as a writer and newspaper columnist in Birmingham, Ala.)

The Hon. Bibb Graves - Chairman, Freight Rate Differentials (At that time Mr. Graves was Governor of Alabama.)

The Hon. Hugo L. Black - recipient of award (Justice, U.S. Supreme Court)

(Source: Report of Proceedings of the SCHW, Birmingham, Alabama, November 20-23, 1938)

3. As late as 1945 (March 24) at a Washington meeting of the SCHW there appeared as speakers or at the speakers table the Vice President of the United States, a number of Senators, Congressmen, and members of the Cabinet, and no less a "suspect" person that the Hon. James F. Byrnes of South Carolina.

Section IV - Southern Conference Education Fund.

No mention of SRC.

Section V - The Southern Regional Council.

1. The description of SRC history and functions are largely correct; having been taken in good part from SRC reports.

2. The National Americanism Committee of the American Legion did attack SRC in its publication The Firing Line of May 15, 1957. The attack, like the "report"--except that its authors took responsibility for it--was erroneous and misleading. SRC promptly issued a detailed reply. Copy attached.

Some members of the American Legion were and are in opposition to this sort of attack. For instance, in 1958, the American Legion of Minnesota appointed a new Subversive Activities Committee composed of a member of the state Selective Service Commission, the Sheriff of Hennepin County, and the chief of police of St. Paul. This committee issued a report, published in the Legion's official journal without dissent, which said in part:

> ...your Committee refuses to be a part of unsupported attack on individuals or organizations. We feel that

> such practices are unfair, undemocratic and in effect, subversive in themselves because they are contrary to America's fundamental precept of innocence until guilt has been proved under due process of law.
>
> The American Legion, nationally and in Minnesota, has sacrificed some of its prestige and esteem by its zeal in declaring things to be un-American. All too often we have adopted the technique of the dictators when the machinery of democracy would have better served the cause.

3. The SRC does not have available records of the proceedings of the Florida Legislative Investigating Committee--1959 and 1961. However, no member of the board or staff was called to testify and no records of SRC activities were requested. Under these circumstances, it is most unlikely that any serious investigation of SRC could have been conducted.

4. Prior to his association with SRC, Dr. George S. Mitchell was employed by the C.I.O.. Earlier Dr. Mitchell, a respected economist, was employed by Columbia University and the U.S. Government. Dr. Mitchell was a Rhodes Scholar and the first recipient of the annual award of the Catholic Committee of the South.

5. The Southern Regional Council does issue a monthly magazine, New South. Stetson Kennedy did write an article for New South in January, 1946. At that time Stetson Kennedy had written for a number of national publications and had at least two books published by reputable houses. Mr. Kennedy's article on voting in the South is on file for anyone who wishes to read it. A factual analysis of the contributors to the magazine would reveal a distinguished group of Southerners.

6. The SRC has received no support from the Fund for the Republic since 1958. However, all references to this support are accurate---though not complete---and the Council is most grateful to the Board of the Fund for this support. Anyone interested in this aspect of the "Report" might find it of interest to read the full report of the Fund. These reports are public and readily available. They show, for instance, that practically every major religious body in the U.S. received aid from the Fund for the Republic, including the Southern Baptists.

7. The Rev. Robert Hughes was the director of the Alabama Council through 1960. Mr. Hughes is now a Methodist missionary in Africa.

8. Frederick B. Routh, formerly Assistant Director of SRC, was at a meeting at Highlander Folk School in 1957. During that year, Mr. Routh probably attended thirty or more conferences and meetings. None of his other appearances proved that Mr. Routh--or SRC--was Baptist, Catholic, Democrat, Republican, or Rotarian, yet he appeared before groups in each category during 1957. His valuable

services to his country in military and civilian life need no documentation here. Mr. Routh is currently Executive Director of the Michigan FEPC, an official state agency.

9. This section of the "report" ends with a list of persons connected with SRC. Following is a list of these individuals, date of service on the SRC Board, and an identification of them.

Albert W. Dent - 1944-present. President, Dillard University, New Orleans, La. (See Who's Who, current edition.)

Rufus E. Clement - 1944-present. President, Atlanta University, Atlanta, Ga. (See Who's Who, current edition.)

(Note: current Chairman of the Executive Committee of SRC is Mr. John Wheeler, President, Mechanics and Farmers Bank, Durham, N.C..)

Marion A. Wright - 1944-present. Attorney, retired. Former president, University of South Carolina Alumni Association and University of South Carolina Law Alumni Association.

Horace M. Bond - 1944-45. Dean, School of Education, Atlanta University.

Dr. Charlotte H. Brown - 1944-53. Current employment unknown.

Louis E. Burnham - 1945-49. Current employment unknown.

Clark Foreman - 1944-49. At present, Director, Emergency Civil Liberties Union.

Charles S. Johnson (Deceased) - 1944-56. President, Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn. (See Who's Who, 1956.)

Benjamin E. Mays - 1944-present. President, Morehouse College, Atlanta, Ga. (See Who's Who, current.)

F. D. Patterson - 1944-53. Former President, Tuskegee Institute, Alabama. Currently Director, Phelps-Stokes Fund. (See Who's Who, current.)

Mrs. M. E. Tilly - 1944-46. Currently SRC Director of Women's Work. Formerly Director, Methodist Women's Division of Christian Service. By appointment of President Truman, member of the President's Committee on Civil Rights.

Rufus B. Atwood - 1945-58. President, Kentucky State College. (See Who's Who, current.)

John M. Ellison - 1948-54. Chancellor, Virginia Union University, Richmond, Va.

H. C. Trenholm - 1954-present. President, Alabama State College, Montgomery. (See Who's Who, current.)

Miss Josephine Wilkins - 1944-present. Past president, Georgia League of Women Voters.

E. C. Peters (Deceased) - 1956-59. Methodist missionary and President of Paine College, Augusta, Ga. (See Who's Who, 1957.)

C. G. Gomillion - 1953-present. Dean, Tuskegee Institute, Alabama. (See Who's Who, current.)

Paul R. Christopher - 1949-present. Regional Director, AFL-CIO, Knoxville, Tenn.

Aubrey Williams - 1945-50. Publisher, Southern Farm and Home, Montgomery, Ala.

Since the founding of SRC in 1944 it is of interest that out of approximately 300 distinguished Southerners who have served on the board this "report" felt that it could comment on only 19. And, those 19 are discussed without any reference to dates of service.

Section VI - Directors of SRC.

Most of the individuals listed in this section have been referred to in Section V.

Among those not mentioned are:

Leslie W. Dunbar. Mr. Dunbar is Executive Director of SRC. He spoke at Miles College on May 9, 1961, though the account of that meeting is otherwise incorrect. It is of interest that the "report" can find no further comment to make about Mr. Dunbar.

The Rev. C. H. Oliver. Mr. Oliver is prominently associated with the Alabama Council on Human Relations although he is not and has never been "Chairman."

The members (Board of Directors) of the Southern Regional Council are loyal and dedicated Americans. By contrast to unsupported and irresponsible charges it seems appropriate to conclude this section with the full text of a telegram from President John F. Kennedy, sent on the occasion of SRC's annual meeting in 1961.

> The White House Washington DC
> James M. Dabbs, President Southern Regional Council
> 5 Forsyth St Northwest Atlanta
>
> Please convey my greetings to the participants in the annual meeting of the Southern Regional Council. In working to make equal opportunity a reality in all parts of our national life, the Southern Regional Council is advancing the cause of all Americans. In promoting good will and better understanding among people of all races, colors and creeds, the Council is serving not only the South but the whole country. In supporting efforts to secure the full constitutional rights of all

our people, including above all the primary right to vote, you are helping to fulfill the promise of America.

Cordially,
John F. Kennedy

(True copy attached.)

Section VII - Alabama Council on Human Relations.

The Alabama Council on Human Relations (ACHR) is fully capable of defending itself. However, it may be of value to stress the following:

1. The ACHR is not "The Alabama Organ of the SRC." The SRC does give financial assistance to the ACHR but the Alabama Council is completely autonomous with its own directors, staff, and members. Some years ago SRC determined, when helping these state councils become established, that all should be completely independent. This was done with the thought that not only could Southerners best solve their own problems--but that responsible citizens of each state and community could best assess their own needs; the region being an area of great contrast in which no single program or policy could be appropriate for all.

2. Mr. Hughes was jailed in Bessemer, Alabama. His confinement was the result of his refusal to cooperate with the methods of the grand jury. The "report" does not mention the fact that the Rev. Mr. Hughes was later released and that no charges were or have been brought against him or the ACHR. His appearance was as a witness called in a suit against the New York Times and did not legally concern itself with the ACHR or its membership.

3. Koinonia Farms is not--so far as we know--listed by any of the organizations concerned with subversive activity. Mr. Conrad Browne's comment on being "Communist" should have been reproduced without benefit of dots and dashes. It might lead to better evaluation.

4. We are not familar with Claude Williams of Helena, Alabama though we note that he is said only to be a member and none of the long section devoted to him indicates any influence Mr. Williams has on the ACHR programs or policy.

5. The ACHR is a tax exempt organization. This means of course, that the Internal Revenue Service has carefully surveyed its operations and methods and ruled accordingly.

6. The Rev. Norman C. Jimerson is the current director of ACHR. He is a Baptist Minister. He was formerly employed as Chaplain of Hopewell Prison, Virginia. If these are the most serious charges that can be brought against the Rev. Mr. Jimerson, then he must indeed be "as clean as a hounds tooth."

Conclusion:

SRC has not been happy about preparing this memo, for to do so gives a dignity to the anonymous "report" which it does not deserve. However, we have done so in the interest of our friends and supporters in Alabama.

As a final thought we would like to agree with the concluding sentence of the report: "There seems to be little excuse for any reasonably well-informed citizen to continue to associate with these organizations unless said association is knowingly intended."

We wholeheartedly agree.

We have been organized as dedicated and concerned Southerners; dedicated to the belief that the region's problems can be solved by the best of its people and deeply concerned with the enormity and seriousness of the racial problems of the region. An association with these organizations should be in full awareness of and dedication to these ideals. Such is the right--and indeed the duty--of concerned and responsible members of a democratic society.

In October of 1961 Mr. J. Edgar Hoover concluded a report prepared for the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee with these observations:

> Unfortunately there are those who make the very mistake the Communists are so careful to avoid. These individuals concentrate on the negative rather than on the positive. They are merely against communism without being for any positive measures to eliminate the social, political, and economic frictions which the Communists are so adroit at exploiting.
>
> These persons would do well to recall a recent lesson from history. Both Hitler and Mussolini were against communism. However, it was by what they stood for, not against, that history judged them.

The Delta Democrat-Times

HODDING CARTER
Editor and Publisher

JOHN T. GIBSON
General Manager

Greenville, Miss., Sunday, August 25, 1957

Were it left for me to decide whether we should have a government without newspapers or newspapers without a government, I should not hesitate a moment to prefer the latter.

—Thomas Jefferson

The Editor's Prerogative

ONE of the easiest—and most dishonest — ways to assail someone's character is through the "guilt association" route. One of the easiest — and most dishonest — ways to win an argument is to censor the answers of the person assailed.

A case in point is the recent exchange between the editor of the News and Courier of Charleston, S. C., Thomas Waring, and the Southern Regional Council, of which Harold C. Fleming is executive director and the editor of the Delta Democrat-Times is a director.

Editor Waring fired a broadside at the Southern Regional Council, intimating it was Communist-inspired because "sixteen former and nine present directors of the Southern Regional Council have been affiliated with the Southern Conference for Human Welfare,' and quoting the American Legion magazine, Firing Line, as a source of information that the Southern Conference was a "defunct communist front organization," noting that the Southern Regional Council "has received many thousands of dollars from the Fund for the Republic, a Northern foundation that acts as paymaster for integration in the South."

Editor Waring also said, mockingly, that "Mr. Fleming and the Southern Regional Council are moderate only if one believes the NAACP is also moderate. The objectives of the SRC and the NAACP are the same — an end to separate schools in the South"

Mr. Fleming replied that on the basis of Waring's kind of argument "the News and Courier can be no more moderate than the Ku Klux Klan, since both have the objective of maintaining a completely segregated school system," but Editor Waring chose to delete this when he printed the letter in his newspaper.

In fact, out of ten paragraphs, the News and Courier only printed four in reply to its own completely unfair, vicious editorial which attempted to link the Southern Regional Council to the defunct and unsavory Southern Conference on Human Welfare.

May we emphasize here that we hold no brief for the Southern Conference, which, like many such organizations, started out with some directors, supporters and members of good intent but fell into bad hands. These men dropped out of the organization when they began to learn of its true motivations.

The News and Courier should have printed Mr. Fleming's letter [illegible] it believes in fair play [illegible]aphs deleted were cut out with what one can only assume was malicious intent because they were the ones that gave the whole letter meaning.

What remained was an innocuous denial filled with generalities such as "This charge is utterly false and is supported by 'evidence' of the most dishonest sort."

What Editor Waring censored were vital bits of evidence in behalf of the Southern Regional Council:

1. The Fund for the Republic has also supplied money to Southern Presbyterians, Methodists, Episcopalians and Catholics. One of the beneficiaries was the Southern Association of Neiman Fellows and Editor Waring was granted, and accepted, a fellowship under this Fund-financed program. We wonder if his fingers felt as ditry then as his conscience must now.

2. South Carolina Governor James F. Byrnes was a prominent speaker at a dinner staged by that now defunct Southern Conference for Human Welfare in 1945. ("Is one to believe that Mr. Byrnes is a carrier of the dread disease you ascribe to nine of SRC's 80 board members?" asked Fleming. The question was omitted in the News and Courier).

3. One of the past SRC board members, indicted by the Firing Line was the late Dr. Charles S. Johnson, president of Fisk University, who also served on the board of the Southern Education Reporting Service along with Editor Waring of the News and Courier. Mr. Waring also gets money for that too—from the same Ford Foundation that established the Fund for the Republic. (We hope that in gratitude for what might be called a double-tit situation, Mr. Waring at least is driving a Ford or maybe a Mercury). Mr. Fleming wondered if "this means that the SERS and the worthy editor are tainted by this "definite trend of interrelationship"?

4. Another Southern Regional Council director was the late Dr. Howard W. Odom, the South's most noted sociologist, and one of the chief authorities relied upon by Attorney Robert McC. Figg in defending the Clarendon County school authorities who resisted racial integration of their schools in one of the cases involved in the original Supreme Court decision on school integration.

The deleted paragraphs of Mr. Fleming's letter would have made Editor Waring at least as guilty by his associations as he attempted to make Mr. Fleming. As a matter of fact, Editor Waring is guilty only of a very special kind of yellow journalism.

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Monteagle tint spreads—

Both whites, Negroes victims of Red plot

BY EDWIN STRICKLAND
News staff writer

A quarter of a century ago, Myles Horton and Donald L. West established in the mountains of Tennessee a school which has become a Mecca for ultra liberals, labor agitators, professional "democracy seekers," those who follow the Communist party line and for hard-core Communists themselves. James A. Dombrowski soon joined West and Horton.

More recently, the school has been specializing in the training of integration leaders.

HORTON, the school's director, declares that he never knowingly registers Communists in the school.

Horton, who calls the "Daily Worker," official organ of communism in America, a "labor paper" and subscribes to it in the school's library, has stated under oath that he is not a Communist.

His assertion has the ring of truth, certainly if the term is restricted to those who are listed on the party's official roles.

MORE WILL BE SAID of this later in discussing testimony concerning Horton and his school, given before congressional committees.

Dombrowski, on the other hand, has been identified as a

Fifth of a series

member of the Communist Party in sworn testimony given in 1954 before the U. S. Senate Committee on Internal Security. The testimony was by John Butler, former Communist Party functionary in Alabama.

Horton was himself ejected from Senate committee hearings in New Orleans in 1954, when he refused to answer questions about Dombrowski's connection with Highlander Folk School. Horton was ordered ejected when he insisted on giving a prepared statement.

DOMBROWSKI HAS also denied that he is a member of the Communist Party "or under party discipline." But his record of service with communist fronts tabs him as a valuable adjunct to party purposes in the South.

Turn to Page 4, Column 1

BIRMINGHAM NEWS The Birmingham News Oct. 10, 1957

Both whites, Negroes victims of Red plot

Continued from Page 1

He is the former executive secretary for the Communist-dominated Southern Conference for Human Welfare and served as its administrator.

He is currently serving as executive secretary for its successor, the Southern Conference Educational Fund, with offices in New Orleans.

IN 1955, DOMBROWSKI signed an Amici Curiae brief in defense of the Communist Party.

In 1952, he signed an appeal for amnesty for Communist Party leaders jailed under the Smith Act.

In 1948 and again in 1951, he publicly defended the International Workers Order, a Communist sponsored group.

He was a sponsor and a member of The People's Institute of Applied Religion.

A LIST OF ALL his associations with organizations that have been officially declared as communistic, would require several typewritten pages.

As one of the founders of Highlander Folk School, in Monteagle, Tenn., he maintains quarters there known as "Dombrowski's Cottage."

In Butler's testimony on Dombrowski, he asserted that in 1942 he attended a meeting of Communist Party leaders in Thomas Jefferson Hotel in Birmingham. Butler said Alton Lawrence, former Bessemer labor leader of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, introduced him to Dombrowski as a Communist Party member.

LAWRENCE WAS indicted in 1956 on a charge of conspiring to file a false non-Communist affidavit with the National Labor Relations Board.

Lawrence was one time a staff member of the Highlander Folk School.

Another witness, John P. Frey, president of the Metal Trades Union, AFL, testified before the old Dies committee on un-American activities, that Lawrence, Horton and Elizabeth Hawes were among persons who "attended a secret convention in North Carolina, at which time plans were made for spreading the revolutionary theories throughout the South."

THE SAME WITNESS stated further in testimony:

"In connection with this, I might mention that the Highlander Folk School at Monteagle, Tenn., was mixed up in this secret convention, in which these three CIO organizers took a very prominent part.

Paul Crouch, once one of the top Communist Party figures in the South, testified before a subcommittee of the un-American activities committee in 1949 concerning the Highlander Folk School and Dombrowski:

"I WOULD LIKE to mention in this connection," said Crouch, "that the Highlander Folk School at Monteagle, Tenn., was a school organized by Myles Horton and Don West, and which Mr. James Dombrowski shortly thereafter joined . . .".

Speaking of Dombrowski, Crouch said:

"I have met officially with him on a number of occasions as head of the Communist District Bureau of Tennessee . . . at this conference Mr. Dombrowski gave me the impression of being completely pro-Communist and anxious to collaborate with the Communist Party and follow its leadership without taking the risk of actual party membership."

BACK TO CROUCH'S testimony on Highlander:

"The Highlander Folk School is a school operated at Monteagle, Tenn., ostensibly as an independent labor school, but actually working in close cooperation with the Communist Party.

DURING 1954 HEARINGS of the Senate internal security committee, the following conversation took place between Sen. Eastland, Committee Counsel Arens and Crouch during the latter's testimony:

Sen. Eastland . . . "Mr. Crouch, did you ever visit Mr. Dombrowski's home?"

Crouch . . . "I visited the Highlander Folk School where he was working. I didn't visit at his home, but we spent the night at the same home together, Caroline Stevenson's, and he and Leo Sheiner discussed in my presence the hideouts of Communist leaders the night we were traveling to Winter Haven."

Arens . . . "He and Sheiner discussed in your presence the hideouts for Communist leaders, top flight leaders; is that correct?"

Crouch . . . "That is correct, sir."

DURING THE 1949 House Committee hearings, West was identified in testimony as district director of the Communist Party in North Carolina.

West, of Atlanta, was discussed in an earlier article in this series.

Before leaving Drombrowski, it would be interesting to identify a former Birmingham girl, Margaret Gelders Frantz, who is often described as his "good right hand."

Mrs. Frantz still works with Dombrowski in the Southern Conference Educational Fund, which is headed by Montgomery's Aubrey Williams. Mrs. Frantz was also with Dombrowski when he headed the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, in which Williams and Myles Horton were also active.

THE STORY BEGINS in Birmingham in 1922, when she was born Margie Gelders, daughter of Joseph Gelders, who published a sheet known as "Southern News Almanac." Joe Gelders later became secretary of the Civil Rights Committee of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare.

Margie finished Phillips High School in 1939 and attended Radcliff College two years.

In 1940 she and her father, protesting the arrest of George Harris, vice president of the Alabama Farmer's Union, got themselves arrested by Birmingham police and made quite a splash in the "Daily Worker."

(The Alabama Farmer's Union, incidentally, worked closely in its organization with the Monteagle Folk School.)

THE GELDERS, father and daughter, distributed pamphlets in downtown Birmingham protesting Harris' arrest and demanding repeal of a city ordinance known as 1492, under which the city could hold without charge for 48 hours. Arrested with them were Malcolm Cotton Dobbs, secretary of the League for Young Southerners, and F. McGraw, a member of the league. They were all booked on vagrancy charges.

The League of Young Southerners, affiliated with the American Youth Congress, had been active in circulating petitions against the draft law.

(Dobbs and his wife, Pauline, were later active in the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, and many other Communist front groups.)

IN PREPARATION for the role she was later to play, Birmingham's Miss Gelders became associated in quick succession with several groups later identified as subversive. She also worked with labor unions, and with the Soviet Purchasing Commission, in Washington.

Other groups with which she was identified included the American Youth Congress, League of Young Southerners, American Peace Mobilization, American People's Mobilization, Southern Negro Youth Congress and the Massachusetts League of Women Voters, for which she worked as a paid employe.

Margie met her husband-to-be, Knoxville Lawyer Laurent Brown Frantz, in Birmingham in 1940. He got himself arrested.

THE "DAILY WORKER" screamed that he was "arrested illegally and held in communicado for 24 hours by officers acting in collusion with the Dies committee."

Frantz was closely associated in Birmingham with Robert F. Hall, who was then Communist Party organizer in the South.

Margie moved to Nashville in 1944, but before she left, she made a speech on Jan. [illegible] to a meeting presided over by Rob Hall.

While still in Birmingham, she worked as a clerk for the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, and later in Evansville, Ill., as an organizer for the Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers Union. Both these groups have been officially declared as [illegible] dominated.

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IN THE

SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES

OCTOBER TERM, 1957

No.

DAVID H. SCULL,

Petitioner,

v.

COMMONWEALTH OF VIRGINIA EX REL. COMMITTEE ON LAW REFORM AND RACIAL ACTIVITIES,

Respondent.

PETITION FOR A WRIT OF CERTIORARI TO THE SUPREME COURT OF APPEALS OF VIRGINIA

JOSEPH L. RAUH, JR.,
JOHN SILARD,
1631 K Street, N. W.,
Washington 6, D. C.,
KARL SORG,
Radio Building,
Arlington, Virginia,
Attorneys for Petitioner.

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PETITION FOR A WRIT OF CERTIORARI TO THE SUPREME COURT OF APPEALS OF VIRGINIA

To the Honorable the Chief Justice of the United States and the Associate Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States:

Petitioner, David H. Scull, prays that a writ of certiorari issue to review the judgment of the Supreme Court of Appeals of Virginia in the case of *Scull* v. *Commonwealth of Virginia ex rel. Committee on Law Reform and Racial Activities.*

Opinions Below

The unreported opinions, judgments and orders of the Supreme Court of Appeals of Virginia and of the Circuit Court of Arlington County are attached hereto as Appendix A, *infra,* p. 19.

Jurisdiction

The judgment of the Supreme Court of Appeals of Virginia denying petition for writ of error was entered on January 20, 1958. The jurisdiction of this Court is invoked under 28 U.S.C. 1257 (3).

Questions Presented

In 1956 the Virginia Legislature established the Thomson "Committee on Law Reform and Racial Activities" as part of its program of resistance to school integration. Petitioner was called before the Committee in the course of an investigation described by its Chairman as one to "bust" the NAACP "wide open". Petitioner refused to tell the Committee whether he was a member of the NAACP or other civic and political organizations and for his refusal he was convicted and sentenced. The questions presented are:

1. Was petitioner's freedom of speech and association unlawfully impaired by his conviction for refusing to tell a Committee of the Virginia Legislature investigating racial activities whether he was associated with the NAACP and other civic and political organizations?

2. Were due process and equal protection guarantees violated by petitioner's conviction for refusing to answer questions during the course of an investigation admittedly intended to keep the NAACP, its members, and others "out of litigation" to promote school integration?

3. Was petitioner denied due process by his compelled interrogation before a Virginia legislative committee which

had no rules, no reasonable grounds for calling and questioning him, and no identifiable subject under inquiry at the time of his appearance?

Statute Involved

The statute creating the Committee on Law Reform and Racial Activities is Chapter 37 of the Acts of the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Virginia, Extra Session, 1956, which is set forth as Appendix B, *infra,* p. 23.

Statement

Petitioner has been sentenced to fine and imprisonment for his failure to answer a number of questions before a Committee of the Virginia Legislature investigating "litigation relating to racial activities."[1] Evaluation of petitioner's interrogation and of his refusal to answer requires an examination of the legislative history surrounding the establishment of the Committee and of the circumstances leading to his refusal.

1. *The Legislative History*

Shortly after this Court's 1954 decision in *Brown* v. *Board of Education,* 347 U.S. 483, the Legislature of the State of Virginia undertook a program of massive resistance to school integration.

On August 30, 1954, the Governor appointed a commission to examine the effect of the *Brown* decision. On November 11, 1955, the Commission submitted its final report to the Governor, recommending a special session of the General Assembly and a constitutional convention for the passage of legislation and a constitutional amendment to confer broad discretion upon the Virginia school authori-

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[1] The questions appear in full in Appendix C, *infra,* p. 26.

ties to assign pupils and use state funds for the prevention of integration.

On February 1, 1956, shortly after this report, the General Assembly adopted an "interposition resolution" by a vote of 36-to-2 in the Senate and 90-to-5 in the House of Delegates, stating in part as follows:

> "That by its decision of May 17, 1954, in the school cases, the Supreme Court of the United States placed upon the Constitution an interpretation, having the effect of an amendment thereto, which interpretation Virginia emphatically disapproves; * * *
>
> "That with the Supreme Court's decision aforesaid and this resolution by the General Assembly of Virginia, a question of contested power has arisen: The court asserts, for its part, that the States did, in fact, in 1868, prohibit unto themselves, by means of the Fourteenth Amendment, the power to maintain racially separate public schools, which power certain of the States have exercised daily for more than 80 years; the State of Virginia, for her part, asserts that she has never surrendered such power;
>
> "That this declaration upon the part of the Supreme Court of the United States constitutes a deliberate, palpable, and dangerous attempt by the court itself to usurp the amendatory power that lies solely with not fewer than three-fourths of the States; * * *
>
> "[That Virginia] anxiously concerned at this massive expansion of central authority, * * * is in duty bound to interpose against these most serious consequences, and earnestly to challenge the usurped authority that would inflict them upon her citizens. * * *
>
> "And be it finally resolved, that until the question here asserted by the State of Virginia be settled

by clear Constitutional amendment, we pledge our firm intention to take all appropiate measures honorably, legally and constitutionally available to us, to resist this illegal encroachment upon our sovereign powers, and to urge upon our sister States, whose authority over their own most cherished powers may next be imperiled, their prompt and deliberate efforts to check this and further encroachment by the Supreme Court, through judicial legislation, upon the reserved powers of the States."

On August 27, 1956, the General Assembly was convened by the Governor in an Extra Session to pass anti-integration legislation. The Governor stated in his opening address to the Session:

"The people of Virginia and their elected representatives, are confronted with the gravest problems since 1865. Beginning with the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States on May 17, 1954, there has been a series of events striking at the very fundamentals of constitutional government and creating situations of the utmost concern to all our people in this Commonwealth, and throughout the South.

"Because of the events I have just mentioned, I come before you today for the purpose of submitting recommendations to continue our system of segregated public schools . . ."

"The principal bill which I submit to you at this time defines State policy and governs public school appropriations accordingly . . ."

"Manifestly, integration of the races would make impossible the operation of an efficient system. By this proposed legislation, the General Assembly, properly exercising its authority under the [State] Constitution,

> will clearly define what constitute an efficient system for which State appropriations are made."

In response to this appeal the Assembly enacted a series of bills including a pupil assignment plan,[2] provision for the discontinuance of state funds to integrated schools, and a package of "anti-NAACP bills."

2. *Establishment of the Thomson Committee*

On the same day that it approved the school bills, the Virginia Legislature passed a package of "anti-NAACP bills," appearing as Chapters 31 to 37 of the Acts of the General Assembly, Extra Session 1956,[3] the last of which created the "Committee on Law Reform and Racial Activities", commonly known as the "Thomson Committee" for its sponsor and Chairman, Delegate Thomson. The Act creating the Committee empowered it

> "to make a thorough investigation of the activities of corporations, organizations, associations and other like groups which seek to influence, encourage or promote litigation relating to racial activities in this State."

To that end, the Committee was directed to collect evidence necessary to determine (1) the need "for legislation which would assist in the investigation of such organizations . . . relative to the State income tax laws", (2) the need for legislation "redefining the taxable status" of such organizations and of donations to such organizations, and (3) "the effect which integration or the threat of integration

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[2] The pupil placement law was held unconstitutional. *Atkins* v. *School Board,* 148 F. Supp. 430, *aff'd,* 246 F. 2d 325, *cert. den.* 355 U.S. 855.

[3] These Acts have been respectively codified in the Code of Virginia at §§ 18-349.9 et seq., 18-349.17 et seq., 54-74, 78, 79; 18-349.25 et seq., 18-349.31 et seq., and 30-35 et seq.

could have on the operation of the public schools in the State or the general welfare of the State and whether the laws of barratry, champerty and maintenance are being violated in connection therewith.''[4]

3. *Petitioner's Interrogation*

Prior to and after the establishment of his Committee, Chairman Thomson made public statements that its investigations would be ''devastating to the NAACP,'' would ''bust that organization wide open'' and ''could be used to keep the NAACP out of litigation, which is the heart of the organization'' (Oct. 15 Tr. 47-49).[5] Shortly after its establishment in September of 1956, the Committee initiated investigations and hearings in various Virginia localities. In its hearings the Committee called ''around one hundred'' witnesses concerning the NAACP and one witness concerning the ''Defenders of State Sovereignty'' (Oct. 15 Tr. 31-33).

Petitioner was subpoenaed to appear before the Committee on September 20, 1957, because of unverified allegations appearing in a printed pamphlet entitled ''The Shocking

---

[4] The "laws of barratry, champerty and maintenance" referred to are included in the six other "anti-NAACP" acts passed with the Thomson Committee measure. These other acts establish in the area of racial activities and racial litigation, registration requirements (Chapters 31 and 32), criminal penalties (Chapters 33, 35, 36) and another investigating committee, the "Boatwright Committee" (Chapter 34). Three of these measures were recently held unconstitutional in a decision by a federal three-judge court in *NAACP* v. *Patty*, 26 Law Week 2370 (D.C.E.D. Va.), decided January 21, 1958.

[5] There are three significant transcripts in the record. The first is the transcript of petitioner's appearance before the Committee on September 20, 1957 and is designated as "Sept. 20 Tr.". The second is the transcript of the October 15, 1957, hearing before the Circuit Court of Arlington County on the show cause order and is designated "Oct. 15 Tr.". The third is the transcript of the October 30, 1957, hearing of the contempt trial and is designated as "Oct. 30 Tr.". In a few places where the context is clear, the letters "Tr." are used without dates.

Truth" emanating from the "Fairfax Citizens Council," an organization about which the committee had no information (Oct. 15 Tr. 20, 23-25, 43-45). The pamphlet (designated in the record as Respondent's Exh. No. 1, Oct. 15, 1957) implies some unspecified relationship between petitioner's Post Office box in Annandale, Virginia, and a number of organizations such as the NAACP, the B'nai B'rith, the American Friends Service Committee, and the Fairfax Federation of PTAs.

At the outset of the Committee hearing on September 20, 1957, petitioner demanded to be informed of the question under inquiry before the Committee, whereupon the Chairman simply rephrased the authorizing resolution in terms even more vague than those of the statute itself.[6] Thereupon petitioner was asked a series of questions relating to his membership in, and the use of his mailbox by, various civic and political organizations, including the Fairfax County Council on Human Relations, the NAACP, the ACLU, the ADA, and the American Friends Service Committee. See Appendix C, *infra,* p. 26. Petitioner refused to answer these questions, as well as questions concerning his involvement in "racial litigation," on the grounds, among others, that they infringed upon his rights under the Federal Constitution. Petitioner's statement refusing to answer these questions on federal constitutional grounds is included as Appendix D to this petition, *infra,* p. 28.

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[6] "CHAIRMAN THOMSON: The subjects under inquiry by the Committee, Mr. Scull, are three-fold:

One—several which primarily do not deal with you, but I will nonetheless state all three—the tax-exempt or tax status of both racial organizations in Virginia and the contributions made to such organizations—that is, the taxable status of them.

The integration or threat of integration on the public school system of Virginia, or the general welfare of Virginia.

The third one deals with the violation of certain statutes which are designed to prevent champerty, barratry, and maintenance, or the unauthorized practice of the law" (Sept. 20 Tr. 4).

4. *Enforcement Proceedings*

Following petitioner's refusal to answer and pursuant to the procedure provided by the statute (Appendix B, *infra,* p. 23), petitioner was ordered to show cause before the Circuit Court of Arlington County why he should not be compelled by judicial order to answer the Committee's questions.

i. At the hearing on the show cause order on October 15, 1957, the only witness was Chairman Thomson, who related petitioner's refusals to answer Committee questions. On cross-examination, Mr. Thomson affirmed that he had publicly stated his investigation would be "devastating to the NAACP," would "bust that organization wide open" and "could be used to keep the NAACP out of litigation, which is the heart of the organization" (Tr. 47-49). When asked whether the Committee had investigated any groups other than the NAACP, he stated that it had investigated the "Defenders of State Sovereignty," but conceded that there had been only one witness from that organization as contrasted to "around one hundred" concerning the NAACP (Tr. 31-33).

ii. Chairman Thomson conceded that the Committee had no published rules whatever and the only unpublished rules he could recall concerned the definition of a quorum and a provision for reporting the Committee's proceedings (Tr. 15-16). He affirmed that petitioner had been called because of unverified allegations by the Fairfax Citizens Council (concerning which he had no information) appearing in the pamphlet "The Shocking Truth" (Tr. 20, 23-25, 43-45) and volunteered that, "Of course, I use anonymous telephone calls to begin an investigation with" (Tr. 25). When asked to clarify his statement to petitioner at the hearing concerning the subject under inquiry by the Committee (see *supra,* n. 6, p. 8), Mr. Thomson was reduced to utter

confusion. He was unable to state the subject under inquiry or the need for petitioner's testimony in any terms other than to repeat parts of the authorizing statute, and could make no understandable explanation as to which, if any, parts of the statute were involved in petitioner's questioning nor what he had meant in his statement at the hearing that certain parts of the statute were not involved (Tr. 38-45). He defended the questions addressed to petitioner concerning his civic and political associations on the ground that they would tend to reveal "whether in fact those organizations are racial in character" and would help verify the charges in the pamphlet, "The Shocking Truth" (Tr. 39, 43-45).

iii. Notwithstanding these admissions by Chairman Thomson, the Circuit Court ordered petitioner to appear before the Committee on October 23, 1957, to answer the questions he had previously refused to answer. The Court overruled petitioner's reliance on the *Watkins* and *Sweezy* cases and his contention that the Committee's proceedings violated his rights under the 14th Amendment.[7] See Appendix A, *infra,* pp. 20, 22.

iv. Thereafter petitioner appeared before the Committee on October 23rd and again refused to answer the questions put to him on September 20th.[8] On October 30th petitioner

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[7] Petitioner's constitutional contentions were succinctly stated in his "Motion to Quash Rule to Show Cause" set forth in Appendix D, *infra,* p. 30. See also Oct. 15 Tr. 51-68.

[8] The Circuit Judge, in his order of Oct. 15, 1957, refused a stay pending appeal. In the week between October 15th and October 23rd petitioner unsuccessfully sought a stay of the order of October 15 from the Supreme Court of Appeals of Virginia and from the Chief Justice of this Court, fearing that his failure to employ any available means of review might result in invocation by the courts of Virginia of the doctrine of the *Mine Workers* case, 330 U.S. 258. Having exhausted the only means available for appeal of the order of October 15 prior to October 23rd when he was required to answer, petitioner contended at his contempt trial on October 30 that the *Mine Workers* doctrine was inapplicable. This contention was accepted by the Circuit Judge (see Oct. 30 Tr. 47),

was tried for civil and criminal contempt. At his contempt trial petitioner expressly reasserted all of his earlier contentions under the 14th Amendment (Oct. 30 Tr. 25; see Appendix D, *infra,* p. 28); nevertheless he was found guilty of both civil and criminal contempt and sentenced to serve 10 days in the Arlington County jail and to pay a fine of $50.00 (see Appendix A, *infra,* p. 21). The sentence was stayed pending appeal.

On January 20, 1958, the Supreme Court of Appeals of Virginia refused petitions for writs of error sought by petitioner from the order of October 15, 1957, compelling him to answer the Committee's questions, and from the judgment and order of October 30, 1957, convicting and sentencing petitioner for civil and criminal contempt for disobedience of the order of October 15. See Appendix A, *infra,* p. 19. As concerns the October 15 order to answer, the Supreme Court of Appeals was "of opinion that the said order is plainly right"; the Court likewise found that the October 30th judgment of contempt "is plainly right" and affirmed both rulings. This petition seeks review of the judgment of the Supreme Court of Appeals affirming petitioner's conviction and sentence of October 30, 1957.

Reasons for Granting the Writ

The Decision of The Virginia Supreme Court of Appeals is in Direct Conflict with Recent Decisions of This Court Upholding Constitutional Rights of Witnesses Before Legislative Investigating Committees

The judgment below upholding petitioner's interrogation and conviction contravenes the principles clearly an-

by counsel for the Committee in opposing petitioner's request for a writ of error, and by the Supreme Court of Appeals of Virginia which affirmed both the order to testify and the contempt conviction on the merits, making no reference to the *Mine Workers* doctrine.

nounced and explicitly applied by recent decisions of this Court in three vital constitutional areas:

1. *First Amendment Intrusion*

This Court's decisions in *Watkins* v. *United States,* 354 U.S. 178, and *Sweezy* v. *New Hampshire,* 354 U.S. 234, following upon the dictum in *United States* v. *Rumely,* 345 U.S. 41, leave no doubt that compelled disclosure before a legislative committee of personal and political associations is an intrusion upon First Amendment rights justifiable only by overriding governmental need. We respectfully submit that the intrusion herein upon protected freedoms is both more severe and less justified by any governmental need than in any similar case yet presented to this Court.

The briefest examination of the 31 questions petitioner refused to answer (see Appendix C, *infra,* p. 26) will demonstrate the direct restraint on First Amendment rights implicit in compelling answers thereto. These questions require petitioner to reveal his relationship to local and national civic and political organizations active in the field of civil rights, as well as to individual members of those organizations, in an atmosphere of bitter hostility and local antagonism to such associations. Under *Watkins* and *Sweezy,* there can be no doubt that such questioning restrains freedom of speech and association protected by the First Amendment.

Even less than in *Watkins* and *Sweezy* is the intrusion in this case justified by any governmental need for the answers sought. The Committee's questioning of petitioner was based on no more than unverified allegations in a pamphlet by an unknown organization which linked petitioner with various civic and political organizations. The only justification that the Committee could offer in the

Circuit Court for addressing such questions to petitioner was that they would enable it to determine "whether in fact those organizations are racial in character" and would help verify the charges of petitioner's connections therewith. Certainly if no more than this is required to order a private citizen under compulsory process to testify concerning his associations, then the First Amendment has ceased to impose any meaningful restraint on governmental action.

Moreover, even more than in *Watkins* and *Sweezy,* the Committee's inquiry was lacking in authorization from the parent body. The Virginia Assembly authorized the Committee to investigate the activities of organizations "which seek to influence, encourage or promote litigation relating to racial activities in this state." That is not an authorization to do what the Committee says it was doing in petitioner's case, determining whether various organizations are "racial in character." Indeed, the unauthorized nature of the inquiry was explicitly conceded by Chairman Thomson, who testified "we were trying to determine through his testimony whether in fact those organizations are racial in character, whether *at a future time* the Legislature might wish to authorize an investigation of those subjects" (Oct. 15 Tr. 39) (emphasis added).

Certainly enough has already been shown to demonstrate the absence of any tangible governmental need for the information demanded from petitioner. But we cannot refrain from pointing out to this Court that the intrusion on First Amendment rights in the instant case is not only unsupported by any tangible need but is affirmatively tainted by a clearly unjustifiable and unlawful investigative effort. The only consistently asserted justification, both in the enactment of the Committee's authorizing resolution and in its activities under that resolution, was the illegal

and unconstitutional purpose of massive resistance to school integration so candidly conceded by the Committee's Chairman. Legislative investigation to achieve results "devastating to the NAACP" which would "bust that organization wide open" by significantly discouraging membership therein under pain and penalty of governmental interrogation and censure, is plainly contrary to the guarantees of the First Amendment. While this purpose might not in and of itself vitiate an otherwise lawful inquiry based on a legitimate governmental need for the information sought, it certainly is the best possible evidence of the absence of any legitimate governmental need for the information sought from petitioner.

If New Hampshire's interest in restraining Communism and subversion did not suffice in the *Sweezy* case,[9] then clearly Virginia's effort to bust the NAACP wide open will not suffice to justify invasion of petitioner's First Amendment liberties.

2. *Restraint upon Equal and Unfettered Access to the Courts for Vindication of the Right to Non-segregated Schooling*

Petitioner's interrogation was part and parcel of Virginia's effort to nullify the right to non-segregated public schooling by restricting access to the courts for the vindication of that right. The legislative history of the enactment of the Thomson Committee's authorization clearly and explicitly reflects the determination of the Assembly, and the Governor who called it into special session, to nullify the right to integrated public schooling by

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[9] Certainly the need for the information in the instant case is far less than that asserted by the New Hampshire authorities in *Uphaus* v. *Wyman*, No. 778, October Term, 1957, in which this Court granted certiorari on April 7, 1958. Cf. *Barenblatt* v. *United States*, No. 787, October Term, 1957, in which this Court granted certiorari on April 14, 1958.

harassment of the organization most actively utilizing the courts to vindicate the constitutional right to integrated public schooling. The Committee's questioning of approximately 100 persons connected with the NAACP, while calling but one witness connected with any other organization, is itself a demonstration of how closely Chairman Thomson was able to pursue his public promise that his investigation would be used "to keep the NAACP out of litigation, which is the heart of the organization."

The 14th Amendment assures unfettered and non-discriminatory access to the courts for the redress of grievances and the assertion of constitutional rights. *Truax* v. *Corrigan,* 257 U.S. 312, 334; *Terral* v. *Burke Construction Company,* 257 U.S. 529; *Barbier* v. *Connally,* 113 U.S. 27, 31. Only recently this Court evidenced its concern for equality of access to appellate courts and struck down under the 14th Amendment state action denying such equality. *Griffin* v. *Illinois,* 351 U.S. 12. Denial or restriction of access to the courts is no less state action because it is implemented through legislative investigation. *Cf., Watkins* v. *United States,* at pp. 188, 196-198.

Petitioner is the victim of a crude, albeit candid, effort to deny the NAACP, its members and others, free and equal access to the courts to obtain the rights recently recognized in the *Brown* case. Since the Committee's interrogation of petitioner was an instrumentality for the accomplishment of the illegal and unconstitutional purpose to deny to the NAACP, to its members and to other citizens, equal access to the courts, petitioner's conviction contravenes the 14th Amendment's guarantees of due process and equal protection.[10]

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[10] Petitioner's contention that the purpose of the inquiry was to restrain free and equal access to the courts does not contravene the statement in the *Watkins* opinion (at p. 200) that the solution to the problems there raised "is not to be found in testing the motives of committee members."

3. *Denial of Due Process Before the Committee*

Petitioner was denied those very due process rights which this Court held in *Watkins* and *Sweezy* to be due every witness compelled to testify before a legislative investigating committee.

First, the Committee before which petitioner was summoned to appear lacked the minimal procedural safeguards necessary for fair treatment of witnesses. The Chairman of the Committee conceded at the hearing before the Virginia Circuit Court that the Committee had no published rules whatever and, indeed, had only two unpublished rules—one providing for a quorum and the other for recording the Committee's hearings. Certainly the first requirement of any governmental body that presumes to utilize compulsory process to compel testimony is a body of rules upon which a witness may rely in determining his rights. Compulsory interrogation without rules is inquisition, not due process.

Second, petitioner's interrogation was arbitrary and discriminatory because the Committee had no reasonable basis for calling and questioning him. Petitioner was called because of unverified and irrelevant allegations in a pamphlet emanating from an unknown organization. Apparently this was in conformity with the Committee's regu-

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For, what is relied on here is not covert motives but unsolicited and overt expressions of purpose by the Legislature, the Governor and the Committee. In any case, this Court has not hesitated to strike down, under the equal protection clause, state action whose purpose was found to be racially or otherwise discriminatory. See *Yick Wo* v. *Hopkins,* 118 U.S. 356, 374; *Guinn* v. *United States,* 238 U.S. 347; *Grosjean* v. *American Press Company,* 297 U.S. 233; *Lane* v. *Wilson,* 307 U.S. 268; *Terry* v. *Adams,* 345 U.S. 461. This Court's willingness in equal protection cases to look behind apparently non-discriminatory state action at legislative purpose is compelled by the nature of that constitutional protection itself, for a contrary rule would serve to strip the guarantee of equality of any practical vitality.

lar manner of proceeding, for the Chairman boldly volunteered that he proceeded on the basis of "anonymous telephone calls."

Third, contrary to the due process rule so recently announced in *Watkins,* the Committee failed both at the time of petitioner's appearance and at the Circuit Court hearing on the show cause order, to produce any understandable subject under inquiry to which petitioner's questioning might conceivably be pertinent. The confusing answer made to petitioner on this subject at the hearing (see n. 6, p. 8, *supra*) was compounded by the complete inability of the Committee Chairman to adduce in the Circuit Court any recognizable subject under inquiry (Tr. 38-45). Neither the authorizing statute nor the Committee Chairman's contradictory and inconsistent testimony on this issue provided any rational basis upon which petitioner could determine whether he was legally obligated to answer the Committee's questions.

In sum, the absence of rules guaranteeing a modicum of fairness in the Committee's interrogation of witnesses, the lack of any cause or reason for the interrogation of petitioner, and the absence of any recognizable subject under inquiry to which the questions addressed to petitioner might conceivably have been pertinent, render petitioner's conviction a violation of due process of law.

Conclusion

For the foregoing reasons petitioner's contempt conviction has clearly deprived him of vital constitutional rights in direct conflict with recent decisions of this Court and this petition for writ of certiorari should therefore be granted.

Furthermore, this Court may wish to consider the possibility of summarily reversing the judgment below. The decision of the Virginia Supreme Court of Appeals is so clearly in conflict with recent decisions of this Court that argument of this case might be deemed unnecessarily wasteful of the time of the Court. Petitioner therefore respectfully suggests the possibility of a summary reversal.

Respectfully submitted,

JOSEPH L. RAUH, JR.,
JOHN SILARD,
1631 K Street, N. W.,
Washington 6, D. C.,

KARL SORG,
Radio Building,
Arlington, Virginia,
Attorneys for Petitioner.

APPENDIX A

OPINIONS, JUDGMENTS AND ORDERS OF THE SUPREME COURT OF APPEALS OF VIRGINIA AND THE CIRCUIT COURT OF THE COUNTY OF ARLINGTON

"VIRGINIA:

In the Supreme Court of Appeals held at the Supreme Court of Appeals Building in the City of Richmond on Monday *the* 20th *day of* January, 1958.

The petition of David H. Scull for a writ of error to an order entered by the Circuit Court of Arlington County on the 15th day of October, 1957, in a certain proceeding then therein depending, wherein Committee on Law Reform and Racial Activities was plaintiff and the petitioner was defendant, having been maturely considered and a transcript of the record of the order aforesaid seen and inspected, the Court being of opinion that the said order is plainly right, doth reject said petition, and refuse said writ of error, the effect of which is to affirm the order of the said Circuit Court."

* * * * * * *

"VIRGINIA:

In the Supreme Court of Appeals held at the Supreme Court of Appeals Building in the City of Richmond on Monday *the* 20th *day of* January, 1958.

The petition of David H. Scull for a writ of error to a judgment rendered by the Circuit Court of Arlington County on the 30th day of October, 1957, in a certain proceeding then therein depending, wherein Commonwealth of Virginia, ex rel. Committee on Law Reform and Racial Activities was plaintiff and the petitioner was defendant, having been maturely considered and a transcript of the record of the judgment aforesaid seen and inspected, the Court being of opinion that the said judgment is plainly right, doth reject said petition, and refuse said writ of error, the effect of which is to affirm the judgment of the said Circuit Court."

* * * * * * *

"VIRGINIA:

IN THE CIRCUIT COURT OF THE COUNTY OF ARLINGTON.

On October 15, 1957 there came on for hearing before this Court in the above entitled matter the Motion to Quash Rule to Show Cause filed by respondent David H. Scull. Said motion moved that this Court quash and dismiss the Rule issued upon respondent requiring him to appear and show cause why he should not be required to answer certain questions previously asked him on September 20, 1957 when he was subpoenaed to testify before the Committee on Law Reform and Racial Activities established by Chapter 37 of the Laws of the General Assembly, Extra Session 1956. Thereupon said motion was argued by Counsel for respondent and petitioner, and the Court took evidence and heard arguments under the Rule previously issued.

The Court having considered the evidence and arguments presented by both sides and being of the opinion that the grounds advanced by respondent are without merit and that he is properly required to answer the questions previously addressed to him by said Committee, it is accordingly

ORDERED that the Motion to Quash the Rule to Show Cause served on petitioner on September 20, 1957, be and is hereby denied, and the respondent David H. Scull is ordered at a time and place designated hereinafter to appear before said Committee and answer those questions addressed to respondent which he has previously refused to answer before said Committee on September 20, 1957 at Court Room No. 3, Court House, Alexandria, Virginia, at 10:00 a.m., October 23rd.

Respondent, David H. Scull, having taken exception to the Court's order and having represented that he intends to petition for a writ of error to the foregoing portion of this order, and having requested a stay thereof to permit him to file his petition, it is further

ORDERED that the motion of the respondent requesting this Court to stay its order herein be and it is hereby denied.

Given under my hand this 15th day of October, 1957.

(S.) EMERY N. HOSMER,
Judge of the Circuit Court of the County of Arlington, Virginia".

* * * * * * *

"IN THE CIRCUIT COURT OF ARLINGTON COUNTY, VIRGINIA

ORDER

This cause came on to be heard on the 30th day of October, 1957, on the rule to show cause why the Respondent should not be held in contempt of the order of this court dated October 15, 1957, and upon the motion to quash or continue return on said rule, which motion was made on behalf of the Respondent; and the court having heard evidence and arguments upon said motion and upon said rule,

It is hereby ORDERED, ADJUDGED and DECREED that the Respondent's motion to quash or to continue return should be and hereby is denied; that it is the judgment and order of this court that the Respondent be and he hereby is found guilty of civil and criminal contempt of the order of this court of October 15, 1957; and

It is the judgment of this court that the Respondent should be and he hereby is sentenced to serve ten days in the Arlington County jail and to pay a fine of $50.00 and costs, to all of which rulings, orders and judgments the Respondent, by counsel, duly excepted; and

It is further ORDERED that the execution of this judgment and sentence be and it hereby is suspended, conditioned upon the filing of a petition for appeal or writ of error from the Supreme Court of Appeals of Virginia within 60 days from the date of this order; and

It is further ORDERED that the Respondent be admitted to bail in the sum of $500.00 during the suspension of this order; and

It is further ORDERED that the Attorney for the Commonwealth be permitted to enter his appearance as counsel of record for the Petitioner.

Entered this 30th day of October, 1957.

(S.) EMERY N. HOSMER,
Judge.

* * * * * * *

Opinion of Circuit Judge Hosmer Rendered October 15, 1957 (Tr. p. 84-85)

"THE COURT: Gentlemen, it seems to me that this case does not fall squarely within the findings in the *Sweezy* case or in the *Watkins* case. In both of those cases the legislative enactment was very broad indeed. The statute under consideration, it seems to me, points out definitely three areas of inquiry which the committee is authorized to make and they are with respect to determining the need or lack of need for legislation, which would assist in the investigation of such organizations, corporations, associations, relative to the state income tax laws. That is a definite subject of inquiry so far as the authorization to the Committee is concerned.

And concerning the need or lack of need for legislation redefining the taxable status of such corporations, associations, organizations, and other groups as above referred to and further defining the status of donations to such organizations or corporations from a taxation standpoint; and determining the effect which integration or the threat of integration could have on the operation of the public schools in the State or the general welfare of the State and whether the laws of barratry, champerty and maintenance are being violated in connection therewith.

The situation in this case is different in another aspect. In this case the witness has declined to answer any questions of the Committee based primarily on his contention that the Act of the Legislature is unconstitutional. The attack today is on a broad ground that the authorization of the Legislature should be narrowed in its interpretation

by the Court so that the witness is excluded from testifying. That contention will necessarily have to be rejected. The attack on the broad, constitutional ground is, of course, a very broad approach to the question of constitutionality of this Act in saying that the very purpose of the legislation is such that it renders the Act unconstitutional. The Court likewise rejects that contention.

Consideration of the questions asked by the committee shows that the questions are of a preliminary nature and in developing the inquiry to secure the information which the Committee is after appears to the Court to be perfectly proper line of inquiry.

The Court has concluded that the witness should be required to answer the questions propounded to him by the Committee."

APPENDIX B

Statute Involved

Chapter 37, Acts of the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Virginia, Extra Session 1956

An Act to create a legislative committee of the House and Senate to investigate and hold hearings relative to the activities of corporations, associations, organizations and other groups which encourage and promote litigation relating to racial activities; to provide for the organization, powers and duties of said committee; to provide for hearings; to authorize said committee to issue subpoenas and require testimony; to provide for application to court for an order requiring any person to appear and testify who fails or refuses to do so; to provide for witness fees; to provide for employment of a clerical and investigative force by the committee; to provide for payment of expenses; to appropriate funds for use of the committee; to provide that the Attorney General or other legal counsel shall represent said committee; and for other purposes.

[H 65]

Approved September 29, 1956

Be it enacted by the General Assembly of Virginia:

1. § 1. There is hereby created a Legislative Committee, to be composed of six members of the House appointed by the Speaker thereof, and four members of the Senate appointed by the President thereof.

§ 2. The Committee is authorized to make a thorough investigation of the activities of corporations, organizations, associations and other like groups which seek to influence, encourage or promote litigation relating to racial activities in this State. The Committee shall conduct its investigation so as to collect evidence and information which shall be necessary or useful in

(1) determining the need, or lack of need, for legislation which would assist in the investigation of such organizations, corporations and associations relative to the State income tax laws;

(2) determining the need, or lack of need, for legislation redefining the taxable status of such corporations, associations, organizations and other groups, as above referred to, and further defining the status of donations to such organizations or corporations from a taxation standpoint; and

(3) determining the effect which integration or the threat of integration could have on the operation of the public schools in the State or the general welfare of the State and whether the laws of barratry, champerty and maintenance are being violated in connection therewith.

§ 3. Said Committee may hold hearings anywhere in the State, and shall have authority to issue subpoenas, which may be served by any sheriff or city sergeant of this State, or any agent or investigator of the Committee, and his return shown thereon, requiring the attendance of witnesses and the production of papers, records and other documents. If any person, firm, corporation, association or organization which fails to appear in response to any such subpoena as therein required, or any person who fails or refuses, without legal cause, to answer any question propounded to him, then upon the application by

the Chairman, or any member of the Committee acting at his direction, to the circuit or corporation court in the county or city wherein such person resides or may be found, such court shall issue an order directing such person to appear and testify. The Committee may, at its option, compel attendance of witnesses or production of documents by motion made before the circuit or corporation court having jurisdiction of the person or documents whose attendance or production is sought. The court upon such motion shall issue such subpoenas, writs, processes or orders as the court deems necessary. The Chairman of the Committee, or anyone acting at his direction, shall be authorized to administer oaths to all witnesses and to issue subpoenas. Every witness appearing pursuant to subpoena shall be entitled to receive, upon request, the same fee as is provided by law for witnesses in the courts of record in the State, and where the attendance of witnesses residing outside the county or city wherein the hearing is held is required, they shall be entitled to receive the sum of seven dollars after so appearing, upon certification thereof by the Chairman to the State Comptroller.

§ 4. Each member of the Committee shall receive, in addition to actual travel expenses, the same per diem as received by members of other legislative committees, while engaged in official duties as a member of said Committee.

§ 5. Said Committee shall be authorized to employ a clerical force and such investigators and other personnel as it may deem necessary to carry out the provisions of this act, and may expend moneys for the procuring of information from other sources.

§ 6. The Attorney General shall assist the Committee upon request, and the Committee may engage such other legal counsel as it shall deem necessary.

§ 7. The Committee shall complete its investigations and make its report, together with any recommendations as to legislation, to the Governor and the General Assembly not later than November one, nineteen hundred fifty-seven.

2. There is hereby appropriated from the general fund of the State treasury the sum of twenty-five thousand dollars to carry out the purposes of this act.

APPENDIX C

QUESTIONS ADDRESSED TO PETITIONER BY THE THOMSON COMMITTEE ON SEPTEMBER 20 WHICH HE HAS REFUSED TO ANSWER

(1) "Are you a member of The Fairfax County Council on Human Relations?"

(2) "Are you a member of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People?"

(3) "Have you contributed to any of the suits, contributed financially to any of the suits designed to bring about racial integration in the public schools?"

(4) "Have you paid court costs in any of the suits designed to bring about racial integration in the State of Virginia?"

(5) "Have you paid attorneys' fees to any attorneys in regard to racial litigation involved in the integration of the public schools in Virginia?"

(6) "Have you attended any meetings at which the formulation of suits against the State of Virginia in racial integration suits in the public schools have been discussed?"

(7) "I notice in your statement that you say that you think you have a moral duty to counsel with a fellow citizen as to his legal rights if he is ignorant of them. Do you feel qualified to counsel with him as to his legal rights?"

(8) "Who else uses that box number [No. 218 in Annandale, Va.] besides yourself?"

(9) "Does the Fairfax County Council on Human Relations use that box?"

(10) "Has the NAACP used that number from time to time?"

(11) "Has the organization know as the Citizens Clearing House used that box number?"

(12) "Has the Fairfax County Federation of PTA's used that number?"

(13) "Has the Fairfax County Federation of P-TA Workshops on Supreme Court Decisions on the Public Schools used that box number?"

(14) "Has Miss Caroline H. Planck or Mrs. Barbara Marx used that box number?"

(15) "Do you know Mrs. Planck or Mrs. Marx?"

(16) "Has Dr. E. B. Henderson used that box number?"

(17) "Has the National Conference of Christians and Jews used that box number?"

(18) "Has the Save Our Schools Committee of Fairfax County used that box number?"

(19) "Has Mr. Warren D. Quenstedt used that box?"

(20) "Has Mr. E. A. Prichard used that number?"

(21) "Has the American Civil Liberties Union used that same box number?"

(22) "Has the Americans For Democratic Action, known as ADA, used that box number?"

(23) "Has the Japanese-American Citizens League used that box number?"

(24) "Has the Washington Inter-Racial Workshop used that same number?"

(25) "Has the American Friends Service Committee used that box number?"

(26) "Does the Community Council for Social Progress use the same box number?"

(27) "Does B'nai Brith use that same box number?"

(28) "Does the Communist Party use that box number?"

(29) "Do you belong to any racial organization, and by 'racial' I mean organizations whose membership is inter-racial in character or organizations that are instituting or fostering racial litigation?"

(30) "Have you ever been called as a witness before any Congressional Committee?"

(31) "Has your name ever been cited by any Congressional Committee as being on any list of members of any organizations that are cited as subversive?"

APPENDIX D

Preservation of the Federal Question

Statement by Petitioner in Refusing to Answer Before the Committee on Law Reform and Racial Activities on September 20, 1957

"Mr. Chairman:

"On September 29, 1956, the General Assembly of Virginia passed seven bills designed, broadly speaking, to restrict the free access to the courts of citizens who need to establish or maintain their civil rights. I believe that all of this legislation is unconstitutional and contrary to our heritage of common law, and that consequently this Committee, created by one of those bills as part of a whole legislative program, is without proper jurisdiction to pursue its inquiry.

"I believe that it is not only my civil right but also under some circumstances my moral duty to counsel with a fellow-citizen as to his legal rights if he is ignorant of them, to offer him my support if he is fearful of asserting his rights, and to assist him financially if he is too poor to take the legal steps necessary to establish his rights. It should, of course, be the duty of the executive and of the legislature to see that the rights of all citizens are protected. But when to the lasting dishonor of Virginia our Governor and our General Assembly have done everything possible to discourage our humblest citizens from enjoying their rights, it becomes especially the duty of the conscientious person to see to it that justice is done to the ignorant, the friendless, and the poor. I make no claim here to have done anything extraordinary in this way, but I believe that no agency of the government has the right to question or to interfere with any citizen in the exercise of such a civic role. If such intimidation were sanctioned, then no unpopular cause or helpless

minority could be assured of free access to the courts as a protection against tyranny. A disinterested concern for justice for the person from whom there is no possible claim of blood or opportunity of reward has through the ages been extolled as one of the noblest virtues, and a cornerstone of our system of laws. Such a disinterested act is made illegal by the legislation passed last year. I am proud to have protested this action in Richmond before it became law; I challenge it now.

"Consequently, I shall decline to answer any question on this subject put by the present committee unless and until the constitutional validity of its inquiry and the related legislation has been upheld by proper judicial process.

"I believe that furthermore any right which I may exercise personally and individually I may also exercise jointly with other citizens through a voluntary organization or through voluntary contributions, and that the state has no general right to invade the privacy of such voluntary association in order to accomplish unconstitutional objectives. I shall, therefore, equally decline to answer questions put by this committee on this subject, although as in the case of individual activities I shall willingly answer such questions as the highest court to which the matter may be referred shall decide are proper. I fullly recognize the public right to know the officers, directors, and general purposes of every organization which sets itself before the public in any way, but since this is a matter of public information for every organization to which I belong or contribute, I have nothing to add to what the committee can obtain directly from the organization in which it may have an interest.

"The subpoena served upon me goes beyond this Committee's power under its enabling act. I am not properly informed of the subject of inquiry. The question you ask me is beyond your jurisdiction.

"For all of the foregoing reasons, and on the basis of all the rights accorded me under Sections 8, 11, and 12 of the Constitution of the Commonwealth of Virginia and

the correlative provisions of the Federal Constitution, I respectfully decline to answer that question."

* * * * * * *

Motion to Quash Rule to Show Cause Filed in the Circuit Court of the County of Arlington, October 15, 1957

"... The demand made upon Movant to answer said questions is in violation of his rights under the Due Process and Equal Protection guarantees of the Fourteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution in the following respects and particulars:

(a) The Thomson Committee was established and given investigative authority, as part of a legislative program of "massive resistance" to the United States Constitution and the Supreme Court's desegregation decisions, in order to harass, vilify, and publicly embarrass members of the NAACP and others who are attempting to secure integrated public schooling in Virginia.

(b) The purpose and effect of the inquiries of the Thomson Committee, including those addressed to the Movant, is denial of access to the courts for vindication of Constitutional rights, by harassment and exposure of school integration plaintiffs and members of the organization which is most actively engaged in litigating the integration suits.

(c) The inquiries addressed to Movant violate his rights of free speech, assembly, and petition because they repress freedom of expression and constitute an unjustified intrusion into and restraint upon his association with others in legal and laudable political and humanitarian causes.

(d) The demand for answers made upon Movant by the Thomson Committee is arbitrary and unreasonable inasmuch as there is no justification for the special and selective investigatory authority granted to the Thomson Committee, and nothing in that authority renders pertinent the demand made upon Movant to disclose his civic and political associations and activities.

(e) The Thomson Committee's authorizing resolution is

too vague and imprecise to justify compelled testimonial disclosures.

(f) The Committee failed, despite proper inquiry made by Movant, to inform him in what respect its questions were pertinent to the subject under inquiry by the Committee.

(g) The information sought from Movant was neither intended to, nor could reasonably be expected to, assist the Legislature in any proper legislative function."

(9947-3)

From Clarence A. Laws

EXPLANATION OF "CHARGES" AGAINST MRS. DAISY BATES AS APPEAR IN THE RECORDS OF THE DEPARTMENT OF ARKANSAS STATE POLICE AND PUBLISHED DECEMBER 16, 1957 BY THE CAPITAL CITIZENS COUNCIL, LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS

Charge No. 1. - Monroe, Louisiana (Investigation pending)

The facts: Mrs. Bates was with Mr. Bates at Monroe, Louisiana on November 16, 1934 when a pistol was found in the glove compartment of his car. He was arrested and booked for possessing a concealed weapon in spite of the fact that he states that he had a permit to carry such a weapon. Mrs. Bates was also booked "investigation pending," and was immediately released.

Charges Numbers 2 and 3 (Contempt of Court) are really one and the same.

The facts: On March 29, 1946, the Arkansas State Press, of which Mr. and Mrs. Bates are co-editors, published an article which was critical of the manner in which three Negro strikers at a cotton oil mill had been tried and sentenced. The headline of the article reads "Strikers Sentenced to Pen by Hand-Picked Jury."

On April 25th the judge in the case ordered the Bates arrested for contempt of court. On April 29th both were found guilty and fined $100 and 10 days. The Bates appealed with the result "Judgments quashed and causes remanded with directions to dismiss" (South Western Reporter, Arkansas Cases, 196-199, S.W. 2d, page 46, Volume 197 South West Reporter).

Charge No. 4. (Gaming)

The facts: On January 26, 1952 at a gathering of friends at Little Rock, at which the Bates were present, some one suggested a social game of penny ante poker. While the game was in progress officers of the city police force entered this private home and arrested all participants. They were subsequently

booked and fined $5 each.

Two days later the Bates protested the arrest to the district attorney who in turn voiced his protest to the mayor. The city police chief was then ordered to have his men desist from such practice in the future. Since then, I am told, there have been no such invasion of the private premises of citizens. Of course this had no affect on the Bates' record of arrest and fine, as unfair as they may be.

Charge No. 5. (Failure to register NAACP)

This charge has to do with efforts of the attorney general of Arkansas to harass and hamper the NAACP in this state.

COMMUNISM IN THE MID-SOUTH

HEARINGS

BEFORE THE

SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY
UNITED STATES SENATE

EIGHTY-FIFTH CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

OCTOBER 28 AND 29, 1957

Printed for the use of the Committee on the Judiciary

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COMMUNISM IN THE MIDSOUTH

MONDAY, OCTOBER 28, 1957

UNITED STATES SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS,
OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
Memphis, Tenn.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to notice, at 10:45 a. m., in the Federal court room, Federal Building, Senator William E. Jenner, presiding.

Also present: Robert Morris, chief counsel; J. G. Sourwine, associate counsel; Benjamin Mandel, research director; and Frank Schroeder, chief investigator.

Senator JENNER. The committee will come to order.

In the course of fulfilling its obligation of informing the United States Senate concerning the extent of the Communist conspiracy in our country, the Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate finds that it must hold hearings throughout the United States.

The subcommittee is doing this in order to determine, on a geographical basis, the extent to which Communists may have penetrated particular areas of our Nation.

Last year, the subcommittee held hearings in New Orleans and in Honolulu.

This year, the cities of Philadelphia and Memphis were selected by the subcommittee.

The basic responsibility of this subcommittee is to produce facts upon which sound legislative judgments may be based.

In the field of internal-security legislation, this requires that the subcommittee seek to determine, in as much detail as possible, the nature and extent of Communist activity. In these hearings, we shall seek information about Communist activity regionally, with respect to the infiltration of particular organizations, and in this area, as it forms a broader pattern of Communist activity generally.

Every witness who has been summoned to these hearings has been called because the subcommittee hopes to secure information about the Communist conspiracy that will help the subcommittee in performing its task of making legislative recommendations to the full Committee on the Judiciary, and through that committee, to the United States Senate.

Legislative recommendations which the subcommittee must make include whether there should be changes in the Internal Security Act, the Smith Act, as well as whether new laws are needed, and the shape such laws should take.

Now, at this opening hearing, we will ask that the first witness be called.

Mr. MORRIS. Senator, the first witness this morning is being called because one of the things under consideration by the subcommittee is the problem posed by the Supreme Cout decisions of the last 2 years.

As you know, Senator, there have been 17 or 18 Supreme Court decisions, the effect of which has been to declare as unconstitutional the legislation of various States, municipalities and the United States Government.

The case of Pennsylvania against Steve Nelson is such a decision, and one of the things, Senator, that the subcommittee is considering is the need of new legislation to repair what has been described, by Senators of the United States, as considerable damage, and in line with analyzing this particular aspect of this series of Supreme Court decisions, Senator, we have asked Attorney General Jo M. Ferguson, the attorney general of the State of Kentucky, to testify here this morning.

Senator JENNER. Is Mr. Ferguson present?

Mr. FERGUSON. Yes, sir.

Senator JENNER. Will you come forward, Mr. Ferguson. Mr. Ferguson, will you be sworn to testify?

Do you swear the testimony you give in this hearing will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. FERGUSON. I do.

TESTIMONY OF JO M. FERGUSON, ATTORNEY GENERAL OF THE STATE OF KENTUCKY

Senator JENNER. Will you give the committee your full name?

Mr. FERGUSON. My name is Jo M. Ferguson.

Senator JENNER. Where do you reside, Mr. Ferguson?

Mr. FERGUSON. I reside at Frankfort, Ky.; I am the attorney general of Kentucky.

Senator JENNER. You are the present attorney general of the State of Kentucky?

Mr. FERGUSON. Yes, sir.

Senator JENNER. Mr. Morris, you may question the witness.

Mr. MORRIS. How long have you been the attorney general of the State of Kentucky?

Mr. FERGUSON. About a year and a half.

Mr. MORRIS. Does the State of Kentucky have on its books laws regulating sedition and conspiracy against the United States Government?

Mr. FERGUSON. That is true, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. What laws are there now in effect, General Ferguson?

Mr. FERGUSON. They are known as Kentucky Revised Statutes 432.020, 030, and 040, and they are directed against the advocacy of sedition and criminal syndicalism.

Mr. MORRIS. Have the Supreme Court rulings affected any of this Kentucky legislation?

Mr. FERGUSON. They have very gravely affected that legislation, and have very probably rendered it inoperative.

Mr. MORRIS. Specifically, or in a decision handed down in another case?

Mr. FERGUSON. In a decision handed down in another case.

Mr. MORRIS. What case is that?

Mr. FERGUSON. This Steve Nelson case, Pennsylvania against Nelson.

Mr. MORRIS. Is it your testimony, General Ferguson, that the case of Pennsylvania against Steve Nelson has affected the laws of the State of Kentucky?

Mr. FERGUSON. Our court of appeals, which is our highest court, determined that the Steve Nelson case had rendered these statutes at least partially ineffective, and they reached that determination in the case of Braden against Commonwealth.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you have a prepared statement with you this morning?

Mr. FERGUSON. Yes, sir, I do.

Senator JENNER. You may proceed with your statement.

Mr. FERGUSON. Thank you, Senator Jenner, and gentlemen. I am grateful for this opportunity to appear before this committee in furtherance of its study of possible legislation to restore a reasonable balance of power between the State and Federal Governments in the field of subversive or seditious activities. I am interested in this field not only as a prosecuting officer attempting to secure the enforcement of his State's criminal statutes, but as an official of a State government which finds its ability to protect its own existence to be weakened by the implications of the recent Supreme Court decision in the case of *Pennsylvania* v. *Nelson.*

My State of Kentucky was peculiarly interested in the decision because its highest court had under consideration a case involving its sedition statute at the very moment the Supreme Court opinion was handed down. One Carl Braden, of the city of Louisville, had been indicted along with 5 other individuals for the advocacy of criminal sedition and had been convicted and sentenced to imprisonment for 15 years for that offense. The indictments of the other individuals were still pending. The conviction of Braden was necessarily reversed as a result of *Pennsylvania* v. *Nelson.* That is *Braden* v. *Commonwealth* (Ky., 291 S. W. 2d 843). Eventually the indictments of the other individuals were dismissed for the same reason.

Kentucky is a rural State containing only one large city and populated by an unusually homogeneous group of people. Normally one would expect to find a few instances of seditious activity in a population of this nature. The evidence developed in the prosecution of Braden, however, clearly indicated considerable activity in Louisville, Paducah, and other areas of the State, which activity was not confined to mere theoretical advocacy of any unusual social doctrine or economic theory, but clearly extended to the promotion of violent activities and aimed at riot and insurrection. The details of this evidence can be more clearly given by the Commonwealth's attorney who prosecuted the case in the trial court, Mr. Scott Hamilton, who is here today. It is sufficient for me to say that, in my opinion, the State of Kentucky could not fail to attempt to defend itself and its people from the type of criminal activity denounced by its sedition statute, which activity had so clearly been engaged in by Braden and his cohorts.

The conviction of Carl Braden did not represent any attempt on the part of the Commonwealth of Kentucky to suppress philosophical

thought, however eccentric. It did not attempt even to inhibit the advocacy of any social or economic change so long as that advocacy was confined to peaceful and constitutional means. The prosecution of Braden was aimed at his advocacy of criminal sedition, which is defined as the advocacy of change or modification of

> the Government, Constitution or laws of the United States or of this State by force or violence or by any unlawful means * * *

Kentucky possessed an early interest in sedition laws. The famous Kentucky Resolutions of 1798 were once almost as well known to the American schoolchild as the Declaration of Independence. Those resolutions, which were prepared by Thomas Jefferson, and introduced in the Kentucky Legislature by John Breckinridge, afterwards Attorney General of the United States, denounced the Federal sedition law of that day on the exact ground that such matters were reserved to State punishment, and were beyond the control of the Federal Government. The position taken by the majority in *Pennsylvania* v. *Nelson* is exactly contrary to the position of Thomas Jefferson in the Kentucky Resolutions. In his letter of December 11, 1821, to Mr. John Cable Breckinridge, Mr. Jefferson made a comment which is perhaps not inappropriate to the present situation:

> I fear, dear sir, we are now in such another crisis, with this difference only, that the judiciary branch is alone and single-handed in the present assaults on the Constitution * * *.

Perhaps it was the memory of Kentucky's position in an earlier day which led the Kentucky Justice, Mr. Justice Reed, to write the dissent in the Nelson case which so clearly points out the fallacies contained in the majority opinion. I think it is particularly apparent from Justice Reed's opinion that the majority had no basis for the statement that the exercise of State powers in this field would interfere with the operation of the Federal statute in any way. The Department of Justice has asked that State powers be preserved in this field, and the FBI has made it plain that State assistance is desired by that organization. Indeed, Kentucky's own experience in the Braden case revealed the closest cooperation between the FBI and the State authorities. I think that I can say without reservation that the FBI was as much interested in the prosecution of Braden as the State authorities themselves.

I would like to point out the interest of the National Association of Attorneys General in this matter by filing herewith Resolution No. 12 of the 51st annual meeting of the national association on the subject of Internal Security.

Senator JENNER. It will be so filed and incorporated as a part of the official record of this committee.

THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF ATTORNEYS GENERAL, 51ST ANNUAL MEETING, 1957

INTERNAL SECURITY [1]

Be it resolved by the 51st annual meeting of the National Association of Attorneys General, at Sun Valley, Idaho, June 26, 1957, That the president of this

[1] Adopted by vote of 31 to 10. In favor: Alabama, Arizona, Connecticut, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Missouri, Nebraska, Nevada, New Hampshire, New Mexico, New York, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Utah, Vermont, Virginia, West Virginia, Wisconsin, Wyoming, Alaska. Opposed: California, Iowa, Michigan, Minnesota, New Jersey, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Washington.

association is authorized to appoint a committee on internal security, such committee to be instructed to confer immediately with interested Federal agencies and other national groups, including the American Bar Association, with a view to preparation of legislation, for introduction at the current session of Congress, designed to reaffirm and reactivate Federal and State internal security controls; and be it further

Resolved, That the committee shall present its recommendations to the executive committee of this association, and with the approval and authority of the executive committee, the committee on internal security is authorized to appear before the Congress in support of its recommendations.

Mr. MORRIS. I might also state that the attorney general of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, as well as of the State of New Hampshire, have both testified before the Internal Security Subcommittee on this particular subject, and both have stated that the Supreme Court decision in the case of *Pennsylvania* v. *Nelson* has created a void with respect to internal security, so far as their States are concerned.

Now, General Ferguson, have you finished your statement?

Mr. FERGUSON. That is my prepared statement.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, is it the position of your own court of appeals that your own particular sedition laws, because of something particular about them, has been invalidated, or is the situation such that the whole area is one that is being denied to the States by the Supreme Court?

Mr. FERGUSON. The position of the court of appeals, as I understand it, is that there is a possibility under the majority opinion of the Supreme Court that a certain small area remains, so, therefore, I would not say that the statutes were completely invalidated, but they are invalidated in practice because of the inability of the prosecution to separate the sedition against the Federal Government from the sedition against the State government.

Mr. MORRIS. And the other aspect of that question was, General Ferguson, was it something peculiar about the particular Kentucky law against sedition that caused its invalidation?

Mr. FERGUSON. No.

Mr. MORRIS. Or was it the general area, that a State shouldn't be engaged in any such legislation?

Mr. FERGUSON. We feel it is the general area, which the Supreme Court majority opinion has held to be Federal, exclusively.

Mr. MORRIS. I wonder if you could develop that for us. In other words, what we are trying to determine, General Ferguson, is this: Has the effect of the Supreme Court decision been that it is almost impossible for States now to proceed and pass legislation in this general area that will survive recent Supreme Court decisions?

Mr. FERGUSON. Yes, that is true, as a general statement.

Mr. MORRIS. Is it that, or is it something imperfect about the existing legislation now?

Mr. FERGUSON. No, it is not the State legislation which is imperfect, I think; I think that the Supreme Court has made it impossible to have any effective State legislation on the subject.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, General Ferguson, generally do you find there is anything now that you can do about it?

Mr. FERGUSON. I feel that I cannot, or that the State cannot.

Mr. MORRIS. That the State of Kentucky cannot?

Mr. FERGUSON. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, is the Communist organization today in Kentucky of such a nature that it would require legislation on the part of the State in order to keep it within bounds?

Mr. FERGUSON. There is undoubtedly Communist activity in Kentucky, which Mr. Hamilton can tell you more about than I can, because of his close familiarity with this particular case, and with the developments which the evidence brought out.

I know that it is the desire of the local FBI men in our State, that our State organizations assist in the control of these activities.

Mr. MORRIS. Well, now, I think it is the contention of the majority in the Supreme Court, that Congress intended that this general area should be preempted by the Federal Government by way of trying to solve it and pass remedial legislation against it. Do you find that that is the case; do you think it is necessary for Kentucky to have legislation?

Mr. FERGUSON. We feel that it would be desirable to have legislation which would restore to our State the power to control activities in this field, at least coordinately with the Federal Government.

Senator JENNER. Any further questions; Mr. Sourwine?

Mr. SOURWINE. No further questions.

Mr. FERGUSON. Senator, if I might say one more thing; our position in Kentucky is that the dissent of Mr. Justice Reed, in which two other Justices joined, is the correct statement of the law, and we have the name here of a 1953 decision in which we feel that the minority decision is correct, and my office agrees entirely with everything Mr. Justice Reed said in his dissenting opinion.

Mr. Reed pointed out that all of the later pronouncements of the Federal Government on that subject show that the Federal Government desires the assistance of the State in the field, and I think Mr. Reed also points out very vigorously in his dissent that there is every indication that the Congress did not intend by the Smith Act to occupy this field exclusively.

Senator JENNER. If there are no further questions, the committee wishes to thank you for coming here from Kentucky and giving us the benefit of your views; it is very important. Thank you very much.

Mr. FERGUSON. Thank you.

(Witness excused.)

Senator JENNER. Call the next witness.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. A. Scott Hamilton, the attorney general of Jefferson County, Louisville, Ky.

Senator JENNER. Mr. Hamilton, will you be sworn?

Mr. HAMILTON. Yes, sir.

Senator JENNER. Do you swear the testimony you give in this hearing will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. HAMILTON. I do.

TESTIMONY OF A. SCOTT HAMILTON, COMMONWEALTH ATTORNEY, LOUISVILLE, KY.

Senator JENNER. Will you give the committee your full name?

Mr. HAMILTON. A. Scott Hamilton.

Senator JENNER. Where do you reside?

Mr. HAMILTON. 254 St. Matthews Avenue, Louisville, Ky.

Senator JENNER. What is your business or profession?

Mr. HAMILTON. I am the commonwealth attorney at Louisville, the 30th judicial district of Kentucky.

Senator JENNER. Proceed with the questioning of Mr. Hamilton.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Hamilton, I think you are acquainted with the interest of the subcommittee as has been previously stated here today?

Mr. HAMILTON. I am.

Mr. MORRIS. With respect to the possibility that a legislative void may exist as far as the internal security of the United States is concerned; I wonder if you could tell us whether or not the decision of *Pennsylvania* v. *Nelson* has created a legislative vacum here that should come to the attention of the Internal Security Subcommittee of the United States?

Mr. HAMILTON. Yes, sir, to answer your question, your first question, that is right, I would say absolutely it has, and actually the case of the *Commonwealth* v. *Braden* demonstrates that.

In that case, the opinion turns strictly upon the decision of the Supreme Court in the Nelson case.

Now, if I can elaborate a little while, I would like to do it.

Senator JENNER. Proceed.

Mr. HAMILTON. I have made some notes; it has been about 3 years now since we tried this Braden case in Louisville.

Mr. MORRIS. When was the Braden case tried?

Mr. HAMILTON. In November 1954, and I have made some notes within the last few days to refresh my memory and to try to give you gentlemen some insight into the local problems presented in cases of that nature.

At the outset, however, I want to point out that the United States Congress, the FBI, many State agencies, and last, but certainly not least, the Supreme Court itself, have found and stated that the Communist Party in this country is a part of international communism, or to be more specific, is an arm of Russian communism, and actually is subservient to the Soviet Party.

Many undercover agents and former Communists who have left the party have attested to this fact. Actually, some of these witnesses so testified in the Braden case. Some were actually sent to the Lenin School in Moscow to be trained in Communist methods, after which training they returned to this country to teach and to put into effect Russian Communist tactics and strategy in the United States.

The agencies above mentioned and the witnesses have said that their methods of operation are the same throughout the world.

One of their primary methods of operation is to divide and conquer, or to use the language of Communist writers, to stir up trouble among their victims so that they might be taken over.

Now, to demonstrate this, I want to refer to the following exhibit filed in the Braden case, and I might say that if I had the exhibits here, it would take a truck to haul them to Memphis from Frankfort, Ky.

Nevertheless, in the Commonwealth exhibit No. 9, which was seized at Braden's residence, and I might say that among these books and that sort of thing, we found several copies of the same books which would indicate that they were being circulated, passed around and so on, but anyway, included in volume 20 of the Little Lenin Library,

there is one entitled "Left Wing Communism and Infantile Disorder," that was written by Lenin.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Hamilton, may I break in here?

Mr. HAMILTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Was there direct evidence in the course of this trial that Carl Braden actually was a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. HAMILTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. And these are some of the books that were found?

Mr. HAMILTON. Right.

Mr. MORRIS. In his possession?

Mr. HAMILTON. Right, you are right.

Mr. MORRIS. And they were brought to light during the course of the trial?

Mr. HAMILTON. Yes, sir; this book is described on its flyleaf as "a popular essay in Marxian strategy and tactics."

On page 80 of that book, we have the following:

> We do not and cannot know which spark—of the innumerable sparks that are flying around in all countries as a result of the economic and political world crisis—will kindle the conflagration, in the sense of specially arousing the masses and we must, therefore, with the aid of our new, Communist principles, set to work to "stir up" all and sundry, even the oldest, mustiest, and seemingly hopeless spheres, for otherwise we shall not be able to cope with our tasks, we shall not be all round, we shall not muster all arms and we shall not be prepared either for victory over the bourgeoisie (which arranged all sides of social life—and has now disarranged them in its bourgois way) or for the impending Communist reorganization of the whole of social life after the victory.

In this same book, speaking of the desire for Communist activities in labor unions, as an example, we have this; Lenin made this statement:

> We must be able to withstand all this, speaking of pressures to keep Communists out of unions, to agree to any sacrifice, and even—if need be—to resort to all sorts of stratagems, artifices, illegal methods, to evasions and subterfuges, only so as to get into the trade unions, remain in them, and to carry on Communist work within them at all costs.

I think it should be observed from the foregoing that Lenin knew and realized that the unions wanted no part of Communists or communism. They are just as loyal to America as we are; yet the Communists were determined to infiltrate labor unions, bar associations, and even, as I will cite here in a few minutes, as was done in Louisville, a simple thing such as parent-teachers associations.

Now, to get back to the Braden case for 1 minute, it was an outgrowth of the prearranged purchase by Braden of a house in a white neighborhood, if you want to call it that, and a day or two later he transfered it to a Negro. Then, 6 or 8 weeks after that date, the house was blown up.

Now, in Braden's material, Communist material that was seized at his home, and this has been cited in evidence in the Kentucky case, we found this letter with a newspaper clipping and it pertains to the dynamiting of a Negro store at Manchester, Ky. Now, this letter was written by a Communist at Lexington, Ky., at least, he lived at Lexington, to Carl Braden at Louisville, and attached to the back of that

letter was a newspaper clipping relative to the explosion, and then a written longhand note, and here is the clipping:

Manchester, Ky., July 5—

and as I recall, we found that to be July 1953—

A small store building near the southern city limits of Manchester was destroyed by a dynamite blast at 2 a. m. today.

Walter Pennington, 55-year-old Negro owner of the store, estimated his loss at $5,000 and said windows in his home, located next door to the store, were blasted out. Pennington, his wife and 2 children escaped injury. Detective Walter Woods is investigating.

Now, here is what was written in longhand beside the clipping, and I have photostats of these with me.

Request protest resolutions and letters, etc.—called to attention of Negro, labor, etc. organizations. (I was maybe 20 miles away.) Part of a pattern of violence against both unions and Negroes and friends.

Now, I submit to you gentlemen or anybody else that is interested, why would it have been of any interest to Braden or anybody else that the man was 20 miles away when the explosion went off, unless he had something to do with it. That is the line of that letter. Now, that is——

Mr. MORRIS. Are you making the point, Mr. Hamilton, that maybe the Communists themselves are responsible for that?

Mr. HAMILTON. That is the construction we put on it; yes, sir. Now, that is exhibit 88 in the case of *Commonwealth* v. *Braden*, and it demonstrates that you have local problems and local infractions of the law growing out of their tactics. So if we in Louisville or Memphis or whatnot, if we have our hands tied, how can we expect to go out and call on the FBI or the United States attorney to prosecute these crimes?

Now, as an example, we wanted to prosecute 1 of the men at least, or 2 of them for blowing up this house in Louisville and the circuit court, after the Nelson case, ruled that we could not show the Communist end of this thing as the motive. Well, any lawyer knows, I am sure you all know if you can't show the motive for the crime, 99 times out of 100, you are not going to be able very well to prove a crime.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, Mr. Hamilton, was it the thinking of the State in the Braden case that the damage there, too, was caused by Communists?

Mr. HAMILTON. Right, and I have an affidavit that I will refer to in a few minutes that I think will demonstrate that, coupled with the physical facts of what happened.

Now, also, exhibit 51–F, that is filed in the Braden case, is very significant to us who prosecuted this case, and this is a letter addressed to Carl Braden from the Federated Press, a Communist press organization and it is as follows, and it is dated January 27, 1950.

DEAR CARL: Your wife's story on the eviction of the Negro families was a beaut. If it doesn't sound too ghoulish, I'd say we would like more stories like that. It is part of newspaper work, I suppose, to say "what a terrific story" when news comes in of workers being forced out on strike or getting their heads knocked off by police, or being thrown out of their homes, only later to react as a human being to the suffering involved. FP has been full of good stories like that recently, and it looks like there will be plenty more coming.

Is there any possibility of your getting us some field stories on the mine strike? We haven't had any rank-and-file stories on the strike because our Pittsburgh correspondent, who works on one of the big dailies there, has been sending us nothing but anti-Lewis stories. Result: We had overall stories on the walkout, but nothing indicating the real sentiments of the strikers.

We carried your story on restrictive covenants and are forwarding your note to our Washington bureau for a followup.

Regards,

(Signed) MIRIAM.

Now, I say to anybody, if they think it is a good story because some policeman goes out and beats somebody's head off, or people lose jobs, I don't follow it.

Now, we found also in Braden's possession, and in the possession of others of these people, many copies of a magazine called Political Affairs, and as you know, that is a magazine designated on the masthead as a magazine dedicated to Marxism and Leninism.

Mr. MORRIS. It is the theoretical journal of the party?

Mr. HAMILTON. That is right. Now, they carry articles telling the Communists what to do about lecturing people and how to agitate and so forth, but as an example, they recommend the infiltration of all sorts of organizations, including, as I stated a while ago, such everyday things as the parent-teachers association.

I want to refer to the following, and I will show you where they even tried to do that in Louisville. In the Political Affairs, February 1951 issue, the following appears on page 38, and it was taken from a speech of Gus Hall, who was then the national secretary of the Communist Party, and here is what he said:

More, the shop club must concern itself with mass agitation and propaganda which will be brought to workers not only in personal conversations, not only through leaflets, but also through shop papers edited by the clubs, with the necessary guidance of the leading committees of the party.

In addition, the shop clubs must become organizations whose members are concerned not only with answering the immediate political questions—important as this is—but at the same time should undertake to deepen their own theoretical knowledge through reading the Daily Worker, Political Affairs, and the classics of our movement. * * *

* * * Giving emphasis to the primary role of the shop club, does not imply that our community clubs are not of importance. The community club assumes greater importance than ever. Is it not the community club, through its work in PTA, civil, fraternal, church, social, women's and youth organizations, as well as apartment houses, among the various national groups and in Negro communities, that is helping to bring this about?

He went on, he made this statement in speaking of achieving working class hegemony over nonproletarian forces. He went on and made this statement, and this just demonstrates to me at least that they want to agitate.

In addition, we have to develop a political checkup which will include definite assistance to the individual in his work. Political checkup means not only checking whether this or that leaflet was distributed—important as that is—or whether an individual attended a meeting of a particular mass organization. But it must include checking how the individual Communist answers questions that agitate masses.

Now, to demonstrate that this was applied in Louisville, I want to refer to a letter and it is quoted in full in volume 8 of the transcript of evidence in the Braden case at Louisville, and it is dated May 15, 1950, and it was written by Carl Braden, and I will read it in its entirety. There are 1 or 2 paragraphs of particular importance.

It is addressed to "Dear Bill," and we identified him as being a man named Nightingale in West Virginia, as I recall.

I have enclosed a proof of page 2 of the next edition of the FE CUB. Encircled is a story which Bud James has been instrumental in killing because he is afraid that it will have a bad effect in the shop!

There has been quite a battle over this particular issue for more than 2 months. It started when the women's chapter adopted the resolution because it had the courage to act and the intelligence to see how important it is to fight for peace.

James L. Wright, editor of the CUB, wrote a short piece about the women's action. It stressed opposition to the H-bomb. Now it seems that a couple of ACTU stooges in the plant have been talking about the H-bomb. So Bud scared the daylights out of Sterling Neal and a couple of others among the leadership.

He told them they would be spotted as Reds if this item appeared or if FE got active in the fight for peace. He convinced them that the thing to do is stick to day-to-day fights in the shop. The item was killed.

Then, about a month ago, Wright ran a front-page drawing on peace. Nothing happened. Nobody said anything about it. Nobody called anybody a Red. So Wright wrote the item to go in the May 17 CUB. He got approval of Thomas DeLong, who is acting president of the local.

Now, here is where they try to infiltrate the PTA's, or at least admitted they did.

In the meantime, the women had taken their resolution to a lot of PTA's. Some of them were in favor of it but the local governing body of the PTA refused to act. Everybody in the PTA got to talking about peace, which was what the women's chapter wanted to happen. This resulted in a story in the Louisville Times on May 11—That much more reason why the FE paper should have run something. Still Bud kept the local's head in the sand.

Now, I am going to skip three paragraphs which are not important, and I want to read this one:

However, I disagree with him. I think it is my duty to advise you of actions which I deem harmful to our movement. You can pass it on to higher echelons if you agree with that proposition. Best from Anne and me—

and that letter is signed by Carl Braden.

Now, also in Lenin's "Left-Wing" book, to which I referred to a while ago, he makes this quotation:

The strictest loyalty to the ideas of communism must be combined with the ability to make all the necessary practical compromises, to maneuver, to make agreements, zigzags, retreats, and so on—to accelerate the inevitable friction, quarrels, conflicts, and complete disintegration among the bourgeoisie—and to select the proper moment when the disintegration among these "pillars of the sacred rights of private property" is at its height, in order by a determined attack of the proletariat to defeat them all and capture political power.

Now, one of the most astounding exhibits which we found in these papers was a letter written to these people from a bunch of Communists in California. It is rather lengthy and I won't read it all, but I will quote one paragraph of it. In this letter addressed to "Dear Anne and Carl," it appeared that it was from these people in California who were organizing a campaign for the 25 persons who were being prosecuted for contempt of the House Un-American Activities Committee—the Hollywood Ten, the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, and as stated in the letter, a couple of other individuals.

Here is what they had the audacity to have in this letter, and I knew Fred Vinson. He was a close friend of my father. I knew there was not anybody that could put any pressure on him. Nevertheless, they

were seeking to find out whether or not they could put pressure on the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court.

Carl, we've been trying and trying to figure out some way to put the pressure on Vinson. What do you know about his political ties in Kentucky? Is there anything useful to be picked up around? Would Stanfield maybe have some ideas, since he comes from Louisa, too?

Louisa was Chief Justice Vinson's hometown.

Anything's worth a try, and the Supreme Court decisions of the last couple of weeks have been horrendous, as you know, not just in relation to our cases, but to the Taft-Hartley and wiretapping deals, too. Naturally, if you ask Giles or Stanfield or anybody about Vinson, don't tell 'em why you want to know.

Now, to me, as I said, that demonstrates how far these people would go if they could go. Now, here is another quote——

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Hamilton, do you think activities such as that, Communist activities which those exhibits described, from which you drew your conclusions, do you think that is activity of such a nature that can be best countered by State activity or can it be better handled by the Federal Government?

Mr. HAMILTON. If I can answer your question in this way, sir, I would like to do it. As I understand it, the United States Congress and the FBI through the Attorney General, all sought to have a mutual cooperative affair, and that is in suppressing sedition and so on, and I think that has been made clear, that the Supreme Court ignored that; that is, they put their own interpretation on it.

Now, I would say to you, if I may, that I think where you have these local situations popping up from time to time, that it is a situation that calls for the cooperation of everybody. Now, as an example, I have a nephew; he is about 23 or 24 now, he spent 18 months in Korea in active service, and to be honest about it, I don't know why we should expect our young men, or old ones for that matter, to go to Korea and other places throughout the world in the Army, Navy, and Air Force and fight for them and risk their lives, and yet local law-enforcement officers such as myself are expected to stand by, with our hands tied. That is the best way I can answer it.

Now, to get back to this proposition about blowing up this house in Louisville, as an example of whether it was communistic or whatnot, I want to refer——

Mr. MORRIS. Bear with me a minute, Mr. Hamilton; can I see if we can relate your last answer to this? Is it contended in the Braden case that Communist agitators blew up the house in order to create an incident?

Mr. HAMILTON. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you think that particular crime—and if that is the case, obviously it is a crime—could best be prosecuted by the State, or should the prosecution be left up to the Federal Government?

Mr. HAMILTON. I would say in that instance, best by the State.

Mr. MORRIS. Why is that?

Mr. HAMILTON. Well, mainly because of the local nature of it and the numerical instances and such as that. I mean, you can't have the United States attorney or the FBI prosecuting every riot and rout and explosion that might be caused by a Communist.

Mr. MORRIS. You say, do you not, Mr. Hamilton, that your own court of appeals here held that, inasmuch as one of the ingredients of

that crime was the Communist motivation, that the State was prohibited from inquiring into the Communist motivation and, therefore, you could not prosecute the crime?

Mr. HAMILTON. Not the court of appeals, but the judge of the circuit court did, yes, sir; the judge of the circuit court, wherein the case was pending.

Senator JENNER. Proceed.

Mr. HAMILTON. Nevertheless now, in the Political Affairs, May 1950 issue, and I might say that all of these exhibits I am referring to, that I am quoting from, were found in the possession of these people, and I say that in general they have multiple copies of the same book or magazine.

Now, a few words—and this is a quote:

> Now a few words about Negro bourgeois nationalism. Have we had any expression of bourgeois nationalism in the party? The majority of our Negro comrades have played an outstanding role in the struggle against white chauvinism in bringing to the party's attention many concrete examples of white chauvinism, both in individual acts and expressions, and in the work of certain party organizations and committees. This role of our Negro comrades must be encouraged. At the same time we must bring about a situation where our white comrades become the ones who are most conscious and active in the struggle against white chauvinism and assume leadership therein. Only in this way will our struggle be effective.

Now, we have run across letters that play up—or at least try to—to the colored people and miners and so on, and yet we found letters where they referred between themselves to the miners as hillbillies, and to the Negroes as niggers, and all that sort of thing; and I have a quote here somewhere, where, in Russia, as an example, that Lenin and Stalin and so on, said they would use the peasants if they could, and that they would try to help the peasants in certain respects, but only if what they did helped the Communist movement in Russia. So that I would say they are not sincere in trying to help anybody, for that matter.

Now, another interesting sideline that we ran across in some letters and papers—and incidentally Belknap's Hardware Store in Louisville is one of the largest in the city, and we found—and I have photostatic copies of the letters here for that matter—where one of these persons sought employment at Belknap's, using her maiden name, and she wrote to three acquaintances down in the South here and told them that she had applied for a job at Belknap's under her maiden name; that if they received inquiry as to her ability and what not, and education, to give her a good sendoff.

Now, this particular party had a college education; yet she applied, as the letter discloses, for an unskilled position at Belknap's, and if you read the letter, it is inescapable, of course, that what the job was for was to agitate, and it turned out that that didn't work out; she did get the job, but it fell through in a month or two. She couldn't make any headway, but, as I say, that particular person had a college education and she had applied for an unskilled job, and wrote to 3 or 4 of her friends in the South, saying they would probably get a letter from Belknap's as to her background, and to be certain and not tell them about her having a college education, but, other than that, to give her a good buildup.

Now, another thing that we ran into in the case in Louisville—it grew out of an organization up there in New York City—an outfit calling itself the Religious Freedom Committee, filed an amicus curiae brief on behalf of Carl Braden in the court of appeals and said that the Commonwealth was depriving him of his religious freedom. I have never followed the argument and I don't think anybody else did, but nevertheless it demonstrates that they will infiltrate, and try to, if they can, the church or inject religion into something where they know there is no religion, and the best way I can point out that there is no religion in communism is by quoting from Twilight of World Capitalism, a book written by William Z. Foster, the head of the Communist Party in this country, where he said on page 101—I might say we found multiple copies of Twilight of World Capitalism among the possessions of these Communists. They devote, actually as I recall, actually about a chapter of 25 pages, Foster does in that book, attacking religion and referring to what he said about Cardinal Mindszenty and so on. Nevertheless, to sum it up in a nutshell, Foster said that—

> Communism is based upon the profoundest realism, there is nothing whatever metaphysical about it. It is the most down to earth of all political movements. There is no God of any kind anywhere in the Communist cosmos.

Now, the reason I point that out is, as I said, this outfit in New York had the audacity to file a brief in the Kentucky Court of Appeals saying that we had trampled upon Braden's religious freedom, where, as I say, and it is demonstrated by Foster, and all other Communists, that there is no such thing as religion in the Communist world.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you have an atomic energy plant in Paducah?

Mr. HAMILTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Has that been a subject of any Communist activity at all?

Mr. HAMILTON. In my opinion, it has. It was never checked out too thoroughly, but as an example, I have here 1, 2, 3, 4 photostatic copies of letters—we have the originals of them—written on the letterhead of the Communist Party of the United States.

As an example, the first one I see is dated November 21, 1947. They actually started building defense plants at Paducah, as I recall, about the beginning of the Second World War, and then later on they did undertake, and they have constructed the atomic powerplant at Paducah.

During a period of about 18 months, they had 150 strikes at the atomic powerplant during the construction of it, at the atomic powerplant at Paducah.

Now, just let me read this No. 1 letter here to you, and I never heard of any other agitation in Paducah; there may have been some, but if there was I never heard of it, or there being agitation among labor or any other source at Paducah, other than what occurred in the atomic powerplant.

Now, this is addressed to I. O. Ford, 511 Washington Street, Paducah, Ky., and I might say he lived there at that time; he subsequently moved to Louisville.

Mr. MORRIS. What is his name?

Mr. HAMILTON. Ford, F-o-r-d.

Mr. MORRIS. Ford?

Mr. HAMILTON. Right; he now lives in California, but nevertheless it is addressed to—

DEAR COMRADE FORD: Johnny showed me your letter and I am replying to it briefly on behalf of both of us and others here.

We are glad to hear that you are constantly carrying on the agitational campaign but I trust that you are taking good care of your health and that you will be back in circulation soon.

With best wishes,

Comradely,

ARNOLD JOHNSON.

Then we have another one; now, that is, as I say, the Communist Party, United States of America, that letterhead; then we have another one, dated January 28, 1946:

To Whom It May Concern:

This will introduce Comrade I. O. Ford of Kentucky who will undertake to reestablish the party organization in Kentucky.

We will greatly appreciate your giving him your fullest cooperation in this task.

Comradely yours,

CHARLES KRUMBEIN.

That is likewise on the Communist Party, United States of America, letterhead.

Mr. MORRIS. Does anything indicate that Mr. Ford was actually working at the atomic powerplant in Paducah, I mean, in and about it, agitating?

Mr. HAMILTON. The only thing I can tell, I have an affidavit from a newspaper reporter at Paducah who said that Ford tried to convert him to communism, but he would not fall for it. We have that affidavit. As far as I know, I wouldn't think Ford had any employment at the powerplant.

Mr. MORRIS. What is your evidence that the atomic powerplant at Paducah was the subject of his activities?

Mr. HAMILTON. I draw that conclusion mainly because I don't know of any other thing that was being agitated at Paducah at any time.

Mr. MORRIS. He was in Paducah himself?

Mr. HAMILTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. He lived there?

Mr. HAMILTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. His activity was there?

Mr. HAMILTON. He lived there and he moved to Louisville in about 1952 or 1953, I am not certain offhand.

Mr. MORRIS. What else is in Paducah, industrially?

Mr. HAMILTON. Well, as I recall, at the beginning of the Second World War, they built other defense plants of various and sundry natures, but primarily the atomic power plant is located in Paducah, and I say to you it is most unusual to have 150 strikes in a period of 18 months at any 1 plant.

Now, if I can read this one photostat—as I say, we have the original; that is on the Communist Party letterhead, too. It is dated January 28, 1945, to—

ELMER JOHNSON,
401 Board of Trade Building,
Indianapolis, Ind.

DEAR COMRADE JOHNSON: Comrade I. O. Ford of Kentucky is delivering this letter to you in person. (He has a letter of introduction from me that he will show you.)

Comrade Ford has volunteered, and we have accepted, to see what can be done to reestablish a party organization in Louisville. He lives about 200 miles from Louisville but, being on vacation, he will be able to spend a few weeks on the above task.

Please give him all connections you have in Louisville—names, addresses, or places where comrades can be found, as well as necessary registration supplies, such as registration cards, party books, stamps, both for 1945 for back dues as well as 1946, and all other necessary material. You are the best judge of the amount to give him.

As regards future connections for Louisville, we suggest they continue to be connected with Indianapolis, if only a mail connection, so that they will at least receive the general communications and other general material we send out. Should you want us to mail to them directly such general materials as we send to all districts, let us know and we shall do so. We of course would need an address, since we have none.

The above is the only way we see of handling this situation. We are not in a position to send anyone in there at present, so please give Comrade Ford all the assistance you can and also after he establishes some degree of organization there, assisted at least to the degree above mentioned.

Comradely yours,

CHARLES KRUMBEIN.

And Charles Krumbein, according to the letterhead, was treasurer of the Communist Party of the United States at that time.

Now, I have another photostat of a couple of letters here written by a Communist in California to I. O. Ford, in Louisville, dated October 1, 1954. One is by a woman; this is just part of it.

I am terribly sorry because you had all that material and data which they confiscated and are able to frame people, other than yourself and your friend, Mr. Brown. What could you do when they barged into your room?

And so on.

Then, there is another letter written apparently by the same person, with no date on it, but addressed to Ford and received among his possessions.

DEAR UNCLE FORD: I have not seen the paper, but I am informed you have hit the front page and most certainly, congratulations are in order. I really think that was something. Wish I had been there to see you.

Now, we have found a clipping of a newspaper article appearing in the Louisville Courier-Journal with Ford's picture on it on the front page, where they staged some sort of a movie at Hancock and Walling Street, there in Louisville during the Korean war; that was a predominantly colored neighborhood, and they blocked traffic and so on and had almost a riot up there, and I assume that is what she was referring to when she was congratulating him upon the agitation.

Now, I could go on for a week talking about this thing. I am not going to, but I would like to mention briefly about this explosion in Louisville.

The Bradens bought this house, as I recall, and I may be off a day or two, on or about May 10; it was a prearranged thing, and a day or two later they transferred it to the Wades, and the house was located at Rone Court, a suburb of Louisville, a neighborhood where only white people had been living, and so on.

So, a couple of days later, he transferred it to the Wades, and then before the thing even was consummated, they sought police protection, and the chief of the county police would not give it to them on the idea that there had been nothing brought to his attention to cause him to think that there would be any trouble and so on; and

then it developed according to our information and the testimony, that that house was armed. I would say it probably contained 18 or 20 firearms, made up of power rifles, shotguns, and pistols, and they admitted it was for the purpose of defending it.

So, a short time thereafter, a white man came, by the name of Vernon Bown or Boun, who had never known the Wades before.

He went out and volunteered his services to act as guard, and we found letters and other documents that would indicate that Bown had been a Communist, and it turned out, according to our information, that most of the people that hung around there were Communists.

So the house was blown up by dynamite, and underneath it there was found a portable type radio that belonged to Bown; yet, before the grand jury, Bown was asked, as an example, whether or not he had ever been underneath the house and he refused to answer on the ground that it would incriminate him, and he refused to answer on the same ground on whether or not he had taken the radio under there, and so on.

Now, he was a truckdriver, and it developed that the explosion took place at 12:30 on this particular night, and Bown had gone to Milwaukee, Wis., that afternoon to have a date, he said, with a girl whom he had met once before in his life about a year before; he went up there and stayed a few hours in Milwaukee and then came to Louisville.

So, according to evidence that I will refer to in a minute, we have been told that Bown was the man who more or less engineered this explosion, whether it was set off by a radio station going off the air, or somebody pulling a string, I don't know, but nevertheless, he was to take his vacation about 6 weeks later, which he did, and he went to Wisconsin at that time. That was 6 weeks after that, and spent a couple of weeks up there. On that occasion, he went up and spent 1 night. As I said, he went to a wedding with a girl whom he had only met once before in his life, and he would not answer what we thought were pertinent questions on the ground they would incriminate him.

There were two theories when we looked into this thing; one, that the white people out there wanted to chase the colored people out; the other was that it was Communist inspired.

The white people who lived in that neighborhood readily submitted to lie detector tests, and I have the reports with me from the operator who gave them, and each one without exception passed his test just as clear as he could.

On the other hand, Bown refused to take a lie-detector test, and I asked him 2 or 3 times if he would, and not only personally, but through his lawyers, and he refused to do it.

Now, the people on the other side whom we thought might have had something to do with it, they readily took them; they did not claim their privilege in any wise before the grand jury. I asked them for example, if they bought dynamite; without hesitation they said "No." I asked them if they belonged to the Ku Klux Klan; without hesitation they said "No," but when it came down to the people who were Communists or who we thought were Communists, then they are the ones who started hollering about a witch hunt and claimed their privilege on the ground it might incriminate them.

Mr. MORRIS. The point is that under the existing conditions now, the Supreme Court decisions, you are precluded from inquiring along those lines; are you not?

Mr. HAMILTON. Right, and I will say we were hit another mortal blow as far as Kentucky was concerned, when two of these people, including Mr. Braden, who the grand jury—as late as this past September—wanted to consider evidence pertaining to perjury, and actually before that time, last fall as I recall, we had one witness in before the grand jury who we understood had been a member of the party, and I brought the opinion of the court of appeals with me, and just to show you how hamstrung we are, this more or less turns around the fifth amendment, and section 11 of the Constitution, but just let me, if I may, refer to these two questions and answers. There are no answers, but what the court of appeals said.

Q. Mr. Rhine, regardless of whether or not you are a Communist, I am not interested in that, but do you know whether or not Carl Braden is a Communist?

A. Same answer, I refuse to answer on the ground that anything I may say may tend to incriminate me.

Q. Did you ever attend a Communist Party meeting at Carl Braden's house, without asking or wanting to know what effect such attendance might have had on you, if any effect, but in view of that, did you ever attend any meeting at Carl Braden's house relative to communism, or where a cell meeting was being held?

A. I refuse to answer, and that is my answer.

So, we then certified those questions to the court of appeals; the circuit court in Louisville upheld his right not to answer, and we certified them to the court of appeals on the premise that since the Supreme Court had held we could not prosecute any of these Communists locally, but the fifth amendment did not apply, and section 11 did not apply because they were not subject to a prosecution in the State courts; I assume that you all know that the Supreme Court has held in 2 or 3 income-tax evasion cases in the State courts that the fifth amendment does not apply to State prosecution, but nevertheless, the court of appeals upheld his refusal to answer, and made this statement:

There is no doubt that the information quoted by the Commonwealth attorney could have provided some evidence for a Federal prosecution under the Smith Act or other related Federal statutes. As to the determination of the evidentiary value of the information by a trial judge, we are inclined to follow the reasoning of the court of appeals—

and they quote it—

in determining whether a witness really apprehends danger in answering a question, the judge cannot permit himself to be skeptical. Rather, must he be acutely aware that in the deviousness of crime and its detection, accrimination may be approached, and served, by obscure and likely lines of inquiry.

So, we are in a position now, that we can't even prosecute 2 or 3 of these people for perjury.

Now, I have an affidavit here from a fellow who said in substance that I. O. Ford had told him about this explosion being planned, and who planned it and how it was done, and about Bown coming up with this alibi, and so on, but I won't bore you with that, but I want to make an observation that my father was a United States circuit judge at Cincinnati, he was also a United States district judge at Louisville, and I think I am cognizant of what judges are faced with, I mean the problems, but I must say that as a local law-enforcement officer, our hands are tied as far as this sort of protection is concerned, and I am

sure that the Supreme Court perhaps followed rules of judicial interpretation in deciding the Nelson case the way they did, but nevertheless, it seems to me that unless the United States Congress would come out and say pointblank that the States are not to have anything to do with it, then certainly there ought to be legislation passed where a State can control this sort of thing.

If there are any questions you want to ask me, I will be glad to try to answer them.

Senator JENNER. Any questions?

Mr. SOURWINE. Sir, you have in your official capacity investigated Communist activity in your particular area?

Mr. HAMILTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Have you investigated Communist activity in your area of the country?

Mr. HAMILTON. As an outgrowth of this case, is how I happened to become involved in it; yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. As a result of this case, or as an outgrowth of that case, you have done considerable investigation of Communist activity in your section of the country?

Mr. HAMILTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Have you reached a conclusion with respect to whether such activity still goes on?

Mr. HAMILTON. There is no doubt in my mind but what it does; yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, you have testified here that the State is powerless to do anything about it?

Mr. HAMILTON. Right.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know what power the Federal Government has, to do anything about this particular activity?

Mr. HAMILTON. Well, as I recall, last June the Supreme Court practically eliminated even the Federal authorities from such prosecution. I might say, I have a letter probably in my brief case, or a photostatic copy of a letter written by Carl and Anne Braden, Carl Braden having been the one who was convicted and given 15 years and a $5,000 fine, and he was subsequently released after the Nelson case was decided. They are circulating a letter now saying that they are the representatives of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, I believe is the right title of it.

Mr. SOURWINE. All of these documents that you have read and are reading here are being made available to the committee for the files of the committee; is that correct?

Mr. HAMILTON. I can furnish you photostatic copies of everything I referred to, yes, sir; perhaps the originals in some instances. Most of them are in Frankfort, filed there as a part of the appeal in the Braden case.

Let me just make this one more observation if I can. We had a Progressive Party organization there in Louisville, and Carl Braden was the head of it and prepared the bylaws and articles of incorporation and that sort of thing, and it was testified in his trial that he had prepared the news releases and that sort of thing.

Now, to demonstrate just how he was agitating at that time, back in the late forties, I want to refer to page 11 of the brief filed in *Braden v. Commonwealth* in the court of appeals, and I submit that any American, I don't care whether it is in this courtroom or somewhere

else, knows that the statement made by him was not true, and was only done to try to agitate.

It says:

> The Democratic and Republican Parties and their members—

the resolution said—

> stand for the war program and high taxes. The Progressive Party declares that these issues should be given a hearing—

and then he goes on down there and lists several of them.

Now, down in No. 6—well, start out with No. 5:

> The disgraceful infringement on the rights of 50 million Americans, the Negro people. (6) How concentration camps are now being built in America, under the Korean Act, against those who dissent with the party in power.

Now, I dissent, myself, with the Republican Party; I am a Democrat, and yet I don't know of any concentration camp that I am likely to be sent to, and yet I say that is another concrete example of agitation, and this I might say is a photostatic copy of exhibits, a table of exhibits that were filed in the court of appeals, and I am sure there are a dozen large cardboard boxes there. One more thing, in the boxes that are forwarded, we had seized this book among a lot of other material, as to the Communist Party of the United States, and it came to him as a gift, and he said:

> This book came as a Xmas gift from two young friends who have seen the future and know the reasons and are aiding its birth in the United States.

Now, a note was found with it, apparently a note of transmittal, December 25, 1952, and it says:

> For a good and true comrade to whom much of this book will be a recapitulation of your own contribution toward a better America. Louise and LaRue—

and that is the history of the Communist Party of the United States, and on page 285 of that book, there is a title in here that says, "Penetration of the South," and if I could just read a few lines, since we are in the South, I would like to do it. Foster said in here on page 285—

> One of the greatest achievements of the Communist Party during the great economic crisis was its penetration of the South. During the Coolidge years, the party had carried on considerable work in the South, the building of scattered branches, the Foster election tours in 1924 and 1928 and so on, but our real work there began when on August 30, 1930, we established the Southern Worker at Chattanooga, Tenn., with James S. Allen as editor. Conditions in the South at the time were shocking—

and so on, and then he refers to the KKK, the Blue Shirts, the Silver Shirts, Black Shirts, Crusaders, the White Legion, and others.

So I say, it is a subject that, after going through the trial in Louisville I could talk about for a month, and I expect I have taken too much of your time anyway.

Senator JENNER. Mr. Hamilton, the sad thing is there is nothing you can do about it today as a State and local official because of the Supreme Court decision; is that right?

Mr. HAMILTON. That's right.

Senator JENNER. And that is where we find ourselves today?

Mr. HAMILTON. That's right.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Hamilton, you have quite a few exhibits there?

Mr. HAMILTON. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. What specifically are those exhibits?

Mr. HAMILTON. Well, the ones I brought with me——

Mr. MORRIS. You have got them there in one folder?

Mr. HAMILTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you tell us precisely what that folder is?

Mr. HAMILTON. Well, as an example, this exhibit——

Mr. MORRIS. No; I am preparing to introduce them into the record. I would like you to identify them.

Mr. HAMILTON. Well, the first one that is here contains——

Mr. MORRIS. I mean without dealing with the individual cases, what is that folder that you have there? I would like to offer that in the record. I would like to offer that if you identify them.

Mr. HAMILTON. The folder contains some of my notes that I just brought to refresh my memory. The exhibits——

Senator JENNER. The exhibits you have read from are what exhibits? How would you identify them?

Mr. HAMILTON. Well, the first one is addressed "Dear Anne and Carl," and it contains the paragraph concerning——

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Hamilton, we are not asking you what is in the particular exhibits, but now that you have testified about these particular exhibits, I would like you to tell us what they are, so that I might offer them to Senator Jenner to be inserted into the public record.

Mr. HAMILTON. They were copies of exhibits found in the search of the Communists in Louisville.

Mr. MORRIS. Were they used at the trial?

Mr. HAMILTON. They were used at the trial; yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Senator, I would like to offer those in this record.

Senator JENNER. They may go into the record and become part of the official record of this committee hearing by reference.

(The folder referred to above was marked "Exhibit 1M" and was placed in the subcommittee's file.)

Mr. MORRIS. You had as a witness at the trial one Alberta Ahearn?

Mr. HAMILTON. Right.

Mr. MORRIS. What did Alberta Ahearn testify to at the trial?

Mr. HAMILTON. She testified that she was in the F. B. I. and an undercover agent and that she was a member of certain cells, of Communists, in Louisville.

Mr. MORRIS. Her testimony was restricted to activity of Carl Braden; was it not?

Mr. HAMILTON. Carl Braden and others.

Mr. MORRIS. Even though the others were not parties to the action?

Mr. HAMILTON. Right.

Mr. MORRIS. To the extent of the testimony she put into the record at such trial of Carl Braden, that is available to the subcommittee?

Mr. HAMILTON. Right.

Mr. MORRIS. Was there anything else she experienced as an undercover agent and informant for the FBI that you think would be helpful to the Senate of the United States?

Mr. HAMILTON. She could give you firsthand, or for the public or for the record, however you want to put it, an account of how they operated.

Mr. MORRIS. I mean, we have subpenaed Alberta Ahearn to be here; does she know more about the workings of the Communist Party than she testified to at the trial of Carl Braden?

Mr. HAMILTON. That I am not certain of.

Senator JENNER. She has been subpenaed, hasn't she?

Mr. MORRIS. Yes, sir.

Senator JENNER. Anything more?

Mr. MORRIS. No, sir.

Senator JENNER. Thank you, Mr. Hamilton, for being up here to make your contribution to this cause.

Mr. MORRIS. There is one other witness this morning, and the question of committee policy. He has been, according to our evidence, the secretary-treasurer of the Communist Party of Memphis, and we have subpenaed him in order that he might tell us everything he did, about the extent of the Communist Party activity here in Memphis.

He appeared here, as you know, and stated even though he was served last Wednesday, he has not gotten an attorney. Let the record show that Senator Jenner has given him another 24 hours in which to retain counsel and to return tomorrow morning to testify.

Senator JENNER. That is correct.

Mr. MORRIS. I have two other witnesses here prepared to testify now in executive session.

Senator JENNER. At this time the committee will stand recessed until 2 o'clock, when we will resume the open hearing, and the committee at this time will go into executive session.

(Whereupon, at 12:05 p. m., the subcommittee recessed to proceed in executive session.)

AFTERNOON SESSION

The subcommittee met, pursuant to adjournment, at 2:10 p. m., in the Federal courtroom, Federal Building, Senator William E. Jenner presiding.

Also present: Robert Morris, chief counsel; J. G. Sourwine, associate counsel; Benjamin Mandel, research director; and Frank Schroeder, chief investigator.

Senator JENNER. Will the meeting come to order?

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, I would like to report to you for the public record today some of the difficulties, administrative difficulties, the subcommittee has been experiencing. We had altogether 30 cases, 30 individual witnesses, who, as evidence and information indicated, were members of the Communist Party in this particular area and its environs, Memphis as the hub, several hundred miles around. At least 30 particular cases came to our attention. We decided, Senator, to call 25 of these witnesses and to make the subpenas returnable today or tomorrow. Ordinarily, under those circumstances, we can expect 70 or 80 percent of the people subpenaed to be present. Now, we had an unusually high percentage of people come in and refuse to testify, for a variety of reasons. There has been one woman who was of particular interest to the subcommittee, Senator, because she is one of the most important Communist Party functionaries—at least, she is the one who pulls the pins around in this particular area in connection with Communist Party activities—has given us the excuse about hav-

ing a baby within the last few months, and she herself has several other domestic difficulties, and it is very difficult to turn down such a request to be deferred.

Then, Senator, another woman sent us a telegram that she is under a doctor's care and cannot testify. The subcommittee's information is that she was active in the Communist Party in this area. The man who was secretary-treasurer of the Communist Party in Memphis, even though he was served last Wednesday, has now told us he would not be able to testify because he has not as yet obtained an attorney to represent him. As you know, Senator, we have given him another 24 hours in which to obtain the services of an attorney.

Now, there was one other witness, Mrs. Lorch, whom the subcommittee felt was competent to testify about Communist activities, in view of her experiences the last 5 or 6 years. She has come here to testify. And I think, Mr. Schroeder, that there was delay in subpenaing her. Is that correct?

Mr. SCHROEDER. That is correct. I think she said she did not receive the subpena until Saturday.

Mr. MORRIS. However, Mr. Schroeder, I wish you—these delays in serving subpenas have been claimed in here. I wish you would tell us what your activities were on that.

Senator JENNER. Do you want Mr. Schroeder to be sworn?

Mr. MORRIS. Would you, please?

Senator JENNER. Do you swear the testimony you give in this hearing will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. SCHROEDER. I do.

Senator JENNER. Proceed, Mr. Morris.

You may sit down.

TESTIMONY OF FRANK SCHROEDER, CHIEF INVESTIGATOR OF THE SUBCOMMITTEE

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Schroeder, we gave you the names of 30 witnesses who, as evidence and information indicated, had been members of the Communist Party and would be competent witnesses to testify about Communist activities in this area, at what time?

Mr. SCHROEDER. Monday.

Mr. MORRIS. No; you left Monday.

Mr. SCHROEDER. Oh; a week ago Tuesday.

Mr. MORRIS. Two weeks tomorrow?

Mr. SCHROEDER. Yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. And you made preparations to come down and serve the subpenas at that time, is that right?

Mr. SCHROEDER. I did, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. And you took the subpenas with you from Washington on what day, Mr. Schroeder?

Mr. SCHROEDER. A week ago today.

Mr. MORRIS. A week ago today. And have you sent them to the cities where were the people to be subpenaed?

Mr. SCHROEDER. I did, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. And you gave to the marshals all the subpenas in your possession by Wednesday of that week?

Mr. SCHROEDER. I did, sir; and other subpenas were given to the Sergeant at Arms of the Senate.

Mr. MORRIS. That was all prior to the date of leaving last Monday?

Mr. SCHROEDER. Yes, sir, for those that were out in Georgia, and Missouri, and Ohio.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, one of the witnesses, who, I was saying, is Mrs. Lorch, her subpena was served at what time?

Senator JENNER. Well, just a moment. For the record, I think I can answer that question, or Mr. Schroeder can—either one.

(Witness excused.)

Senator JENNER. I did not know Mrs. Lorch, and did not know she was under subpena until the recess here after the morning session. I came by this table, I heard a discussion, and apparently it was Mrs. Lorch. She contended she was not served with subpena until Saturday. She lives, I believe, at Little Rock, Ark. So I told Mrs. Lorch that we would give her a continuance of 24 hours to obtain counsel. She said she hadn't had an opportunity to talk to anybody or to obtain counsel.

As you know, it is the policy of this committee—we can't tell when the marshal can serve the subpena—but it has always been the policy of this committee to give time to obtain counsel—will always give time—and I have told Mrs. Lorch that, since she told me on adjournment at noon that she had been served last Saturday, since that is a short term before testifying Monday morning, I gave her a continuance.

But I want to tell the witnesses who are in this area that we have a duty to perform, and we are going to have this testimony. And we will have it here in Memphis. If we don't have it here in Memphis, we will have it at Wasington, D. C. And we are going to get it.

Mr. MORRIS. Senator, the reason that— Mr. and Mrs. Lorch are both competent witnesses in this, but the committee is not trying to call Mr. Lorch instead of Mrs. Lorch, as we very often do where we have a husband and wife combination—the reason we haven't called Mr. Lorch down Mr. Sourwine will explain.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Morris, Mr. Lorch is a defendant in a criminal case in Ohio, which was tried the 4th and 5th of April, without a jury, submitted to the judge on briefs, and the case still is *sub judice*—that is, is pending for decision. And for that reason it was felt it might in some way prejudice his case as a defendant if he were called as a witness while his case is *sub judice*.

Senator JENNER. I believe, so far as the Lorch woman is concerned, our information covers her activities the last 4 or 5 years in this area?

Mr. MORRIS. That is correct.

Senator, we are prepared to take the testimony of three witnesses.

Senator JENNER. All right, call the first witness.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. West, will you be sworn to testify?

Senator JENNER. Do you swear the testimony you give in this hearing will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. WEST. I do.

Senator JENNER. You may be seated.

TESTIMONY OF DONALD L. WEST

Senator JENNER. Will you give your name and address, please?

Mr. WEST. Donald L. West.

Senator JENNER. Where do you live?

Mr. WEST. Douglasville, Ga., rural free delivery 4.

Senator JENNER. What is your business or profession?

Mr. WEST. Farming.

Senator JENNER. All right, you may proceed, Mr. Morris.

Mr. MORRIS. Where were you born, Mr. West?

Mr. WEST. Born in Gilmer County, Ga., near Ellijay, Ga.

Mr. MORRIS. Gilmer County?

Mr. WEST. Near Ellijay, Ga.

Mr. MORRIS. I see. I want you to tell the committee very briefly your educational background, will you, please?

Mr. WEST. Well, part of my high school—I went to grade school out at Rome, Ga., worked my way, and from there I worked in a little college in Tennessee, as part—worked my way through the university, Lincoln Memorial School.

Mr. MORRIS. What school?

Mr. WEST. Lincoln Memorial. And from there I went to Vanderbilt University, received a bachelor of divinity degree. And have done advanced study at various educational institutions around about the country.

Mr. MORRIS. And what is your business or profession at this time?

Mr. WEST. I just said, sir, that it was farming. I am trying to run a farm on the Chattahoochee River; in other words, out of Atlanta.

Mr. MORRIS. Have you been in charge of the Communist Party in Atlanta, Ga.?

Mr. WEST. Sir, I would like to say at the beginning that on any questions relative to my past political associations or affiliation, or religious beliefs or political, I will have to respectfully claim the rights of the fifth amendment of our Constitution. I might say further that I am not a member of any political organization. I am only working only on the matter of running a farm, trying to make a living thereby.

Mr. MORRIS. Well, were you a member of the Communist Party 3 days ago?

Mr. WEST. I would have to claim the fifth amendment on that, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Were you a member of the Communist Party this morning when you first came into this courtroom?

Mr. WEST. I am sorry, sir, I will have to take the fifth amendment on all such questions.

Mr. MORRIS. Are you a Communist now?

Mr. WEST. I have just said voluntarily that I was not a member of any political organization, including the Communist Party.

Mr. MORRIS. As of this afternoon session?

Mr. WEST. True, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. As of this afternoon session, 20 minutes after 2 o'clock in the evening, October 28?

Mr. WEST. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. At 12:30 this morning, October 28, were you a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. WEST. I have already said, sir, I would have to claim the fifth on all questions regarding my past associations or affiliations.

Mr. MORRIS. On February 15, 1956, did you make a trip to New York City and there visit certain Communist Party functionaries at Communist Party headquarters?

Mr. WEST. I would claim the fifth amendment, sir, on that.

Mr. MORRIS. You have been a contributor to the Communist publication, Masses and Main Stream, have you not?

Mr. WEST. I will claim the fifth amendment on that, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. In fact, the editor of Masses and Main Stream, Mr. Samuel Sillen, has been an intimate friend of yours, has he not?

Mr. WEST. As I have previously said, sir, I would have to claim the fifth on past associates or affiliations, and claim it now.

Mr. MORRIS. Did he not come from New York and visit in your home at Christmastime in 1954?

Mr. WEST. I take the fifth on that, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, your wife is Jeannette West?

Mr. WEST. I would take the fifth on that.

Mr. MORRIS. Was she formerly a correspondent in Moscow of the Daily Worker?

Mr. WEST. I would take the fifth on that.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you have a sister, Belle, B-e-l-l-e?

Mr. WEST. I would have to claim the fifth on that.

Mr. MORRIS. To your direct knowledge, has she been a Communist Party organizer in this particular area?

Mr. WEST. I take the same position, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Have you been the editor of the publication called the Southerner?

Mr. WEST. I would take the fifth on that, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. All right.

Senator JENNER. Mr. West——

Mr. WEST. Yes, sir.

Senator JENNER. Do you honestly believe the truthful answer to questions propounded to you by Mr. Morris concerning your wife and your sister would tend to incriminate you?

Mr. WEST. I would take the fifth on that, sir—have to.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, in view of the responses of the witness, I would rather not prolong this too much. But Mr. Mandel has compiled a long series of exhibits—we of course have enough evidence and information, the sum total of which is that he, this witness today, has been one of the more prominent Communist organizers in the South over a period of years.

I wonder if, Mr. Chairman, subject to more questions by Mr. Sourwine and yourself—I would like to offer this for the record.

Senator JENNER. They may go in the record and become part of the record.

(The material above referred to was marked "Exhibit 2–M" and reads as follows:)

EXHIBIT 2M

DON WEST

"Don West, Louisville, Ky.: This man, fomerly in charge of Atlanta, Ga., for Communist Party, is a preacher and a graduate of Vanderbilt University. He sneaked out of Atlanta on a truck, under a load of gunnysacks, when Assistant Solicitor General Hutson swore out warrants for his arrest. After a short period in New York City, he was sent to Kentucky and there made organizer.

"It has been reported on numerous occasions that he was a part-time employee of the Textile Workers Union, a CIO affiliate and at the same time was district organizer of district No. 23, Communist Party." (Part of the records introduced by Mr. John P. Frey, president of the metal trades department of the A. F. of L., before the House Un-American Activities Committee on August 13, 1938; p. 129, vol. 1, Investigation of Un-American Propaganda Activities before the House Un-American Activities Committee, August 1938).

Contributing editor, The Negro Liberator (p. 625, vol. 1, ibid.)

Affiliated with the People's Institute of Applied Religion (p. 139, testimony of Walter Steele before the House Un-American Activities Committee, July 21, 1947). People's Institute of Applied Religion has been cited as subversive and Communist by the Attorney General in letters to the Loyalty Review Board dated June 1, 1948 and September 21, 1948.

"Mr. MANDEL. (Did you ever meet) Don West?

"Mr. CROUCH. I knew him very well, for many years, as Don West and as Jim Weaver. He was district director of the Communist Party of North Carolina while I was district organizer in the fall of 1934 or early 1935. He then left the Carolinas and went to Kentucky as district organizer of the Communist Party through most of 1935, and then was released from that post and returned to the South, where he has spent most of his time as a writer. The latest news I had was that he was a professor at Oglethorpe University in Georgia and recently published a book of poems" (testimony of Paul Crouch before the House Un-American Activities Committee, p. 191, May 6, 1949).

One of the organizers of the Highlander Folk School at Monteagle, Tenn. (p. 193, ibid.).

"Mr. RUSSELL. Will you tell the committee what you know about Don West?

"Mr. CROUCH. Yes. I first met Don West in North Carolina in July or August 1934 when he was sent by the central committee to act as central director. He acted in that capacity 1 year, using the name Jim Weaver. During this time he headed the Burlington defense committee. He was released from North Carolina to go to Kentucky as district organizer of the Communist Party. After leaving Kentucky he went to his old home in Georgia, where he engaged in literary pursuits for some time, and I understand at present he is a professor at Oglethorpe University, and the author of a recently published book of poems. He is a brother-in-law of Nat Ross, southern representative of the central committee of the Communist Party, and a brother-in-law of Bart Logan, a former district organizer in North Carolina; and a sister of Don West, Jeannette Weaver, has been Daily Worker correspondent at Moscow over a number of years" (p. 209, ibid.).

"Mr. TAVENNER. (What do you know about) Don West, of Bethel, Ohio?

"Mrs. EDMISTON (former member of the Communist Party). He was a minister; of what religion I don't know. He was also a Boy Scout leader at Bethel, Ohio. He was identified as a Communist Party member and an active member of the American Peace Mobilization.

"Mr. TAVENNER. How did you know he was a member of the Communist Party?

"Mrs. EDMISTON. He was identified to us by Steve Grattan, secretary of the Communist Party at Columbus (p. 2716, testimony of Martha Nichols Edmiston,

House Un-American Activities Committee hearings regarding Communist activities in the Cincinnati, Ohio, area, pt. 1, July and August 1950) (on p. 2726, ibid., Mrs. Edmiston identifies West as being minus one finger on one of his hands).

GEORGIA COMMISSION ON EDUCATION, ATLANTA, GA.

Donald L. West

(1) American Peace Mobilization: Endorser, call to American People's Meeting, April 5–6, 1941.

(2) Book Union: Contributor, New Masses, October 1, 1935, back cover.

(3) Committee for Equal Justice for Mrs. Recy Taylor, an auxiliary of International Labor Defense: Member of committee of sponsors, booklet, August 1945.

(4) Communist Party: Member, House Committee Report on Southern Conference for Human Welfare, 1947, page 5.

(5) Educators for Wallace, member: Pamphlet, October 1948.

(6) Mother Bloor Celebration Committee: Sent greetings, booklet, undated.

(7) National Council of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions: Sponsor of conference, report of conference, October 9–10, 1948.

(8) National Federation for Constitutional Liberties: Signer of open letter asking the President to rescind Biddle decision on Harry Bridges, booklet, July 11, 1942.

(9) National Wallace for President Committee: Member, press release, March 23, 1948.

(10) New Masses: Contributor, New Masses, April 10, June 5, and June 26, 1934; August 27, 1935; May 28, 1946.

(11) Open letter on Harry Bridges: Signer, Daily Worker, July 19, 1942, page 4.

(12) People's Institute of Applied Religion: State director for Georgia, letterhead, December 11, 1940.

(13) People's Institute of Applied Religion: Sponsor and State director for Georgia, letterhead, February 12, 1941.

(14) People's Institute of Applied Religion: Field leader, letterhead, April 9, 1942.

(15) People's Institute of Applied Religion: Member of southern committee, letterhead, January 1, 1948.

(16) People's Institute of Applied Religion: Member of southern committee, letterhead, April 16, 1953.

(17) Pilot (Communist-controlled weekly of National Maritime Union): Writer for Pilot, May 11, 1945, page 17.

(18) Southern Conference for Human Welfare: Signer of manifesto, Southern Patriot, June 1947, pages 4–5.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Chairman, Mr. Morris, I have two questions not in the area where the witness said he would have to claim the fifth amendment. Maybe we can get answers.

Senator JENNER. All right, proceed.

Mr. SOURWINE. When were you last in Knoxville?

Mr. WEST. Sir, I could not remember when I was last in Knoxville.

Mr. SOURWINE. You have been in Knoxville this year?

Mr. WEST. Not that I recall, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. On March 17 of this year?

Mr. WEST. I don't remember that.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Helen Parsons?

Mr. WEST. I would have to claim the fifth amendment, sir, as to all my past associations and acquaintances.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know whether Helen Parsons lives in Knoxville?

Mr. WEST. I do not, sir. I could not say truthfully that I do know.

Mr. SOURWINE. I want to refresh your memory and give you an opportunity to correct the previous answer. Isn't it true that on March 17, 1957, you visited Helen Parsons' home at Knoxville?

Mr. WEST. I would have to claim the fifth on that, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, we will go back to the prior question when I asked you whether you were there in March of this year. Do you want to change your prior answer?

Mr. WEST. I said, sir, that I could not recall, and I would have to take the fifth amendment on any questions——

Mr. SOURWINE. You now take the fifth amendment on that?

Mr. WEST. Yes, sir.

Senator JENNER. I think you previously stated, Mr. West—however, the record will speak correctly—that you could not recall?

Mr. WEST. That is true.

Senator JENNER. Now, do you recall, or do you take the fifth amendment?

Mr. WEST. I take the fifth, sir, upon the question.

Senator JENNER. That is all, then.

Mr. MORRIS. Sir, I have one more question I would like to ask you. I would like to offer——

Mr. Barber, will you offer this piece of paper to the witness?

I wonder if you will read that for us, Mr. West. Begin reading, so that you will be able to identify it in your own mind and give us a general idea what it is.

Mr. WEST. You want me to read aloud?

Mr. MORRIS. Yes. At least, the beginning of it, until you are able to answer whether you identify that.

Mr. WEST. Do I have to read this, sir? I mean——

Mr. MORRIS. Well, I am asking you to.

Mr. WEST. And do I have to read it?

Mr. MORRIS. Can you?

Mr. WEST. Yes, sir. It is:

Correspondence: Any person or persons handling mail or correspondence with sharecroppers, farmers, or tenants or organizers in the South should remember the following elementary rules.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, did you author that?

Mr. WEST. Beg your pardon?

Mr. MORRIS. Did you author that? Did you write that? Did you compose it?

Mr. WEST. Sir, I would have to take the fifth amendment on that.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Mandel. I wonder if Mr. Mandel would read this in the record?

Senator JENNER. Proceed, Mr. Mandel.

Mr. MANDEL (reading).

Pointers on work in the South. 1. Correspondence: Any person or persons handling mail or correspondence with farmers, sharecroppers, tenants, comrades or organizers in the South should remember the following elementary rules:

(*a*) Envelopes should never be addressed by typewriter, handwriting is better, and should not be too flashy—better if somewhat poor. Always use title (Mr., Mrs., Miss, etc.). Never use business envelopes.

(*b*) Don't use return address of our offices, use some innocent address, better if a house address. If writing to a Negro, use address from Negro section of city. If name of a company or business house is used, use one that corresponds to the kind of package or envelope sent.

(*c*) Packages must always be well wrapped (so they don't fall apart in transit) and must look innocent. Don't send papers openly, but if a bundle, put in a box, so that it looks like a gift or something personal. In addressing, abide by rules given for letters. Single copies of paper should be sent first class.

(*d*) Time: Don't send packages or letter to any given address too often. Alternate, have at least 2 or 3 addresses in each locality, if possible. Don't continue sending bundles for too long a time to one address. Three months' limit.

(*e*) By all means, do not send any circular letters as third class. Send first class, following directions for letters. They expose at once. If the organization is known, on rare occasions, such can be done. But don't make this a practice.

(*f*) Content of letters; When writing letters, always, although writing business matters, make letter appear as personal. Address person as "Dear Friend," etc. Avoid mentioning names, do so only when absolutely necessary. Always use very simple language. Experience shows that letters from our office have not been understood by sharecroppers, and necessitated a "learned" person to transcribe same.

Some general suggestions:

(*a*) Always avoid too much mail. Try to get along with as little as possible.

(*b*) Have all southern mail and addresses handled by one responsible person, who has been assigned to do it.

(*c*) Build up a definite machinery to handle contacts, addresses, etc. Use past experience of our organizations.

(d) Do not mail letters and packages to the South with other office mail. This practice should be followed all the time.

(*e*) Always remember the following:

1. One letter, wrongly handled, can subject receiver to terror, discrimination, etc.

2. The mailing apparatus is part of the United States spy system.

3. Farmers, sharecroppers, tenants, etc., always live in localities where "local inquisitiveness" is rampant.

To editors: Some things to remember.

(*a*) Always use very simple picturesque language. Avoid all long words. Don't try to prove your intelligence by high language. It usually brings the opposite result.

(*b*) Avoid using names of people. (This does not apply to our enemies).

(*c*) Names of places, if connected with definite events, often give away our friends. Be careful how such is used.

(*d*) Often a detailed account of an event will expose those connected with it. Such material should not be used.

(*e*) Don't write long articles.

(*f*) Use letters from friends.

1. Try and save the southern language, terms and names of things; changing such will greatly lessen value of article or letter.

2. By all means, use such correspondence. Our papers contain too little from the South.

3. When in doubt, as to facts, data, etc., of letter or article, get in touch with the nearest organizer.

Mr. West. May I say just a word, please, sir, Mr. Morris?

Mr. Morris. Yes, Mr. West.

Mr. West. I know that—see, in the first place, I only received the subpena late Friday afternoon. I haven't consulted any attorney or anybody else, and I know that in a case like that I could say that I did not author it and there might be someone who might swear that I did, but I am going to take a chance and give a frank answer. I have never seen nor heard that reading in my life, as far as I can recall, and I certainly did not author it. Now, that is the plain answer to that.

Mr. Morris. Is your testimony, Mr. West, that——

Mr. West. My testimony is that I did not write the piece of paper, and as far as I can recall I have never seen it or heard it read in my life.

Mr. Sourwine. Did you write the original of which this is a copy?

Mr. West. Sir, I said I did not author that piece of paper.

Mr. Sourwine. Did you write the original of which this is a copy, Mr. West?

Mr. West. That is what I am trying to say.

Mr. SOURWINE. You did not?

Mr. WEST. No, sir, I did not.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you write a—or send in information to be set in a memorandum of this general nature and content at any time?

Mr. WEST. Not that I recall, sir. As I say, I have never recalled having ever seen or heard this particular paper or writing.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you know Carl Braden?

Mr. WEST. Beg your pardon?

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know Carl Braden?

Mr. WEST. I would have to take my former position, sir, that I claim the fifth.

Senator JENNER. You might identify him. What is it, Carl Braden, worked formerly for the Courier-Journal and was——

Mr. MORRIS. Former newspaperman, who was a defendant in a criminal case.

Mr. WEST. I would have to take the fifth.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. West, as I understand, you are claiming the fifth amendment on all matters concerning Communist activities or affiliations?

Mr. WEST. As I say, any questions concerning affiliations and associations in the past, I claim the fifth amendment, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. When were you last in Monteagle, Tenn.?

Mr. WEST. I can't remember, sir, when I was last in Monteagle, Tenn.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you there over the past Labor Day weekend?

Mr. WEST. You would know that better than I. I was not. That I will answer you flatly, that I was not.

Mr. SOURWINE. You were not there?

Mr. WEST. No, sir.

Senator JENNER. No further questions.

Mr. MORRIS. I have no questions.

Senator JENNER. Then you may be excused, Mr. West.

Mr. WEST. May I return home, sir?

Senator JENNER. That is all right.

(Witness excused.)

Senator JENNER. Call the next witness.

Mr. MORRIS. Dr. Franklin.

Senator JENNER. Do you swear the testimony you give in this hearing will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Dr. FRANKLIN. I do.

Senator JENNER. Be seated.

TESTIMONY OF DR. RALPH FRANKLIN

Senator JENNER. Will you state your name?

Dr. FRANKLIN. My full name is Ralph Franklin.

Senator JENNER. Where do you reside?

Dr. FRANKLIN. My present address is Morehouse, Mo.

Senator JENNER. You may proceed.

Mr. MORRIS. What is your business or profession?

Dr. FRANKLIN. I am a physician.

Mr. MORRIS. Your full name is Doctor——

Dr. FRANKLIN. I use the title "Doctor," yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. What is your full name?

Dr. FRANKLIN. Ralph Franklin.

Mr. MORRIS. Dr. Ralph Franklin?

Dr. FRANKLIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, Dr. Franklin, you formerly lived here in Memphis; did you not?

Dr. FRANKLIN. Yes, sir; I have lived here all my life until the last 3 or approximately 3 years.

Mr. MORRIS. I see. Now, while you were in Memphis, did you belong or did you join the Communist Party?

Dr. FRANKLIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you tell us the circumstances, Dr. Franklin?

Dr. FRANKLIN. I was a student at the University of Tennessee College of Medicine at the time, and I was approached and befriended by several people, who, in turn, asked me to join the organization, which I did.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, who were the people, Doctor?

Dr. FRANKLIN. Dr. Vincent Myers.

Mr. MORRIS. Dr. Vincent Myers. Is he a physician here in Memphis?

Dr. FRANKLIN. No, sir; he graduated at the University of Tennessee in my class.

Mr. SOURWINE. That is M-y-e-r-s?

Dr. FRANKLIN. M-y-e-r-s.

Mr. MORRIS. Did he reside here in Memphis?

Dr. FRANKLIN. His family moved here, if I am not mistaken, from Ohio, and he lived here several years prior to attending medical school here.

Mr. MORRIS. And then how long did you remain a member of the Communist Party?

Dr. FRANKLIN. I am not exactly sure of the exact dates. However, I feel it is approximately 18 months.

Senator JENNER. I don't understand you. Eighteen months ago you left the Communist Party?

Dr. FRANKLIN. No, sir.

Senator JENNER. Or 18 months you remained an active Communist?

Dr. FRANKLIN. I was a member of the Communist Party for 18 months in Memphis.

Senator JENNER. I see.

Mr. MORRIS. When did you join, approximately?

Dr. FRANKLIN. Sir, I can't recall the exact date. However, it must have been in the early part of 1954, the first few months of 1954.

Mr. MORRIS. And then when did you leave the party, 18 months later?

Dr. FRANKLIN. Approximately 18 months later; yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. I see. Now, when did you completely detach yourself from the Communist Party? Was the transition a gradual one or sudden?

Dr. FRANKLIN. It was a gradual transition, sir. There was a transition period in which I had subscribed to the National Guardian, and had received publications from the Liberty Book Club, which, I, through my own thinking, considered subversive, if you want to use the term. I also read the Daily Worker for a short period of

time while I was in Cincinnati, the first few months that I was in Cincinnati. That was in June of 1955.

Mr. MORRIS. You were——

Dr. FRANKLIN. Excuse me, July of 1955.

Mr. MORRIS. What were the motivations that took you into the Communist Party?

Dr. FRANKLIN. Well, it is a many-sided question; I mean, a many-sided answer. It would involve several factors. First of all, the friends whom I knew as members of the party were intelligent and seemingly sincere, and were well versed in the current events and political situations of the day, and during that period of time I was rather—shall we say, immature.

Mr. MORRIS. Politically immature?

Dr. FRANKLIN. Politically; yes, sir. It appealed to me at that time, and thinking in terms of an idealistic or straightforward proposition, I considered it the right thing to do, which I don't right now.

Mr. MORRIS. You feel you have come to know the nature of the Communist organization and it is something you want no part of?

Dr. FRANKLIN. Yes, sir; that is true.

Mr. MORRIS. And what were some of the events that brought this disillusionment about?

Dr. FRANKLIN. Well, there were several. No. 1, the Communist doctrine preaches the equality of the members of the party, and as you feel—they have you feel that the organization is trying to further your knowledge of world events so that you may act upon your own as an independent individual and become more politically mature. I was in a constant wrangle during the period I was within the structure of the Communist Party because of the fact that this was not the case.

Secondly, events which occurred afterward, Khrushchev's outpouring of crimes that Stalin had committed during his many years as chief of the Communist government of the U. S. S. R. of course was a tremendous shock to me, having felt that—or having been told, rather, that—and personally feeling that it was right that these things were not true, and until out of the words of their own mouth they stated that they were true.

And, secondly, the Hungarian situation, of course, that quashed the entire matter; that was beyond all realm of consideration of anything that could be considered right and just.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, Doctor, while you were a Communist, you even made financial contributions, did you not?

Dr. FRANKLIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. You were a young struggling doctor, but, nevertheless, scraped together money to give the Communist Party?

Dr. FRANKLIN. I was somewhat pressured, and also felt volitionwise I should do my part as best I could.

Mr. MORRIS. All right.

Mr. SOURWINE. You say you were a member of the Communist Party for about 2 years?

Dr. FRANKLIN. Yes; approximately.

Mr. SOURWINE. About 18 months?

Dr. FRANKLIN. Yes, sir; approximately; yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you, sir, a member of the Communist Party in 1952?

Dr. FRANKLIN. No; I was not.

Mr. SOURWINE. You were not?

Dr. FRANKLIN. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you remember receiving in 1952 a memorandum of what purported to be a telecast of events of Vincent Hallinan and Charlotta Bass, who were the Progressive Party's candidates for President in that year?

Dr. FRANKLIN. Yes, sir; I remember having received memorandums. I also remember having seen them on television.

Mr. SOURWINE. Yes, sir. Do you know what it said in that memorandum?

Dr. FRANKLIN. No; I do not.

Mr. SOURWINE. You were not at that time to your knowledge on anybody's Communist mailing list?

Dr. FRANKLIN. Not to my knowledge. I would have to think that I—I cannot think so, at the time.

Mr. SOURWINE. And are you the Dr. Ralph Franklin who wrote a letter to the Memphis Commercial Appeal March 7, 1954, attacking big-business investments from time to time?

Dr. FRANKLIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you write another letter to the Memphis Commercial Appeal April 4, 1954?

Dr. FRANKLIN. Yes, sir; I believe I wrote two letters.

Mr. SOURWINE. You were a member of the Communist Party in the spring of 1954?

Dr. FRANKLIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you give the Communist Party $5 at that time?

Dr. FRANKLIN. I don't remember the exact amount. I could certainly have.

Mr. SOURWINE. You were selling the National Guardian at that time?

Dr. FRANKLIN. I was trying to get subscriptions.

Senator JENNER. That was one of your assignments; was it?

Dr. FRANKLIN. Sir?

Senator JENNER. That was one of your assignments in the Communist Party?

Dr. FRANKLIN. More or less; it was urged.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you and your wife give a farewell party for Dr. Vincent Myers and his wife at your apartment at 826 Scott Place in December 1955?

Dr. FRANKLIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. The central theme of that party was playing a record, The Investigator?

Dr. FRANKLIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Where did you get that record, Dr. Franklin?

Dr. FRANKLIN. I can't recall that at the present time. I believe I sent for it through an advertiser in the National Guardian.

Mr. SOURWINE. The Communists were promoting that record; were they?

Dr. FRANKLIN. Through the National Guardian, I believe they were; yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, do you remember attending a going-away party—? I asked you about that.

Senator JENNER. No more?

Mr. MORRIS. Senator, I would like to state at this time that this particular witness has been extremely frank and forthright with the committee, and, inasmuch as we encounter such a wall of silence from people who have been members of the Communist Party, that I would like to make an extraordinary point of thanking this particular witness for his forthright testimony.

Senator, if more people come forward and tell their experiences within the Communist Party, as this witness has done today, we would very easily and very accurately know all about the Communist Party, and it would no longer hold any threat to the United States of America.

Senator JENNER. May I add, Mr. Morris, that here is a typical example of the policy of this committee. This young doctor was brought into a private, secret executive session. We have much information that is not going to be discussed here today. But the doctor came into the private, secret executive session of our committee back in this room and made a clean breast of this whole story.

And, Doctor, if more people would do what you have done, this menace of communism would not be as threatening today. I, too, as acting chairman of this committee, want to congratulate you for getting your feet back on the right path, and ask you to keep them there.

Dr. FRANKLIN. Thank you very much.

Senator JENNER. Thank you. You are excused.

(Witness excused.)

Mr. MORRIS. Alberta Ahearn, please.

Senator JENNER. Do you swear that the testimony you give in this hearing will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mrs. AHEARN. I do.

Senator JENNER. Be seated, please.

TESTIMONY OF ALBERTA AHEARN

Senator JENNER. Will you state your name for the committee?

Mrs. AHEARN. Mrs. Alberta Ahearn.

Senator JENNER. Alberta what?

Mrs. AHEARN. Ahearn.

Senator JENNER. And where do you reside?

Mrs. AHEARN. In Louisville, Ky.

Senator JENNER. What is your business or profession?

Mrs. AHEARN. Well, I am keeping house for my daughter and a boarder, and I do some sewing at the present.

Senator JENNER. All right, you may proceed, Mr. Morris.

Mr. MORRIS. All right. Where were you born?

Mrs. AHEARN. July 28.

Mr. MORRIS. I am sorry. Where?

Mrs. AHEARN. In Louisville, Ky.

Mr. MORRIS. And I presume you are older than 21?

Mrs. AHEARN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, did you for a period of time work as an undercover informant of the Federal Bureau of Investigation?

Mrs. AHEARN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. I wonder if you would tell us, in fact, the period there.

Mrs. AHEARN. I worked as an undercover informant for the Federal Bureau of Investigation from the latter part of 1948 to December of 1954.

Mr. MORRIS. And what was the locale of that operation?

Mrs. AHEARN. Louisville, Ky.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, did you have occasion—well, how many particular cells of the Communist Party did you get to meet during that time?

Mrs. AHEARN. Well, I was changed actually four times.

Mr. MORRIS. So, in other words, you were in four different cells?

Mrs. AHEARN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. What was the makeup of these cells, Mrs. Ahearn? Were they numerous; how many people were in them?

Mrs. AHEARN. Usually 3 or 4, not over 5.

Mr. MORRIS. I see. Why were they kept small?

Mrs. AHEARN. They were kept small so that information wouldn't leak out.

Mr. MORRIS. In other words, it was a security measure, as I get it?

Mrs. AHEARN. Security measure, that is right.

Mr. MORRIS. And you have the feeling that perhaps it was the rule that the party kept these particular units small in number?

Mrs. AHEARN. I was told they were.

Mr. MORRIS. You were told they were?

Mrs. AHEARN. Yes, sir; that is right.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you know or did you have a feeling that there were other cells operating in Louisville apart from the ones you were a member of?

Mrs. AHEARN. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. But you could not identify people in other cells, as you told us in executive session, because you did not meet in these closed cells?

Mrs. AHEARN. That is right. There is one person that meets there, would meet in the city group and tell things that happened in the various cells, the other cells in the city.

Mr. MORRIS. Yes. You took part, Mrs. Ahearn, backing the Communist fronts; did you not?

Mrs. AHEARN. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. The security measures are not invoked so rigidly in those?

Mrs. AHEARN. No.

Mr. MORRIS. Party security measures?

Mrs. AHEARN. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. Because it is a Communist-front organization, and so far as participation is concerned, they can say to the world, "This is only the American Peace Crusade," or whatever it is supposed to be. Is that right?

Mrs. AHEARN. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you operate within the framework of the Louisville Peace Crusade?

Mrs. AHEARN. I was chairman of the Louisville Peace Crusade for several years.

Mr. MORRIS. For years?

Mrs. AHEARN. Several years.

Mr. MORRIS. Who put you in charge of that?

Mrs. AHEARN. Mr. and Mrs. Carl Braden.

Mr. MORRIS. I see. Mr. and Mrs. Carl Braden put you in charge of that?

Mrs. AHEARN. Yes, sir; they recruited me into the party.

Mr. MORRIS. They what?

Mrs. AHEARN. They recruited me into the Communist Party.

Mr. MORRIS. So they recruited you into the Communist Party. Were they members of any of your cells?

Mrs. AHEARN. Yes; they were.

Mr. MORRIS. They were?

Mrs. AHEARN. Most of them.

Mr. MORRIS. Both Carl Braden and his wife?

Mrs. AHEARN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. What is her first name?

Mrs. AHEARN. Anne.

Mr. MORRIS. Anne. Now, how many people participated with you in the work of the Louisville Peace Crusade?

Mrs. AHEARN. Well, it varied. You mean Communist Party members, or just people in the club.

Mr. MORRIS. We are talking now about the front organization rather than the cells.

Mrs. AHEARN. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. You said that the Louisville Peace Crusade was a Communist project, is that right?

Mrs. AHEARN. Right.

Senator JENNER. It was Communist dominated; you were head of it?

Mrs. AHEARN. Yes.

Senator JENNER. Who was secretary?

Mrs. AHEARN. Well, when we first began, Mr. Clifford Young was secretary, then later went back to his home somewhere in Illinois.

Senator JENNER. Went back where?

Mrs. AHEARN. To his home in Illinois.

Senator JENNER. Was he a Communist?

Mrs. AHEARN. I don't know.

Senator JENNER. Who succeeded him as secretary?

Mrs. AHEARN. Mr. I. O. Ford.

Senator JENNER. Was he a Communist?

Mrs. AHEARN. Yes.

Senator JENNER. In other words, you, as the head of it, and Mr. Ford, as secretary, completely dominated the Louisville Peace Crusade?

Mrs. AHEARN. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. How many people did work on that activity, Communist or non-Communist?

Mrs. AHEARN. Oh, about 15 or 20 people.

Mr. MORRIS. About 15 or 20 people. I wonder if you would tell us generally what was the purpose of that organization?

Mrs. AHEARN. To promote the peace propaganda.

Mr. MORRIS. How did you go about it?

Mrs. AHEARN. Well, we were affiliated with the American Peace Crusade, and we would receive instructions from them as to what to do. We would discuss them in party meetings, then carry on the orders from there.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, was the American Peace Crusade a Communist——

Mrs. AHEARN. Well——

Mr. MORRIS. Pardon?

Mrs. AHEARN. I could not say.

Mr. MORRIS. Well, if you will, tell us further how the organization operated.

Mrs. AHEARN. Well, as I said, we did various things. We promoted a postcard campaign during the Korean war to stop the war at the 38th parallel, and we put out leaflets each month, something like Trade With Red China, or McCarthyism, and the H-bomb.

Mr. MORRIS. What was that, "Trade With Red China"—what was that?

Mrs. AHEARN. Well, it was a leaflet instructing people to trade with Red China, that we would get more trade that way.

Mr. MORRIS. In other words, you were then in the American Peace Crusade, and in the framework of the Peace Crusade you were trying to promote trade with Red China?

Mrs. AHEARN. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. What was that about McCarthyism?

Mrs. AHEARN. Well, it has been quite a while; it was something about McCarthy and the big lie, something to that effect.

Mr. MORRIS. What was the rationale of that particular thinking?

Mrs. AHEARN. Well, these hearings were just—they did not mean anything.

Mr. MORRIS. These hearings? You mean congressional hearings?

Mrs. AHEARN. Congressional hearings, yes, sir; and it was to tell people not to pay any attention to it.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you put out much literature to that effect?

Mrs. AHEARN. Yes; very much so. We mailed literature, and we would receive material from the American-Soviet Friendship, too.

Mr. MORRIS. For what purpose?

Mrs. AHEARN. To send it out through the Peace Crusade.

Mr. MORRIS. On that particular subject we were discussing?

Mrs. AHEARN. No; maybe not on that particular subject we were discussing, but we would get possession of it.

Mr. MORRIS. The American Council for Soviet Friendship did send material to the Peace Crusade, and you would distribute it in Louisville?

Mrs. AHEARN. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. Was that very extensive material sent down?

Mrs. AHEARN. Quite a lot of the time.

Mr. MORRIS. Did it come from New York?

Mrs. AHEARN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. That was headquarters in New York of the American Council for Soviet Friendship?

Mrs. AHEARN. In fact, Mr. Marshall was in Louisville at one time.

Mr. MORRIS. Beg your pardon; I didn't hear it.

Mrs. AHEARN. Mr. Leland Marshall was in Louisville at one time.

Mr. MORRIS. Was Mr. Braden working? Did he work then?

Mrs. AHEARN. He was employed by the Courier-Journal.

Mr. MORRIS. What was he doing with the Courier-Journal?

Mrs. AHEARN. Some sort of newspaper work; don't know just what it was.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, did you make any effort, for instance, to join labor groups, or church groups, or parent-teacher groups?

Mrs. AHEARN. I was asked to join them.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you?

Mrs. AHEARN. Yes; not a parent-teacher group, but Negro labor council and several church groups.

Mr. MORRIS. Why, for instance, did the Communists ask you to join church groups?

Mrs. AHEARN. Well, they thought that we could work through these church groups and sort of gain a sort of form of respectability through these church groups.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, did you in fact join church groups?

Mrs. AHEARN. I did.

Mr. MORRIS. When you joined church groups, did you dispense Communist propaganda from that vantage?

Mrs. AHEARN. Well, we would try. Now, at one time there was a group called a militant church group.

Mr. MORRIS. A militant church group?

Mrs. AHEARN. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. That is at Louisville?

Mrs. AHEARN. That is at Louisville.

Mr. MORRIS. What did they do?

Mrs. AHEARN. They promoted a lot of things pertaining to integration, or things like that. Then there was a group called interracial hospital group, which was just a group that worked on trying to get Negroes into the city hospitals.

Mr. MORRIS. Well, Mrs. Ahearn, did you, from these various vantage points, give out any of that material that came from the American-Soviet Friendship at New York; did you then pass that out to members of church groups?

Mrs. AHEARN. Sometimes we would mail them to members of church groups.

Mr. MORRIS. Would they be received by members of the church as something coming from other members of the church group?

Mrs. AHEARN. Well, no; we would just mail them out to various people without a name on them; sometimes would have the Peace Crusade, but we usually just sent them out. Sometimes sent them to labor groups, and just various groups that we had.

Mr. MORRIS. And you were in position, though, that you were dispensing Communist propaganda as members of a church group, you said for the purpose of having respectability?

Mrs. AHEARN. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. It would be more effective in carrying out the work?

Mrs. AHEARN. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you do that?

Mrs. AHEARN. Yes; whenever we could.

Mr. MORRIS. When did you terminate your relation with the FBI?

Mrs. AHEARN. When they had the sedition trials in Louisville, Ky. That is December 1954.

Mr. MORRIS. And at that time, did you testify?

Mrs. AHEARN. I testified.

Mr. MORRIS. And, therefore, the real nature of your relation with the Communist Party was known to the Communist Party?

Mrs. AHEARN. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. I notice you mentioned in the executive session that you joined the Farm Equipment Workers Women's Auxiliary.

Mrs. AHEARN. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Farm Equipment Workers was a union; is that right?

Mrs. AHEARN. Yes; International Harvester Workers Union.

Mr. MORRIS. Was there a local at Louisville?

Mrs. AHEARN. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. To your knowledge was that local controlled by Communists?

Mrs. AHEARN. Well, I could not say. I would think they were, but could not prove it.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, you are speaking technically, now; before you can say anybody is a member of the Communist Party or a Communist, you have to be able to swear they are; is that correct?

Mrs. AHEARN. Yes; all I can say about this Farm Equipment Workers, Mr. and Mrs. Braden were employed by this union as publicity agents.

Mr. MORRIS. And what was the women's auxiliary of that union?

Mrs. AHEARN. Well, Mrs. Braden was also in this women's auxiliary, Mrs. Sterling Neal, and we would promote various things, maybe petitions or something of that sort.

Mr. MORRIS. I have no more questions at this time of this witness.

Senator JENNER. Any further questions?

Of course, I believe you testified that you did not know how many other cells might have been operating in Louisville?

Mrs. AHEARN. I thought there were 3 or 4, but couldn't be certain.

Senator JENNER. Three or four more cells besides the ones you were in?

Mrs. AHEARN. That is right.

Senator JENNER. But you have no way of identifying them as fellow Communists?

Mrs. AHEARN. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. There is one phase of this also I think I would like to ask the witness a question about.

You said one representative from each cell would meet, I believe I understood you to say in the city room?

Mrs. AHEARN. City group.

Mr. SOURWINE. Oh, were you the one who met in the city group representing your cell, Mrs. Ahearn?

Mrs. AHEARN. No; I was not, but Mrs. Braden was chairman of the overall city group.

Senator JENNER. No further questions?

No further questions. You may be excused.

(Witness excused.)

Senator JENNER. Now, do you have any other witnesses to call at this time, because of the fact that you have had so many illnesses, delays, doctors' certificates, or babies, and so forth?

Mr. MORRIS. Let me check with Mr. Barber.

Are there any more witnesses present now? Are there any other witnesses present in the room? Don't identify yourselves necessarily.

Senator JENNER. That have been in executive session? I don't know.

Mr. MORRIS. There is one gentleman here. Would the man who has been talking to Mr. Mandel for half an hour not leave? I don't want to identify him, but if he will remain I would appreciate it, the man who has been talking to——

Senator JENNER. Please remain. There are no other witnesses.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, Senator, no other witnesses here who have been in secret executive session.

Senator JENNER. We will have to go in executive session in the morning. Therefore, I believe the open session in this room will begin about 11 o'clock.

Mr. MORRIS. Yes.

Senator JENNER. With that announcement, we will stand adjourned in open session until about 11 o'clock. But the executive session will be earlier.

(Whereupon, at 3:02 p. m., the subcommittee was adjourned.)

COMMUNISM IN THE MIDSOUTH

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 29, 1957

UNITED STATES SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE ADMINISTRATION
OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT AND
OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS,
OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
Memphis, Tenn.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to adjournment, at 11 a. m., in the Federal court room, Federal Building, Chairman James O. Eastland presiding.

Present: Senators Eastland and William E. Jenner.

Also present: Robert Morris, chief counsel; J. G. Sourwine, associate counsel; and Benjamin Mandel, research director.

Senator JENNER. The committee will come to order. Call the first witness.

Mr. MORRIS. Inasmuch as Senator Eastland is not in the chair at this time——

Senator JENNER. He has to make a phone call; he will be right back.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Greenberg was scheduled to be our first witness; suppose we begin another witness while we are waiting.

Senator JENNER. All right; he will be right back, he just went to make a phone call.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Stauverman, please, will you come forward?

Senator JENNER. Mr. Stauverman, will you be sworn? Do you swear the testimony you give in this hearing will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. STAUVERMAN. Yes, sir.

Sentor JENNER. You may be seated. Will you give the committee your full name?

TESTIMONY OF RICHARD J. STAUVERMAN

Mr. STAUVERMAN. My name is Richard J. Stauverman.

Senator JENNER. Where do you reside, Mr. Stauverman?

Mr. STAUVERMAN. 522 West Belden Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

Senator JENNER. What is your business or profession?

Mr. STAUVERMAN. I am a teacher.

Senator JENNER. Where do you teach?

Mr. STAUVERMAN. I teach at Wright Junior College in the city of Chicago.

Senator JENNER. And what subjects do you teach?

Mr. STAUVERMAN. Physics.

Senator JENNER. Physics?

Mr. STAUVERMAN. Yes, sir.

Senator JENNER. I think the record at this point should show Mr. Stauverman is accompanied by his counsel.

Mr. SMITH. Would you like for me to make an appearance?

Senator JENNER. Will you, please?

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Stauverman is represented by Benjamin E. Smith, counsel, from New Orleans, La.

Senator JENNER. Proceed, Mr. Morris, with the questioning of the witness.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Stauverman, what do you teach?

Mr. STAUVERMAN. Sir, I have answered that.

Mr. MORRIS. I know, but I want to develop it.

Mr. STAUVERMAN. I teach physics.

Mr. MORRIS. Physics; to whom?

Mr. STAUVERMAN. To students.

Mr. MORRIS. I mean, they are college students, are they not?

Mr. STAUVERMAN. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. What is the name of the college where you are teaching?

Mr. STAUVERMAN. Sir, I have answered that question before.

Mr. MORRIS. I would like you to be a little more specific, Mr. Stauverman. I don't want to pursue it too long, but we would like to know generally what is the nature of the physics you teach and to whom you teach.

Mr. STAUVERMAN. Wright Junior College is the name of the school. I teach a course of mechanics, heat and sound; one in electricity, light and modern physics, and one in electronics.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, in addition to your teaching, Mr. Stauverman, do you engage in any extra teaching—I mean, are you a member of the physicists organizations?

Mr. STAUVERMAN. I am a member of the professional societies, American Institute of Physics, the American Association of Physics Teachers, Institute of Radio Engineers, and that is all I can think of right now. I think that is all.

Mr. MORRIS. In connection with your membership in those distinguished organizations you have just told us about, do you attend conventions, do you keep up with the work of those organizations?

Mr. STAUVERMAN. I have not attended any of their conventions; I receive their publications, that is all.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you remain active in the organizations?

Mr. STAUVERMAN. Well, no; I would say that I am not active in the organizations.

Mr. MORRIS. Well, do you consult with or confer with other physicists?

Mr. STAUVERMAN. Only with my fellow faculty members.

Senator JENNER. Outside of your regular classroom work in the Wright Junior College, do you tutor students?

Mr. STAUVERMAN. No, sir; I do occasionally give individual aid to students who ask for it, but I receive no pay for that.

Mr. MORRIS. Were you born in Birmingham, Ala., May 8, 1924?

Mr. STAUVERMAN. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, you attended Georgia Tech, did you not?

Mr. STAUVERMAN. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. You told us it is no longer called Georgia Tech, is that right, in executive session?

Mr. STAUVERMAN. No, it is still called Georgia Tech; the correction was that it was not called Georgia Tech University, it is just Georgia Tech.

Mr. MORRIS. And VPI?

Mr. STAUVERMAN. That is correct.

Mr. MORRIS. And Emory University?

Mr. STAUVERMAN. That is correct.

Mr. MORRIS. What degrees do you hold, Doctor?

Mr. STAUVERMAN. A bachelor of arts and master of science.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you receive your degrees from Emory University?

Mr. STAUVERMAN. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, did you live in Atlanta, Ga., in the years 1948 and 1949?

Mr. STAUVERMAN. Yes, I lived there at that time.

Mr. MORRIS. Were you then close to one Homer Bates Chase, a Communist Party organizer in Georgia in that particular period of time?

Mr. STAUVERMAN. Sir, I stand on my constitutional rights and refuse to answer that question.

Mr. MORRIS. What constitutional rights are you referring to, Mr. Stauverman?

Mr. STAUVERMAN. The fifth amendment, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. In other words, you do not want to be a witness against yourself?

Mr. STAUVERMAN. That is correct.

Mr. MORRIS. Senator, inasmuch as this subcommittee has always recognized such a claim of privilege by the witness, I suggest that it be recognized here at this time.

What were you doing in Atlanta during that period of time, Mr. Stauverman?

Mr. STAUVERMAN. That is when I was a student.

Mr. MORRIS. After you left Atlanta in 1949, where did you go then?

Mr. STAUVERMAN. I left Atlanta in 1950; I moved to Chicago at that time.

Mr. MORRIS. You moved to Chicago; now, were you a member of the Communist Party in Atlanta while you were there?

Mr. STAUVERMAN. Sir, I stand on my constitutional rights under the fifth amendment; I refuse to answer that question.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, when you went to Chicago, what did you do in Chicago, in 1950?

Mr. STAUVERMAN. I got a job.

Mr. MORRIS. You got a job where?

Mr. STAUVERMAN. Sir, I don't see the pertinency of that question.

Mr. MORRIS. Well, were you a teacher of physics at Wright Junior College, 3400 North Austin, Chicago, at that time?

Mr. STAUVERMAN. No, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you teach there later?

Mr. STAUVERMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Where did you teach in 1950, if you taught?

Mr. STAUVERMAN. In 1950 I was not teaching.

Mr. MORRIS. What did you do in 1950, sir?

Mr. STAUVERMAN. I worked in a factory; I was——

Mr. MORRIS. Did you have any other job in Chicago in 1950——

Senator JENNER. I don't think the witness had completed his answer. He started to say "I was—." Go ahead.

Mr. STAUVERMAN. I was laboratory technician in a factory.

Mr. MORRIS. Laboratory technician in a factory?

Mr. STAUVERMAN. That is correct.

Mr. MORRIS. What factory was that?

Mr. STAUVERMAN. Here again, I don't see that this is pertinent. I wish you would explain the pertinency of the question.

Senator JENNER. Well, let's put it this way, Mr. Stauverman, at this particular time were you a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. STAUVERMAN. I refuse to answer that question under the protection of the fifth amendment.

Chairman EASTLAND. Were you doing work for the Communist Party?

Mr. STAUVERMAN. I again refuse under the fifth amendment.

Mr. MORRIS. Senator, that brings out the pertinency of my question; we have reason to believe that he was active in the Communist Party at that time, and I had in mind when I asked him the question what his particular job was, it was with the view toward determining whether or not there was a connection between the job and the membership in the Communist Party, and for that reason I asked him the specific nature of the job.

Mr. STAUVERMAN. Will you repeat the question, sir?

Mr. MORRIS. You told us that you were a laboratory technician in a factory in Chicago in the year 1950, and I asked you what factory, and then you challenged the pertinency. I think I have explained it.

Mr. STAUVERMAN. The factory was the Transparent Package Co., which is located in Chicago. They make sausage casings.

Mr. MORRIS. They make what?

Mr. STAUVERMAN. Sausage casings.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, after that, Mr. Stauverman, what was your next employment?

Mr. STAUVERMAN. My next employment was instructor in electronics at DeForrest's Training, Inc.

Mr. MORRIS. At DeForrest's——

Mr. STAUVERMAN. DeForrest's Training, Inc.

Mr. MORRIS. When did you do that?

Mr. STAUVERMAN. I was there from 1951 to 1953.

Mr. MORRIS. After that, did you teach in Wright Junior College?

Mr. STAUVERMAN. No; after that I came to Memphis where I taught for 1 year.

Mr. MORRIS. Tell us about that, when did you come to Memphis?

Mr. STAUVERMAN. I came to Memphis in September 1953. I was employed by the home mission board of the Congregational and Christian Churches and taught mathematics at LeMoyne College. I was here approximately 1 year; I do not remember exactly when I left.

Mr. MORRIS. You were employed by the Home Mission Board?

Mr. STAUVERMAN. The Home Mission Board of the Congregational and Christian Churches; that to the best of my memory is the name of the group that employed me. I am not certain of the title they give to their department, but that is what it amounted to.

Mr. MORRIS. And what was the nature of your work?

Mr. STAUVERMAN. I taught mathematics.

Mr. MORRIS. For the board?

Mr. STAUVERMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. And you were also a teacher at LeMoyne College?

Mr. STAUVERMAN. That is correct; that is where I taught.

Mr. MORRIS. That is here in Memphis?

Mr. STAUVERMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, from September 1953 until August 1954, did you pay Communist Party dues to the Communist Party in Memphis?

Mr. STAUVERMAN. I plead the privilege of the fifth amendment and refuse to answer that question, sir.

Chairman EASTLAND. Well, now, you know, do you not, that there is a Communist underground in Memphis?

Mr. STAUVERMAN. Would you repeat the question?

Chairman EASTLAND. Do you know whether or not there is a Communist underground in Memphis?

Mr. STAUVERMAN. Sir, I plead the privilege of the fifth amendment on that question.

Chairman EASTLAND. Did you ever secure information for the Communist underground in the city of Memphis, in west Tennessee?

Mr. STAUVERMAN. I plead the fifth amendment on that question also.

Chairman EASTLAND. State whether or not you belonged to a Communist Party cell in Memphis while you were parading here as a schoolteacher.

Mr. STAUVERMAN. I refuse to answer that question on the protection of the fifth amendment.

Chairman EASTLAND. Isn't it correct now that your principal work in the city of Memphis and the principal reason for your coming was on a mission of the Communist Party?

Mr. STAUVERMAN. My principal work in the city of Memphis and my principal reason for coming here was to teach mathematics at LeMoyne College.

Chairman EASTLAND. Now, you were not given any Communist mission when you came here?

Mr. STAUVERMAN. I take the privilege of the fifth amendment, sir, in refusing to answer that question.

Chairman EASTLAND. That's right, sir. Now, who got you in LeMoyne College—I think that is very significant—who got you your job there?

Mr. STAUVERMAN. Sir, I applied for a position. The application was directed, if I remember correctly, to the board of trustees of the college, and that was the manner in which I got the job.

Chairman EASTLAND. Yes; now, isn't it true that one individual was responsible for your being employed by LeMoyne College?

Mr. STAUVERMAN. Sir, I will have to plead the fifth amendment on that.

Chairman EASTLAND. Of course. Do you know Mr. Lorenz?

Mr. STAUVERMAN. I am well acquainted with Mr. Lorenz, yes, sir. He and I are personal friends.

Chairman EASTLAND. Personal friends. Isn't it true that he got you your employment at the college?

Mr. STAUVERMAN. Well, sir, I don't understand the pertinency of this question. I would like an explanation.

Chairman EASTLAND. Well, the pertinency of the question is that our information is you were here on a party mission. We are just trying to connect it up; that is all.

Mr. MORRIS. Senator, maybe if I give here what the background of this particular information is, the pertinency may become clearer to the witness. We have reason to believe that Mr. Lorenz assisted you in coming to LeMoyne College and got you your job, and then reported back to the Memphis Communist Party that they would shortly—now, this is the late summer or early fall of 1953—that he, Lorenz, would have a new transfer in the Communist Party from Chicago, referring to you, and that Mr. McGurty and Mr. Greenberg of the Memphis Communist Party then went to Chicago to investigate you and found you were satisfactory and worthy of being in the Memphis Communist Party. Now, did I state the situation correctly?

Mr. STAUVERMAN. I plead the privileges of the fifth amendment, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, after you arrived here in late summer or early fall of 1953, did you pay $10 in back dues to the Communist Party when you arrived?

Mr. STAUVERMAN. I plead the fifth amendment on that one, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Did Mr. McGurty ever tell you that, if anyone should ask you if you were a member of the Communist Party, you should deny it?

Mr. STAUVERMAN. I plead the privileges of the fifth amendment on that question, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you, among other things, sell subscriptions to the National Guardian? That is a Communist journal.

Mr. STAUVERMAN. Sir, I take the privileges of the fifth amendment, in refusing to answer that question.

Mr. MORRIS. Were you active in the Labor Youth League from the period of 1951–57?

Mr. STAUVERMAN. Could you please explain the pertinency of the question?

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Mandel, I wonder if you would identify for us the Labor Youth League?

Mr. MANDEL. The Labor Youth League is cited as a subversive organization by the Attorney General.

Mr. MORRIS. What is it specifically, so that they will understand?

Mr. MANDEL. It is a successor of the Young Communist League. It is specifically a Communist organization operating among young people.

Mr. MORRIS. Its purpose is to recruit young people into the Communist orbit; is it not?

Mr. MANDEL. That is correct.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, with that description, would you answer the question?

Mr. STAUVERMAN. Sir, I plead the privileges of the fifth amendment in refusing to answer that question.

Mr. MORRIS. We have reason to believe you have been active in the Labor Youth League from the period 1951 to 1957, mostly in Chicago; have you been active in the Labor Youth League in Chicago?

Mr. STAUVERMAN. It seems to me that I answered that question just a minute ago; didn't I?

Mr. MORRIS. By claiming your privilege?

Mr. STAUVERMAN. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Well, I added the Chicago element to it.

Mr. STAUVERMAN. Well, I again claim the privileges of the fifth amendment.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know whether or not you were investigated by the Communist Party in 1954 because you reached Mr. Greenberg at his secret address in New York and you were, therefore, investigated on the grounds you violated Communist Party security?

Mr. STAUVERMAN. Sir, I claim my constitutional privilege there; I refuse to answer the question.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you, Mr. Stauverman, at any time try to reach Mr. Greenberg in New York?

Mr. STAUVERMAN. Sir, I don't understand the pertinency of this question either.

Mr. MORRIS. Well, this question is very pertinent, Mr. Stauverman, because the information that we have received bears on the conspiratorial nature of the Communist Party. We have reason to believe that Mr. Greenberg because of some high classification imposed by the Communist Party officials on his location in New York, that people of the Memphis Communist Party were not to be in touch with him up there for security purposes—security from the Communist Party point of view—and that you violated the orders of the Memphis Communist Party by being in touch with him at his New York address, and that, therefore, you brought upon yourself an investigation. We would like to know whether or not that is correct. We have reason to believe it did occur and we want to ask you about it.

Mr. STAUVERMAN. I claim my privileges under the fifth amendment in refusing to answer that question.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you ever call upon Greenberg in New York?

Mr. STAUVERMAN. I again claim my constitutional privilege.

Senator JENNER. Ask him if he knows Mr. Greenberg.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know Mr. Greenberg?

Mr. STAUVERMAN. I claim my constitutional rights in refusing to answer that question.

Senator JENNER. Is that the fifth amendment?

Mr. STAUVERMAN. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, will you tell us whether or not you called on him at his home in New York after he had left Memphis?

Mr. STAUVERMAN. I again refuse to answer on the basis of the Constitution.

Mr. MORRIS. Can you recall whether or not, as a result of that episode, you were under suspicion by the Communist Party?

Mr. STAUVERMAN. I refuse to answer that question on the basis of my constitutional privileges.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, have you been active in the Northeastern Peace Conference in Chicago?

Mr. STAUVERMAN. The what?

Mr. MORRIS. The Northeastern Peace Conference in Chicago?

Mr. STAUVERMAN. I would like to have the pertinency of that question explained, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Well, we have reason to believe that the Northeastern Peace Conference is a Communist organization or at least is infiltrated by Communists and we were wondering if you participated in that as a person who, at the time, was a member of the Communist Party, and, therefore, you are qualified to tell us whether or not there

are any connections between the Communist organization and the Northeastern Peace Conference, and you are a competent witness. We ask you to tell us about that.

Mr. STAUVERMAN. I claim my constitutional rights, sir, in refusing to answer that question.

Mr. MORRIS. After you left Memphis, you went back to Chicago, did you not?

Mr. STAUVERMAN. That's right.

Mr. MORRIS. After you left there, what was your first teaching assignment in Chicago?

Mr. STAUVERMAN. Wright Junior College.

Mr. MORRIS. How long did you teach there?

Mr. STAUVERMAN. I taught there for a little bit more than 1 year.

Mr. MORRIS. From when?

Mr. STAUVERMAN. From September 1956, until the present.

Mr. MORRIS. Until when?

Mr. STAUVERMAN. Until now.

Mr. MORRIS. Are you a Communist now, Mr. Stauverman?

Mr. STAUVERMAN. Sir, regarding my present political affiliations——

Mr. MORRIS. I didn't ask you that; I asked you if you are a Communist now, Mr. Stauverman.

Mr. STAUVERMAN. I am answering the question, sir. At present, the only possible political affiliation I know of which I have, would be with one of the major parties of the United States. It is possible that under the laws of Illinois I am a member of the party in whose primary I voted. This is a point of law with which I am not familiar, but I will say with that exception, with that possible exception, I am not a member of any party, including the Communist Party.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Stauverman, do you mean to imply by that answer that in your opinion membership in the Communist Party is merely a political association?

Mr. STAUVERMAN. Sir, would you explain the pertinency of this question; you might also explain the question; I don't understand it.

Mr. SOURWINE. You were asked if you were a member of the Communist Party. You framed a reply which put membership in the Communist Party in the context of merely political association. I am asking you if that was intentionally done for the purpose of implying that in your opinion membership in the Communist Party is only a matter of political association?

Mr. STAUVERMAN. I still don't understand what you mean by political association.

Mr. SOURWINE. You used the words first; you know what you meant by them. I am using them in the context in which you originally used them.

Mr. STAUVERMAN. Sir, I claim my constitutional rights in refusing to answer that question.

Mr. SOURWINE. You know, don't you, that the Communist Party is part of a worldwide conspiracy?

Mr. STAUVERMAN. I plead the privileges of the Constitution in refusing to answer that question.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Stauverman, were you a Communist when you were served with a subpena here last week?

Mr. STAUVERMAN. I refuse to answer that question under the protection of the Constitution.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, I would like to submit that, in answering the question as the witness does, it is part of a pattern that we find. We have been told that one of the officials of the Memphis Communist Party has instructed the people when they are subpenaed to immediately consider themselves detached from the Communist Party; then when they actually come to testify, they say they are not now members of the Communist Party, but when you ask them whether they were a member of the Communist Party at the time of the subpena, they claim their privilege. In that way, they claim to have the advantage that when their appearances is reported, they are referred to as ex-Communists or former Communists. Actually they are still Communists, but I think it is part of the pattern, Senator, and I might call your attention to it. I have no more questions.

Mr. SOURWINE. I have two questions. Do you recall that Mr. Lorenz, who was your fellow teacher at LeMoyne, came under suspicion of subversive activity while you and he were teaching at LeMoyne?

Mr. STAUVERMAN. Sir, I do not recall that.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you, sir, secretly help students of LeMoyne to draw up a petition to the secretary of the American Missionary Association in New York, the board that runs LeMoyne College, in behalf of Mr. Lorenz?

Mr. STAUVERMAN. Sir, if I answered that question, you might be able to find a witness to contradict me, and, therefore, I claim the privilege of the Constitution in refusing to answer.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know that there was a student petition in behalf of Mr. Lorenz?

Mr. STAUVERMAN. I never saw any such petition, sir; I don't know whether there was such a petition or not.

Mr. SOURWINE. You state you never saw such a petition?

Mr. STAUVERMAN. That is correct.

Mr. SOURWINE. I am asking you, did you know there was such a petition?

Mr. STAUVERMAN. I heard that such a petition was being circulated. However, I never saw it, and I did not know if such a petition was circulated. I do not know what its wording was or anything about its contents or any of the people who signed it or circulated it.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you tell Mr. Hollis Price, the president of LeMoyne, that you had no knowledge of such a petition and didn't have anything to do with it?

Mr. STAUVERMAN. I don't remember.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you, in fact, have anything to do with such a petition, did you have anything to do with assisting students in drawing up such a petition?

Mr. STAUVERMAN. I will plead my constitutional rights in refusing to answer that question.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Stauverman, did you get into contact with your present attorney through the intermediacy of a third person?

Mr. STAUVERMAN. I don't understand the pertinency of this question, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. I will explain it; the committee has information which leads it to the tentative conclusion, at least, that you have been a part of the Communist conspiracy. You appear here; you are from, at the present time, the North, Chicago; you appear here with an at-

torney from New Orleans. The committee is interested in knowing whether you were put into contact with this attorney through Communist sources.

Mr. STAUVERMAN. Sir, I plead the privilege of the fifth amendment in refusing to answer that question.

Mr. SOURWINE. I have no more questions.

Mr. MORRIS. I have no more questions.

Senator JENNER. I have no further questions.

Mr. MORRIS. You are excused from further testimony; is that right, Mr. Chairman?

Chairman EASTLAND. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. You are excused from further testimony.

(Witness excused.)

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, the next witness is Mr. Greenberg. The reason Mr. Greenberg is called, he resides in New York City and we believe he has been the secretary-treasurer of the Communist Party of Memphis.

Senator EASTLAND. Hold up your hand, please, sir. Do you swear the testimony you give in this hearing will be the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. GREENBERG. I do, sir.

TESTIMONY OF ALFRED HENRY GREENBERG

Mr. MORRIS. Will you give your full name and address to the shorthand reporter?

Mr. GREENBERG. Alfred Henry Greenberg.

Mr. MORRIS. Where do you reside, Mr. Greenberg?

Mr. GREENBERG. 35 West 87th Street, New York City.

Mr. MORRIS. And what is your business or occupation?

Mr. GREENBERG. Before proceeding with any further testimony, sir, I would like to point out that I am not represented by counsel. I do not have advice of counsel. As I notified the committee, before leaving New York, I was subpenaed on Wednesday night, and it would take 2 business days to get an attorney from New York City to Memphis; this was insufficient time and I requested by telephone, by wire, and by special delivery letter a postponement.

I am anxious to testify before this committee, in view of the allegations against me, but I do not feel I am capable to do so without advice. When I testified yesterday in executive session, I was told I was given 24 hours to get counsel.

I telephoned New York and attempted to find out if I could get counsel. I again telephoned my attorney in New York and he couldn't come, but on my behalf he attempted to get competent counsel in New York, but again the notice was too short. Again, on his advice, I contacted a number of Memphis attorneys whose names I can make available to you if you wish.

I was finally able to get Mr. Walter Chandler, who accompanied me here to the executive session here this morning; the former mayor of Memphis who, as you know, testified in the executive session that he was unable to serve as my counsel, but that I had come to him and he did say I had attempted to get counsel, that he was not competent in these matters, that he suggested that I should have counsel of my

own choice who has experience on these constitutional questions, and the court questions and the court decisions on these matters.

For that reason, sir, I respectfully request adjournment so that I can appear before this committee and testify with counsel of my own choice.

Senator JENNER. Mr. Greenberg, as I told you in executive session, to have counsel before this committee is merely a privilege.

Mr. GREENBERG. It is a privilege I wish to exercise, sir.

Senator JENNER. It is not a right. You were subpenaed last Wednesday, and really you are here for the purpose of testifying in this particular area.

To clear the record up, Mr. Morris, what information does this committee have concerning Mr. Greenberg in relation to Communist conspiracy in relation to this particular area, Memphis, Tenn.?

Mr. MORRIS. Senator, we have information and evidence which indicates that, even though Mr. Greenberg is now the assistant editor of a women's publication in New York City, he was very active in the Communist Party here in Memphis for quite a period of time.

For instance, we have been told that he was the secretary-treasurer of the Communist Party of Memphis from the period of 1954 generally. We would have to ask him exactly when that assignment began, and when it ended. For instance, on one occasion here in Memphis he boasted that he had a Communist study group in Memphis for students, which he had developed to the point where they were ready to be recruited into the Communist Party.

On December 17, 1951, there was a meeting in Mr. Greenberg's home, at which meeting Greenberg laid down the law, speaking of Memphis: "Memphis is one of the most important places in the South." He urged the necessity of setting up Communist classes among Negroes and starting industrial cells in Memphis.

We also have reason to believe he was the Memphis correspondent for the Daily Worker, certainly in the year 1952 and possibly later.

Now, during the underground period of the Communist Party in Memphis, it was required that each unit of the Communist Party have a mimeograph machine and paper. Mr. Greenberg was the custodian of the paper and the machine here in Memphis.

We also have reason to believe he was arrested in Memphis July 22, 1950, for obtaining signatures on the Stockholm peace petition without a permit, and when Mr. Henry Clay Moss was arrested in Memphis in September 1953, he had in his possession a list of the electoral districts of the Communist Party which had been prepared by Mr. Greenberg.

We had evidence that, in 1951, he had made intensive effort to keep particular Communists from breaking away from the Communist Party. One witness subpenaed was Rita Handman, who was active in the Communist Party under the name of Ann Bartel. She now is in New York. She was subpenaed but was not able to appear for family reasons. She was director of the southern regional committee of the Communist Party. She was in Memphis March 3 and 4, 1956, as director of the southern regional committee of the Communist Party and on Communist Party business. She had superintended the work of Mr. Greenberg while he was operating here in Memphis and

we were particularly anxious to ask him here in Memphis about that particular activity.

Now, there is much more on this witness, but I do want to show the general nature of the reasons why this witness was called to Memphis, because most of the competency bears on the Memphis area.

Mr. GREENBERG. Well, sir, I am anxious to testify——

Senator JENNER. Pardon me just a moment. I am sure you can see from this résumé of information that this committee has, why you were needed here as a witness in the Memphis area.

Now, you appeared this morning in executive session, which is the custom of this committee, and with you was a very distinguished attorney and public citizen of this community, Mr. Chandler, a former Congressman and former mayor, and as I recall, Mr. Chandler said from what he knew there was no reason why you shouldn't and couldn't testify here this morning.

Do you still feel in view of the information that this committee has already given you, about the matters on which we are going to question you, do you feel Mr. Chandler is not competent to represent you in this hearing?

Mr. GREENBERG. Mr. Chandler told me and told the committee that he felt he was not competent to advise me adequately. He recommended that the committee allow me to have counsel of my choice in New York City to advise me.

I do not feel this is an unwarranted request. As far as testifying to these matters in Memphis, I can testify as accurately in any place in this country as I can here today, but I do not have counsel to represent me and I am unable to testify at this time. I am very anxious to do so in view of the allegations——

Senator JENNER. We have witnesses in this area who could corroborate or deny your testimony, and that is why it is easier and more convenient to everybody concerned to take testimony here.

Now, Mr. Chairman, since I handled this matter before you arrived, since this witness takes this attitude, I do again want to state for the benefit of future hearings that the privilege of having an attorney is only a privilege extended by this committee and certainly is not a right. This gentleman has been subpenaed since last Wednesday and you can easily tell that the work in the United States Senate would be stopped by continuous delays of this type.

However, in view of what has been said, and in view of the fact that Mr. Chandler, as I recall, said in the executive session, from what he knew there was no reason why he couldn't or shouldn't testify, but if the witness feels as he stated, Mr. Chairman, it is my recommendation in this particular case that this witness be given a further extension of time and that he be heard at some future hearing.

Chairman EASTLAND. That will be granted.

Mr. GREENBERG. May I be notified?

Senator JENNER. You will certainly be notified, and in the meantime, you give the name of the attorney whom you contacted and we will notify your attorney when we want you here, and that will not require the serving of another subpena.

Mr. GREENBERG. I notified Mr. Sourwine.

Senator JENNER. Put it in the record.

Mr. GREENBERG. Should I tell him now?

Senator JENNER. Yes.

Mr. GREENBERG. Robert Z. Lewis, of New York City.
Senator JENNER. Lewis?
Mr. GREENBERG. Lewis.
Senator JENNER. What address?
Mr. GREENBERG. I believe it is 11 East 51st, I am not certain.
Senator JENNER. Is he with a firm or an individual lawyer?
Mr. GREENBERG. He is in the telephone book as I am, and have been since living in New York City.
Chairman EASTLAND. Mr. Greenberg, you are not released from the subpena, you understand?
Mr. GREENBERG. No, I am under subpena, but you will notify me of the time?
Chairman EASTLAND. We will give you additional time and you will be notified.
Mr. SOURWINE. It will be of some value to have an understanding that notice will be given to Mr. Lewis if we are unable to get in touch with him.
Senator JENNER. That is the understanding, isn't it? We will notify your attorney of the time.
Mr. GREENBERG. Yes.
(Witness excused.)
Mr. MORRIS. The next witness is Mr. Lorenz.
Senator JENNER. Will you be sworn? Do you swear the testimony you give in this hearing will be the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, so help you God?
Mr. LORENZ. Yes, sir.
Senator JENNER. Your attorney is Benjamin E. Smith?

TESTIMONY OF PHILLIP J. LORENZ, JR.

Senator JENNER. Give your name.
Mr. LORENZ. Phillip J. Lorenz, Jr.
Mr. MORRIS. And where do you reside, Mr. Lorenz?
Mr. LORENZ. Fayette, Iowa.
Mr. MORRIS. Fayette, Iowa?
Mr. LORENZ. That is correct.
Mr. MORRIS. What is your business or profession?
Mr. LORENZ. I am a teacher.
Mr. MORRIS. Where do you teach?
Mr. LORENZ. At Upper Iowa University.
Mr. MORRIS. I didn't hear that.
Mr. LORENZ. Upper Iowa University.
Mr. MORRIS. Upper Iowa University; where is that?
Mr. LORENZ. That is in Fayette, Iowa.
Mr. MORRIS. Where were you born, Mr. Lorenz?
Mr. LORENZ. Atlanta, Ga.
Mr. MORRIS. On April 15, 1924?
Mr. LORENZ. That is correct, sir.
Mr. MORRIS. I wonder if you would tell us of your educational background.
Mr. LORENZ. I received my bachelor of science degree from Oglethorpe University in 1949, and my master of science degree from Vanderbilt University in 1952.
Mr. MORRIS. What university was that?

Mr. LORENZ. Vanderbilt.

Mr. MORRIS. Vanderbilt; I am sorry. What degrees do you have?

Mr. LORENZ. I have a bachelor of scienec and master of science degree.

Mr. MORRIS. Have you attended any other college?

Mr. LORENZ. Yes, I took some courses at Northwestern University.

Mr. MORRIS. When was that?

Mr. LORENZ. That was in 1949, 1950, I think; I am not quite certain.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, what do you teach at Upper Iowa University, Mr. Lorenz?

Mr. LORENZ. I teach physics.

Mr. MORRIS. I wonder if you would tell us specifically what physics you teach at Upper Iowa University?

Mr. LORENZ. I teach general physics; I teach a science survey course known as man of the physical world; I teach an intermediate course known as electricity and magnetism. I teach mechanical thermodynamics and heat, introduction to modern physics, and light, and I wouldn't necessarily be teaching all of those courses in one semester.

Mr. MORRIS. Are you a member of any professional organization?

Mr. LORENZ. I am a member of the Southeastern Chapter of the American Physics Society and the Iowa Electrical Science.

Mr. MORRIS. Are you active in those organizations?

Mr. LORENZ. Well, I would be classified by the rules and regulations as an active member.

Mr. MORRIS. Where else have you taught, Mr. Lorenz; I mean, would you begin with your present job and just go back?

Mr. LORENZ. I taught at Kentucky Wesleyan College prior to my present post.

Mr. MORRIS. That is in Owensboro, Ky.?

Mr. LORENZ. That is correct, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. How long did you teach there?

Mr. LORENZ. Two years.

Mr. MORRIS. When did you come to Upper Iowa College?

Mr. LORENZ. In August or September 1956.

Mr. MORRIS. For 2 years prior, therefore, you went probably in August, 1954, to Kentucky Wesleyan?

Mr. LORENZ. That is correct, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Where did you teach before you went to Kentucky Wesleyan?

Mr. LORENZ. At LeMoyne College.

Mr. MORRIS. That is here in Memphis?

Mr. LORENZ. Yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. When did you teach at LeMoyne?

Mr. LORENZ. From the fall of 1952 through the summer of 1954.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, what did you do prior to your coming here to LeMoyne to teach in the fall of 1952?

Mr. LORENZ. I was a student at Vanderbilt University.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you have any other employment other than your teaching employment which you told us about, Mr. Lorenz?

Mr. LORENZ. Yes, I worked in the Transparent Package Co. in Chicago, Ill.

Mr. MORRIS. At the same time that Mr. Stauverman worked there?

Mr. LORENZ. Part of the time.

Mr. MORRIS. And were you and he both teachers together at LeMoyne College?

Mr. LORENZ. For a period of 9 months, yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you help Mr. Stauverman get his job at LeMoyne College?

Mr. LORENZ. What is the pertinency of the question, sir?

Mr. MORRIS. Well, the evidence indicates to us that both you and he were members of the Communist Party. We want to find out, among other things, whether one Communist Party member helps another Communist Party member to get a job and for what purpose.

Mr. LORENZ. Would you repeat the question again for me, please?

Mr. MORRIS. I wonder, Mr. Reporter, if you will assist me and read the question back?

(Question read.)

Mr. LORENZ. My answer to the question would be as follows: Mr. Stauverman is a very close friend of mine and he visited my house in the late summer of 1953, I believe, sir, and at that time LeMoyne College did not have a mathematics instructor and certain officials in the school when they saw that here was an available man, suggested that he consider applying for the job. I would say definitely, sir, that I was not a major instrument in his obtaining that employment.

Mr. MORRIS. Maybe a minor instrument; is that your explanation?

Mr. LORENZ. Well, insofar as he was visiting at my house, his physical proximity was certainly due to my invitation.

Mr. MORRIS. Tell us this; did you report, after it appeared as if he was coming to LeMoyne University, did you report back to the Memphis Communist Party—this is now in September 1953—that you would shortly have a new transfer to the party from Chicago?

Mr. LORENZ. I stand on my constitutional privilege in refusing to answer that question.

Mr. MORRIS. And to your knowledge, did Mr. McGurty and Mr. Greenberg, who preceded you in the witness chair, thereupon go to Chicago to investigate Mr. Stauverman?

Mr. LORENZ. Once again I claim my constitutional privilege.

Mr. MORRIS. And did you hear that they reported back to the Memphis Communist Party that Stauverman was O. K.?

Mr. LORENZ. I will not witness against myself on this.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, you have been the State literature chairman of the Georgia State Communist Party, have you not?

Mr. LORENZ. I will not witness against myself on this.

Chairman EASTLAND. That is the fifth amendment?

Mr. LORENZ. Well, I am paraphrasing the fifth amendment.

Chairman EASTLAND. That is all right.

Mr. MORRIS. You have been a member of the Communist Party of Atlanta, have you not?

Mr. LORENZ. I will not witness against myself on that.

Mr. MORRIS. From the period 1953 to 1954—and this is the period we are most interested in, as far as you as a potential witness are concerned—were you chairman of the Communist Party of Memphis, specifically called the Communist Party Club in Memphis?

Mr. LORENZ. I won't witness against myself on that, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, have you ever been a member of the executive committee of the Memphis Communist Party?

Mr. LORENZ. I won't witness against myself on that.

Chairman EASTLAND. You think you would be testifying against yourself if you answered that question; is that what you say?

Mr. LORENZ. That is my understanding of it.

Chairman EASTLAND. All right.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you have clandestine meetings—and I use the word clandestine in the sense that you were being very careful in not wanting to be known—with Lawrence McGurty at night baseball games?

Mr. LORENZ. I am a lover of sports, sir, but I plead my constitutional privilege on that.

Mr. MORRIS. Are there night baseball games here in Memphis?

Mr. LORENZ. I imagine there are, sir; there are in most cities.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you attend any of these night baseball games—this is generally now, I am not asking you whom you were with on that occasion.

Mr. LORENZ. I don't really recall, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. You don't recall whether you went to any night ballgames in Memphis?

Mr. LORENZ. Well, if I did, it would have certainly been a rare occasion.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you ever go to a night baseball game with Lawrence McGurty or meet him at a night baseball game?

Mr. LORENZ. Well, on that I claim my constitutional privilege.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Lorenz, your wife is also a teacher, is she not?

Mr. LORENZ. That is correct.

Mr. MORRIS. Where does she teach?

Mr. LORENZ. At the West Union Elementary School in Iowa.

Mr. MORRIS. Where is that?

Mr. LORENZ. In Iowa, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, to your knowledge is she a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. LORENZ. I will claim my constitutional privilege on that, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, do you remember being told by Lawrence McGurty on one occasion to deny Communist Party membership if anyone asked you about it?

Mr. LORENZ. I will claim my constitutional privilege.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, Mr. Lorenz, I would like to show you a paper entitled, "Pointers on Work in the South" which purports to be an instruction to members of the Communist Party as to how they should conduct themselves under certain circumstances, with a view toward preserving the security of the Communist Party. I showed that to you in executive session; I am going to ask you if you have ever seen that before in any other form.

Mr. SOURWINE. May the record show that this is the same paper that was read into the record yesterday by Mr. Mandel?

Senator JENNER. It will be so shown.

Mr. LORENZ. Sir, in regard to the question, I fear that I will have to rely on my constitutional privileges.

Mr. MORRIS. The question was, have you ever seen it before; the other question is, Did you ever circulate it in any form, in whole or in part?

Mr. LORENZ. My answer would be the same, sir.

Senator JENNER. You mean, if you gave a truthful answer to that question it might tend to incriminate you?

Mr. LORENZ. Of course, you understand that I saw that paper in the courtroom yesterday and also in the executive session.

Senator JENNER. But I think the question was "circulated." Did you ever circulate it?

Mr. LORENZ. Well, I claim the privilege of the fifth amendment there; I won't witness against myself and——

Senator JENNER. All right.

Mr. MORRIS. I have no more questions, Mr. Chairman.

Senator JENNER. Any further questions?

Mr. SOURWINE. Just a few, if I may. Mr. Lorenz, were you aware while you were teaching in LeMoyne that a petition in your behalf was sent to New York signed by various students?

Mr. LORENZ. I knew, sir, that such a petition was prepared and that signatures were secured on that petition, and I seem to remember that it was sent to the board, but I can't be absolutely sure on that last point.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ever discuss with Mr. Hollis Price, the president of LeMoyne, the question of whether you had any knowledge about the preparation of that petition?

Mr. LORENZ. I really don't recall.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you tell him you had nothing to do with it and had no knowledge of the petition?

Mr. LORENZ. I don't recall, but I will say this, the petition did not come from me and neither did I encourage getting up the petition.

Mr. SOURWINE. You have stated you knew the petition was prepared; how did you know that?

Mr. LORENZ. Well, as I recall some of the students must have mentioned it to me.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ever discuss that petition with Mr. Stauverman?

Mr. LORENZ. I simply don't remember it, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Lorenz, did you get in contact with your present counsel through the intermediacy of a third person?

Mr. LORENZ. That is correct, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Who was that person?

Mr. LORENZ. Mr. Stauverman recommended counsel to me.

Mr. SOURWINE. You then had contact with Mr. Stauverman before you came to Memphis, after you had been subpenaed; is that right?

Mr. LORENZ. That is correct, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did he call you or did you call him?

Mr. LORENZ. What is the pertinency of the question?

Mr. SOURWINE. Well, you have testified with regard to the fact that Mr. Stauverman made recommendations. I am simply expanding the question. I want to understand the circumstances surrounding this matter. We want to learn whether you asked Mr. Stauverman for his recommendation or whether Mr. Stauverman called and he recommended counsel?

Mr. LORENZ. Could you be a little more specific, sir; I still don't understand the pertinency of the question.

Mr. SOURWINE. When was it after you were subpenaed that Mr. Stauverman got in touch with you, or with him?

Mr. LORENZ. Well, I can't see what this has to do with the legislative purposes of this committee.

Mr. SOURWINE. This committee is investigating Communist activity, and Communist activity involves conspiracy. The circumstances of the appearance of yourself and Mr. Stauverman with the same counsel, a counsel from a different part of the country from that in which either of you lives, and a different part of the country from which the hearing is being held, is a circumstance that strongly indicates that there was some concert with respect to the employment of counsel. The committee attempted to learn from Mr. Stauverman whether there was any Communist activity involved. Mr. Stauverman took the fifth amendment on that question. The committee wants to know what you know about the matter, and since you and Mr. Stauverman have both been engaged, according to the information and testimony which is in the committee's possession, in Communist activity, the committee is endeavoring to find out whether you acted in concert or separately in making up your minds how you were going to deport yourselves when you came before the committee. Now, that is the background of the pertinency of the question I am asking you. Now, I will ask you this specific question. You testified you did get in contact or were in contact with Mr. Stauverman after you had been served with the subpena; you testified here. Now, I will ask you when was that and who initiated the contact?

Mr. LORENZ. I plead the privileges of the fifth amendment.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Chairman, inasmuch as this witness has testified that he was in contact with Mr. Stauverman, and has then proceeded to challenge the pertinency of the question and has now had the pertinency explained to him, I believe he has waived his privilege of the fifth amendment. The fifth-amendment privilege is not a device to be used by a witness when he does not wish to testify; and, since the witness has already stated he was in contact with Mr. Stauverman, it would appear that the details of that contact, at least insofar as when it took place, could not in any way incriminate the witness, and I ask that the witness be ordered to answer the question.

Senator JENNER. Yes: Mr. Lorenz, the Chair so rules, and I now ask that you be ordered to answer the question.

Mr. LORENZ. Will you repeat the question?

Mr. SOURWINE. Yes; after you had been subpenaed to appear in this hearing, when did you get in contact or come into contact with Mr. Stauverman and who initiated that contact?

Mr. LORENZ. Well, I would say it happened in this way, Mr. Sourwine. Shortly after I received the subpena, I telephoned Mr. Stauverman and, since I knew of no attorneys in my area who have skill or background in these procedures, I asked him if he could help me secure an attorney; and it was at that time, of course, that I discovered that Mr. Stauverman had also been subpenaed by the committee, and apparently he had already made some attempt to secure counsel, and I asked him to allow me to, if possible, also use the man he selected.

Mr. SOURWINE. Thank you, sir; now, I will ask you, do you feel there is anything in that testimony that you have just given that is likely to incriminate you in any way?

Mr. LORENZ. Well, sir, frankly, I still don't understand the pertinency of the question. Now, of course, you understand that there is always the danger of an innocent question leading to other questions that might be incriminating, and that was my honest opinion of the matter.

Mr. SOURWINE. I have no more questions.

Senator JENNER. Mr. Lorenz, I believe you stated in executive session you know Daniel West?

Mr. LORENZ. That is correct, sir.

Senator JENNER. Where did you first meet him?

Mr. LORENZ. As I recall, sir, I first met Mr. West when he came to Oglethorpe University as a teacher; I was a student at the time.

Senator JENNER. Mr. Daniel West was a teacher in Oglethorpe University?

Mr. LORENZ. That is correct.

Senator JENNER. Now, did you know him at that time or since as a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. LORENZ. I will not witness against myself on that, sir.

Senator JENNER. Are you now a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. LORENZ. At the present time I am not a member of any political organization.

Senator JENNER. I am not asking you about political organizations.

Mr. LORENZ. Including——

Senator JENNER. I am asking you about the Communist Party.

Mr. LORENZ. I am not a member of the Communist Party.

Senator JENNER. Were you a member of the Communist Party when you received the subpena to be here?

Mr. LORENZ. No, sir; I was not.

Senator JENNER. When did you disassociate yourself from the Communist Party?

Mr. LORENZ. On that, I plead the privilege of the Constitution.

Senator JENNER. The fifth amendment?

Mr. LORENZ. Yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Were you a member of the Communist Party a month ago?

Mr. LORENZ. To all questions of that nature, Mr. Morris, I will have to plead the fifth amendment.

Mr. MORRIS. Were you a member of the Communist Party 2 weeks ago; this is October 29; 2 weeks ago would be October 15?

Mr. LORENZ. I am trying to remember the date when I received the subpena. Could you help me out?

Mr. SCHROEDER. Last Wednesday.

Mr. MORRIS. Last Wednesday you were subpenaed?

Mr. LORENZ. What was the date?

Mr. MORRIS. That would be the 23d.

Mr. LORENZ. Sir, I cannot answer your question then.

Mr. MORRIS. In other words, when I asked you if you were a member of the Communist Party on October 15, you refused to answer claiming your privilege?

Mr. LORENZ. That is correct.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you hear you were to be subpenaed before you actually received the subpena?

Mr. LORENZ. I beg your pardon?

Mr. MORRIS. Did you hear you were to be subpenaed?

Mr. LORENZ. No, sir; I had no idea.

Mr. MORRIS. Until you actually received the subpena?

Mr. LORENZ. That is correct, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. I have no further questions.

Senator JENNER. No further questions. You will be excused.

(Witness excused.)

Senator JENNER. Call the next witness.

Mr. SMITH. Are both of these witnesses now released from the subpena?

Senator JENNER. I can't hear you.

Mr. SMITH. Are both of these witnesses now released from the subpena?

Senator JENNER. Yes, sir; they are excused and released from the subpena.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you, sir.

Senator JENNER. Thank you for your cooperation. Mr. McGurty, will you be sworn. Do you swear the testimony you give in this hearing will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. MCGURTY. I do.

Senator JENNER. You may be seated. Will you give the committee your full name?

TESTIMONY OF LAWRENCE E. McGURTY

Mr. MCGURTY. My name is Lawrence Edward McGurty.

Senator JENNER. Where do you reside, Mr. McGurty?

Mr. MCGURTY. 3658 Townes Avenue, Memphis, Tenn.

Senator JENNER. And what is your business or profession?

Mr. MCGURTY. Until this morning I was a shipping clerk at Richards Manufacturing Co.

Senator JENNER. Here in Memphis, Tenn.

Mr. MCGURTY. Memphis, Tenn.

Senator JENNER. All right; proceed with the questioning, Mr. Morris.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. McGurty, you have been active in the Communist Party here in Memphis for some years now, have you not?

Mr. MCGURTY. Yes, sir; that is true.

Mr. MORRIS. And you have made it clear to us in executive session you would be willing to tell us all about your participation in the Communist Party?

Mr. MCGURTY. I think I made it clear in the executive session that I would talk about my activities in the Communist Party.

Mr. MORRIS. Yes, sir; we appreciate that. Now, Senator Jenner, we were told yesterday by Dr. Franklin who appeared to us as being a rather forthright witness that, after Franklin left the Communist Party, that Mr. McGurty, in spite of the fact that he had been a member of the Communist Party for many years, also left the Communist Party.

We have reason to believe that in March 1957, you asked the Daily Worker people to stop sending the Daily Worker to your home, in about March 1957?

Mr. MCGURTY. No, I don't believe I had any connection with the Daily Worker.

Mr. MORRIS. You no longer receive it, do you?

Mr. MCGURTY. The subscription expired.

Mr. MORRIS. You didn't renew it; is that right?

Mr. MCGURTY. I didn't renew it; no.

Mr. MORRIS. Senator, the personal estimate of myself as counsel, and I think other staff members here, is that this man may be in an area that we should take consideration of. I think there is reason to believe that he has recently left the Communist Party, within the last, let us say, 6 months, or maybe it is a longer period, but let me see. You have been a Communist until recently?

Mr. MCGURTY. I would say it was a lot longer than the period you mentioned.

Mr. MORRIS. Until when?

Mr. MCGURTY. I believe, and I would like to say this, that you mentioned that I have been a Communist for a long number of years. I would say that I had no actual connection for great periods of time with Communist activity, because I would be isolated from it. In other words, when I would be working on a boat, or when I would be working in a small area.

Mr. MORRIS. When did you join the party?

Senator JENNER. Yes, that is the way; when did you join?

Mr. MCGURTY. Well, I told you in executive session that, as far as I could recall, it was either late 1946 or the early part of 1947.

Mr. MORRIS. All right; now, as late as November 1956, you were distributing the Daily Worker, weren't you, November 1956?

Mr. MCGURTY. No, I don't believe that is correct.

Mr. MORRIS. You paid Communist Party dues in November 1956, didn't you?

Mr. MCGURTY. No, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. When did you last pay Communist Party dues?

Mr. MCGURTY. I can't remember the exact date, but it seems to me it is almost 2 years ago.

Mr. MORRIS. Almost 2 years ago?

Mr. MCGURTY. Yes, I think it is.

Mr. MORRIS. Are you sure you didn't pay Communist Party dues in the fall of 1956?

Mr. MCGURTY. I am not sure of it, but it seems to me it is a longer period of time than what you think.

Mr. MORRIS. Well, there are other things, Senator, which indicate to me that the witness did have some tapering off activity, at least it seems to be tapering off activity in about the fall of 1956. I don't care to argue with Mr. McGurty——

Mr. MCGURTY. I don't want to argue.

Mr. MORRIS. Because the time element is not important here, but I think, Senator, since the man has recently left the Communist Party, and generally if someone is in that intermediate state of leaving the Communist Party, emotionally, he is not in an emotional state to be a good witness, I suggest we defer the examination until some further time.

Senator JENNER. It has been the experience of this committee, and we have had other cases just like yours, and that is another reason why we have executive sessions; we have found that people like you who have been members of the Communist Party, in your case since 1946, have a period of what we call twilight in breaking away.

Mr. MCGURTY. May I interrupt you, Senator?

Senator JENNER. Yes.

Mr. McGURTY. I would like to tell you as I did in the executive session that I have no knowledge of any conspiracy in the Communist Party. I have no knowledge of any illegal activities in the sense, when I say illegal activities, any of the known—the regular facts that people say about Communists, as bombing or anything like that. I have never seen anything like that in all the period I was in it.

Senator JENNER. In other words, you just paid dues and carried out chores and assignments?

Mr. McGURTY. No; I was voluntarily connected with the Communist Party; nobody forced me into it.

Senator JENNER. That is what I say, but you paid dues; you were a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. McGURTY. I believed in it.

Mr. MORRIS You went to the New York State leadership school?

Mr. McGURTY. I did not go to any school while I was in the party.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you go to leadership school?

Mr. McGURTY. No, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you ever have any training?

Mr. McGURTY. I had no training except books I have read, or discussions I would have, and at the present time you say I am in the twilight; I don't think so.

Senator JENNER. Are you still a Communist?

Mr. McGURTY. No, Senator; I told you——

Senator JENNER. All right; that is the point I am trying to make. We have had witnesses like you before. Now, we want to help you, we want you to help us.

Mr. McGURTY. Senator, I would like to say this; ever since I had my own mind, I tried to think for myself and the only reason I disconnected myself with the Communist Party was because I was forced to in order to make a living for my family.

Senator JENNER. Economic reasons?

Mr. McGURTY. Economically, yes, sir; I couldn't get a job, I couldn't hold a job.

Senator JENNER. As a Communist?

Mr. McGURTY. Senator, while I was a Communist Party member, people knew my views; people knew how I stood on issues, but, of course, I didn't go around with a label saying, "I am a Communist," but they knew where I stood on issues, and just in June I talked to two FBI agents.

I said: "If you know of any act that I have committed that is against my country," I said, "you should get an indictment and put me before the jury, because," I said, "my past is clear as far as I am concerned." I know you don't believe it, but that is the way I feel about it.

Senator JENNER. Well, this much we do know about you from your own testimony, that you are now no longer associated with the Communist Party?

Mr. McGURTY. That is right.

Senator JENNER. And I think in view of that circumstance, this committee should defer any further questioning of this witness.

Mr. McGURTY. You mean this has to go on for years and years? It was 6 years to the day that I was up here before.

Senator JENNER. That would be up to us to decide. Since you are now disassociated from the Communist Party, you may see fit down

the road somewhere, as other Communists have, to come in and help this committee.

Mr. McGurty. Senator, they do it because they want to be informers; I could never do that. I feel as Senator Eastland said——

Senator Jenner. We are awfully glad that you are not now associated with the Communist Party.

Mr. McGurty. I am not.

Senator Jenner. And that you are not now carrying on activity in the Memphis area, and for that reason I think that this hearing in connection with this witness should be recessed, and we do hope you finally make clear your transition and see our side and realize that this thing with which you were working was a conspiracy. It has been so defined by many people in our country——

Mr. McGurty. Senator, people define——

Senator Jenner. Just a moment, please; as a conspiracy that is out to overthrow and destroy this country.

Mr. McGurty. I deny that.

Senator Jenner. And we want to congratulate you on breaking from the party, and I think at this time the committee will stand at recess. We are to come back in open session at 2 o'clock. All witnesses under subpena will be here at 1:30. We go back in open session at 2 o'clock.

(Witness excused.)

(Whereupon, at 12:15 p. m., the subcommittee was adjourned.)

AFTERNOON SESSION

The subcommittee met, pursuant to adjournment, at 2 p. m., in the Federal courtroom, Federal Building, Chairman James O. Eastland presiding.

Present: Senators Eastland and William E. Jenner.

Also present: Robert Morris, chief council; J. G. Sourwine, associate counsel; Benjamin Mandel, research director; and Frank W. Schroeder, chief investigator.

Chairman Eastland. The committee will come to order.

Mr. Morris. Mr. Reece, will you be sworn, please?

Chairman Eastland. Will you hold up your right hand?

Do you solemnly swear the testimony you are about to give is the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. Reece. I do.

TESTIMONY OF SAMUEL REECE

Mr. Morris. Give your full name and address to the reporter.

Mr. Reece. Samuel Reece is the name.

Mr. Morris. Is that spelled R-e-e-c-e?

Mr. Reece. Yes, sir; Samuel Reece.

Mr. Morris. And where do you reside?

Mr. Reece. I did not get you.

Mr. Morris. Where do you live?

Mr. Reece. 2750 Wilson Avenue, Knoxville, Tenn.

Mr. Morris. In Knoxville?

Mr. Reece. Yes, sir.

Mr. Morris. Were you born on September 21, 1894, at Blaine, Tex.?

Mr. REECE. You will have to ask that question again.

Mr. MORRIS. Pardon?

Mr. REECE. Would you mind asking that question clearer?

Mr. MORRIS. You won't tell us whether or not you were born at Blaine, Tex., the 21st day of September in the year 1894?

Mr. REECE. I won't answer on constitutional rights.

Senator JENNER. I can't hear the witness.

Will you take your hand away from your mouth?

Mr. REECE. I just had my teeth pulled, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. He says he had his teeth pulled and it is difficult to talk out.

Senator JENNER. Speak into the mike; maybe that will help. Pull the mike up, please. Now, what was your answer, sir?

Did you get the answer, Miss Reporter?

Mr. MORRIS. He says he refused to answer, invoking his constitutional right.

What constitutional right, Mr. Reece?

Mr. REECE. Constitution, fifth amendment, of the United States.

Senator JENNER. Fifth amendment?

Mr. MORRIS. It seems fantastic, Senator, that his acknowledging that he was born at Blaine, Tex., on September 21, 1894, could possibly be any link in any chain of circumstances that would lead to conviction for a crime.

Chairman EASTLAND. I am ordering and directing him to answer that.

Mr. REECE. I can't hear you.

Chairman EASTLAND. I order you to answer the question.

Mr. REECE. I did not get the question, sir.

Chairman EASTLAND. Repeat it.

Mr. MORRIS. Where were you born?

Mr. REECE. I decline to answer that question on the fifth amendment, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Were you born in Blaine, Tex.?

Mr. REECE. I decline to answer the question, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. I ask he be directed to answer both questions.

Chairman EASTLAND. He is ordered and directed, on penalty of contempt, to answer the question.

Mr. MORRIS. Are you going to answer the question, Mr. Reece?

Mr. REECE. I decline to answer the question, sir.

Senator JENNER. For what reason?

Mr. REECE. I don't understand you.

Senator JENNER. Why do you decline to answer the question?

Mr. REECE. You have got where I was born there, haven't you?

Senator JENNER. I say why do you decline to answer that question?

Mr. REECE. I stand on my constitutional rights, yes, sir.

Senator JENNER. What constitutional right?

Mr. REECE. Fifth amendment.

Senator JENNER. Fifth amendment of the Constitution?

Mr. REECE. Yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, you joined the Communist Party, did you not, through a man named Kenneth McDonnell?

Mr. REECE. I decline to answer that as previously stated, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, in 1942 you worked for the Government, the WPA, did you not?

Mr. REECE. I decline to answer that question.

Mr. MORRIS. You refuse to answer on what grounds, Mr. Reece?

Mr. REECE. Constitutional right, fifth amendment.

Mr. MORRIS. Fifth amendment. Now, you also worked in a restricted area, shortly after 1942, after you worked on WPA, you also got a job in a restricted area at Oak Ridge, at the atomic energy Oak Ridge institution, did you not, Mr. Reece?

Mr. REECE. I decline to answer the question.

Chairman EASTLAND. Now, weren't you there as a spy? Did you work at Oak Ridge as a spy?

Mr. REECE. I decline to answer, sir.

Chairman EASTLAND. On what grounds?

Mr. REECE. Fifth amendment.

Chairman EASTLAND. Why, any decent man would be glad to answer the question whether he was a Communist spy or not.

Mr. MORRIS. Well, in 1956—in 1956 did you know a woman named Helen Parsons, a Communist Party Member named Helen Parsons?

Mr. REECE. I did not understand you.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know a woman named Helen Parsons?

Mr. REECE. I decline to answer the question as has been previously stated.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know a woman named Maud Russell? She is a woman who lectures and poses as an expert on the Far East. She has been identified to us as a member of the Communist Party. Do you know Maud Russell?

Mr. REECE. I decline to answer, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. During the past year, didn't Maud Russell take Helen Parsons to your home?

Mr. REECE. I decline to answer the question, sir, on the fifth amendment.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, in the early 1950's, weren't you dismissed from Oak Ridge as a security risk?

Mr. REECE. I decline to answer, sir, as previously stated.

Mr. MORRIS. Have you been chairman of the local division of the Communist Party with the headquarters at Mascot, Tenn.?

Mr. REECE. I decline to answer the question.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, while you worked at Oak Ridge, were you a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. REECE. I decline to answer the question.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you have access to any classified material at Oak Ridge?

Mr. REECE. I decline to answer the question, sir, on the grounds it might incriminate me.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you pass out any classified material you may have had access to to any person you knew to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. REECE. I decline to answer the questions, sir.

Senator JENNER. For the same reason, fifth amendment?

Mr. REECE. Yes. sir.

Mr. MORRIS. What has been your education, Mr. Reece?

Mr. REECE. I decline to answer the question on the fifth amendment.

Mr. MORRIS. Senator, in view of the responses, I am getting to the first questions——

Are you a Communist right now, Mr. Reece?

Mr. REECE. Repeat it.

Mr. MORRIS. Pardon?

Mr. REECE. I did not get the question, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Are you now a Communist?

Mr. REECE. I decline to answer the question on the fifth amendment.

Mr. MORRIS. Are there other questions? In view of the witness' stated responses, I think it would be purposeless to go on.

Senator JENNER. No questions.

Mr. MORRIS. Stand aside.

Mr. REECE. Does that mean that I can go home now?

Mr. MORRIS. Yes; you may go.

(Witness excused.)

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Standfield.

I would like the record to show, Mr. Chairman, that Mr. Standfield, the witness now coming forward to testify, declined to testify in executive session, an opportunity we give to witnesses to insure their protection in case we have the wrong, mistaken identity, or in the event that person may have been a member of the Communist Party and has broken away and wants to cooperate with the committee. Mr. Standfield was asked the question, and he declined to testify thereafter.

Chairman EASTLAND. Do you solemnly swear the testimony you are about to give is the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. STANDFIELD. I do.

TESTIMONY OF RUELL STANDFIELD

Mr. MORRIS. Will you give your full name and address to the reporter, Mr. Standfield?

Mr. STANDFIELD. My full name is Ruell Standfield.

Mr. MORRIS. And where do you reside?

Mr. STANDFIELD. 21 Mercer Street, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Mr. MORRIS. Were you born on September 19, 1906, in Dubois, Ill.?

Mr. STANDFIELD. I believe that is correct.

Mr. MORRIS. And where do you work now, Mr. Standfield?

Mr. STANDFIELD. I tell you, that is kind of a funny question to ask. If you would have asked me where I worked up until I was called here, I might not have——

Mr. MORRIS. Up until when?

Mr. STANDFIELD. Up until I was called here, now, because I might not have no job now. So if I told you where I was working now, might be telling a lie.

Mr. MORRIS. Where were you working, then?

Mr. STANDFIELD. I was working at the American Advertising Department.

Mr. MORRIS. Where?

Mr. STANDFIELD. Cincinnati, Ohio.

Mr. MORRIS. In what capacity?

Mr. STANDFIELD. Shipping clerk, assistant shipping clerk.

Mr. MORRIS. All right. Now, you were in Memphis in 1943, were you not?

Mr. STANDFIELD. On that, what has happened this morning, as being here with no representative, no legal advice, I am bound to take precautions to protect myself. This morning a man was denied his constitutional right because he had answered the question before. Now, if you would state the time there—you said 1944?

Mr. MORRIS. Well, we have been informed that you were in Memphis in 1944, worked for the E. L. Bruce Lumber Co. Now, is that information accurate?

Mr. STANDFIELD. I believe it is.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, were you a member of the Communist Party while you were in Memphis in 1943?

Mr. STANDFIELD. I reserve the rights, as an American citizen, of the 1st, 5th, and 10th amendments of the United States Constitution, not to answer the question. However, if I should answer it, I would say this, that whoever, or if anybody has inferred to you that I was, they are misquoting the truth, their father is dead, and their mother was never married.

Mr. MORRIS. You mean—well, are you denying you are a Communist?

Mr. STANDFIELD. I said I took the 1st, 5th, and 10th amendments, and refuse to answer the question, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Well, the committee will——

Chairman EASTLAND. Mr. Standfield, the chair is going to recognize and do what it can to protect your rights. You can't take the fifth amendment, and turn around and partially answer a question. When you do, you waive the right to take the fifth amendment.

Mr. STANDFIELD. I——

Chairman EASTLAND. Now, wait just a minute, sir.

Mr. STANDFIELD. Yes, sir.

Chairman EASTLAND. I know that you are not a lawyer, and I can tell you don't realize the trap that you got yourself in. Now, I am warning you, and that is what the law is. Now, I am not going to make you answer the question. You have waived the right to take the fifth amendment on that question.

But, counsel, he did not know—it was ignorance. I am going to ask him again. But, now, if you waive it again, then we are going all the way.

Mr. STANDFIELD. May I——

Chairman EASTLAND. And make you answer the question.

Mr. STANDFIELD. May I get a clarification on that, sir?

Chairman EASTLAND. Yes, sir.

Mr. STANDFIELD. If you ask me a question, and I take the fifth amendment, you are going to force me to answer the question?

Chairman EASTLAND. Well, you turn right around and waive your right to take the fifth amendment, because in substance you answer the question. You can't say, "I take the fifth amendment, but if I answer it, somebody is lying." You have waived it when you do that. Now, I realize that you did not know what the law was. Now, I am not going to require you to answer it, because I don't think you knew it, but I want you to realize that when you answer like that, now, we are

going to insist on your answering hereafter, since you know what the law is.

Mr. STANDFIELD. All right.

Chairman EASTLAND. We want to be just as fair and protect your rights, and I think it is part of my duty as chairman to protect your rights and advise you what your rights are.

Mr. STANDFIELD. Thank you, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, Mr. Standfield, are you the person who invited Lawrence E. McGurty to his first Communist meeting?

Mr. STANDFIELD. Fifth amendment.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, Mr. McGurty has told someone—I won't identify the person he has told—that you were in fact the person who took him to his first Communist Party meeting. Was that a truthful statement?

Mr. STANDFIELD. I reserve my rights under the 1st, 5th, and 10th amendments.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, do you know a man named Joe Stern of Cincinnati?

Mr. STANDFIELD. I am afraid if I don't take the fifth amendment on that, I will be like the gentleman here this morning who lost his right to take it further on, so I will be forced to take it.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, have you set up a new group—have you and Joe Stern together, jointly, set up a new nonparty group at Cincinnati, Ohio, the purpose of which group is to enable members to keep in touch with the Communist Party, but at the same time truthfully state that they are not technically members of the Communist Party?

Mr. STANDFIELD. I will take the fifth amendment on that. But if I had——

Mr. MORRIS. Could I break that down for you? Could I break it down? Maybe you can answer some part of it and not others. I have asked you if you know Joe Stern, and you refused to answer. Have you organized a group of any kind in Cincinnati?

Mr. STANDFIELD. There is no group in Cincinnati that I know of.

Mr. MORRIS. Have you organized a group of people?

Mr. STANDFIELD. I will take the fifth amendment on that, sir. I haven't got time——

Mr. MORRIS. Now, were you a Communist Party organizer in Texas in 1940 under the alias of George Bradley?

Mr. STANDFIELD. I take the same 5th—1st, 5th, and 10th.

Mr. MORRIS. Have you ever used a name other than Ruell Standfield?

Mr. STANDFIELD. First and fifth.

Mr. MORRIS. Have you ever been a Communist Party organizer in Texas?

Mr. STANDFIELD. First and fifth.

Mr. MORRIS. In 1946 and 1947, were you regularly attending Communist Party meetings at the Union Hall in Charleston, S. C.?

Mr. STANDFIELD. I will have to take the fifth amendment, sir, there on that, as well as any other.

Mr. MORRIS. In 1940, were you president of the Food, Tobacco, and Agricultural Workers Association at Charleston?

Mr. STANDFIELD. I believe the records will show that, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. That is a fact, you were the president?

Mr. STANDFIELD. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. Is your wife living with you at Cincinnati, Mr. Standfield?

Mr. STANDFIELD. I am divorced; I am separated.

Mr. MORRIS. You are separated. In 1945, when you were president of the Food, Tobacco, and Agricultural Workers Association, were you a Communist?

Mr. STANDFIELD. I was not—I will take the fifth amendment.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know where your former wife, Rebecca Standfield, the wife from whom you are separated, now resides?

Mr. STANDFIELD. I can truthfully say I don't know.

Mr. MORRIS. You were divorced on August 2, 1951?

Mr. STANDFIELD. I believe that is correct.

Mr. MORRIS. Sir, I have no more questions of this particular witness. Are you a Communist now, Mr. Standfield?

Mr. STANDFIELD. I will have to take the fifth amendment on that.

Mr. MORRIS. In 1935, you were sentenced to 5 years in San Quentin, were you not?

Mr. STANDFIELD. That is correct.

Mr. MORRIS. And the charge there that you had, you were recklessly in possession of an explosive?

Mr. STANDFIELD. That is the charge.

Mr. MORRIS. Were you, in fact, recklessly in possession of explosives?

Mr. STANDFIELD. When the United States Senate investigated the case, the Governor of Ohio—the Governor of Illinois gave me an unconditional pardon, which I have in my pocket.

Mr. MORRIS. Unconditional pardon. Did you know Al Greenberg?

Mr. STANDFIELD. Where would he be from? I know so many people.

Mr. MORRIS. I see. Well, Senator, I asked him about Al Greenberg. I was trying to ask you questions only to follow the evidence we have on hand. Our evidence indicates Rebecca Standfield, his divorced wife, was associated with Al Greenberg here in the Communist activities.

Now, I am asking if you knew Al Greenberg, the Al Greenberg who was a Communist here in Memphis?

Mr. STANDFIELD. I don't believe I do.

Mr. MORRIS. We have no reason to believe you know him, but for the record——

Mr. STANDFIELD. Well, it is 14 years since I was here.

Chairman EASTLAND. Let him answer.

Mr. STANDFIELD. I say, it is 14 years since I was here, and I had a membership here of about 3,500 members, and several other persons in other unions, and the name just does not linger with me now. If I would see him, I might—or I could. Fairly, I don't think I do.

Chairman EASTLAND. I think he is telling the truth.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you contribute an article to the National Guardian, July 29, 1957, page 2—that is just very recently, July of this year—did you contribute an article to the National Guardian, which is a pro-Communist magazine?

Mr. STANDFIELD. I would have to say I wrote an article for them and released it to the newspapers. I don't know how many printed them.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you send it to the National Guardian?

Mr. STANDFIELD. I sent it out to all the newspapers I had.

Mr. MORRIS. I see.

Mr. STANDFIELD. Well, that I know of, local and national.

Mr. MORRIS. What was the letter about?

Mr. STANDFIELD. Going to heaven.

Mr. MORRIS. Were you urging everyone to go to heaven?

Mr. STANDFIELD. I think they ought to.

Mr. MORRIS. We don't have the article. Do you, Mr. Mandel? I suggest we get the article and put it in the record. Unless Mr. Sourwine wants to ask you——

Mr. SOURWINE. Just want to ask you, are you the same Ruell Standfield who was employed by E. L. Bruce Lumber Co. in Memphis at one time?

Mr. STANDFIELD. That is correct.

Mr. SOURWINE. I have no further questions.

Mr. MORRIS. Stand aside.

Mr. STANDFIELD. May I ask a question? I have come down here and I have lost time and expense coming down here. While you did—you paid my plane fare down here and as far as my stay, and I think there was some left over, however, they did not give it to me to pay the bus fare, the airport bus from the hangar.

Mr. MORRIS. Well, Mr. Barber here—Mr. Barber will take good care of you.

Mr. STANDFIELD. Thank you.

(Witness excused.)

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Ludwig.

Senator JENNER. Do you swear the testimony you give in this hearing will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. LUDWIG. I do.

Senator JENNER. You may be seated.

TESTIMONY OF THOMAS D. LUDWIG

Senator JENNER. Give the committee your full name.

Mr. LUDWIG. My full name, Mr. Chairman, is Thomas D. Ludwig.

Senator JENNER. Where do you live, Mr. Ludwig?

Mr. LUDWIG. 2227 Whittle Springs Road, Knoxville, Tenn.

Senator JENNER. What is your business or profession?

Mr. LUDWIG. I am administrative assistant, United Mine Workers.

Senator JENNER. United Mine——

Mr. LUDWIG. Welfare and pension fund.

Senator JENNER. Proceed, Mr. Morris.

Mr. MORRIS. Where were you born, Mr. Ludwig?

Mr. LUDWIG. I was born at Clarksville, or outside of Clarksville, Ark., Johnson County, on April 8, 1919.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Ludwig, what other employment have you had? You are now a field worker of the United Mine Workers welfare and retirement fund, are you not?

Mr. LUDWIG. I think the title is more like I said it before, but at the same time, I think what you said would be correct.

Mr. MORRIS. It is United Mine Workers Welfare and Retirement Fund?

Mr. LUDWIG. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. How long have you been there?

Mr. LUDWIG. I have been there a little over 2 years.

Mr. MORRIS. What did you do prior to the time you went with the United Mine Workers Welfare and Retirement Fund?

Mr. LUDWIG. Is that identification, Mr. Morris?

Mr. MORRIS. No; we asked you that in the executive session. The reason is, we have information that you have been a member of the Communist Party, and I would like to find out and trace what Communist Party members here in the South have been doing, and we are interested to find out what fields in the South have been penetrated. In fact, according to the evidence, and you may deny it if you want to—well, you may have held various positions. Now, I am asking you what positions you have had before you went with the United Mine Workers welfare and retirement.

Mr. LUDWIG. I would necessarily—I would decline on grounds that my answer might tend to incriminate me, a privilege which I might claim, and which I do claim, of the fifth amendment of the Constitution.

Chairman EASTLAND. You frankly believe if you answer the question, that would incriminate you, is that right—that you would be testifying against yourself?

Mr. LUDWIG. Well——

Mr. MORRIS. Where were you born?

Chairman EASTLAND. Let him answer.

Mr. LUDWIG. It is more like——

Mr. MORRIS. I am sorry; excuse me.

Mr. LUDWIG. It would tend to, I would say it would tend to incriminate me.

Mr. MORRIS. Yes, sir.

Mr. LUDWIG. Might tend to incriminate me, I think is the way I expressed it.

Mr. MORRIS. You want to claim a general privilege under the fifth amendment?

Mr. LUDWIG. Yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. You were born April 8, 1919, at Clarksville, Ark., were you not?

Mr. LUDWIG. Outside Clarksville.

Mr. MORRIS. And you attended the University of California at Berkeley?

Mr. LUDWIG. I did.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you obtain a degree there?

Mr. LUDWIG. Yes, sir, I did.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you do any postgraduate work?

Mr. LUDWIG. No. I started to do postgraduate work, and I dropped out just in time for you to drop out. But up to—I was in the Army.

Mr. MORRIS. I see.

Mr. LUDWIG. And so that is the reason why I did not. I started to and did not.

Mr. MORRIS. And you got out of the Army in 1946?

Mr. LUDWIG. Yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. And entered the Army in 1942?

Mr. LUDWIG. That is correct.

Mr. MORRIS. So you had almost 4 years service with the United States Army?

Mr. LUDWIG. No. Well, it would—no, it was early—it was late 1942 and early 1946.

Mr. MORRIS. Be between 3 and 4 years?

Mr. LUDWIG. Yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. All right. Were you employed by the Farmers Union at Greenville, Tenn., in 1946?

Mr. LUDWIG. Well, again, now, that is like the question I asked you a while ago, if it pertained to the inquiry.

Mr. MORRIS. It is pertinent to the inquiry, because we want to find out whether, among other things, a Communist Party member was able to hold employment in the Farmers Union.

Mr. LUDWIG. I would decline, Mr. Counsel, to answer the question on the ground——

Mr. MORRIS. You would not even tell us whether you were employed by the Farmers Union at Greenville, Tenn., in early 1946?

Mr. LUDWIG. Well, for purposes of identification—explanation, so you will know, so that I will say again the reason——

Mr. MORRIS. You say you were the person?

Mr. LUDWIG. But for identification, that is the purposes I answered certain questions relative to my employment. But so far as pertinency, I would have to say I decline on grounds my answer may incriminate me, and I claim privilege on that.

Mr. MORRIS. Were you a Communist at the time when you were working for Farmers Union in Greenville, Tenn., in the year 1946?

Mr. LUDWIG. I refuse to answer the question, on the same grounds.

Mr. MORRIS. All right.

Chairman EASTLAND. What grounds?

Mr. MORRIS. All right, for what purpose do you refuse to answer?

Mr. LUDWIG. I did not—for what purpose do I refuse to answer?

Mr. MORRIS. Under what claim of privilege? Is it the privilege of the fifth amendment?

Mr. LUDWIG. I claim privilege under the fifth amendment.

Mr. MORRIS. So it may be understood between us, if you claim a privilege, unless you say so, you will be claiming it under the fifth amendment; is that clear?

Mr. LUDWIG. Yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. And if any other claim of privilege other than the fifth amendment, will you indicate then upon what you rely?

Mr. LUDWIG. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Were you in June 1950, district supervisor of the Farmers Mutual Insurance Co. at Greensville, Tenn.?

Mr. LUDWIG. I decline to answer on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. MORRIS. All right. In 1942, were you a member of the Communist Party in Alameda County, Calif.

Mr. LUDWIG. I decline to answer on grounds previously stated.

Mr. MORRIS. In March of 1946, was your Communist Party membership transferred from California to Tennessee.

Mr. LUDWIG. I decline to answer on grounds that the question might tend to incriminate me—claim privilege.

Mr. MORRIS. In 1946, did you have Communist Party registration card No. 93997?

Mr. LUDWIG. I decline to answer on grounds previously stated.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you have a transfer card dated March 28, 1946—specifically, No. 15241—from Alameda County, Oakland, Calif., to Highland Park School in Tennessee?

Mr. LUDWIG. I plead the same answer; I decline to answer on grounds of privilege.

Mr. MORRIS. Did I have the name right? Is it Highland Park School, or is that Highlander Folk School? Can you tell us about that from your own personal knowledge which is accurate?

Mr. LUDWIG. I decline to answer.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, on May 11, 1946, did you attend a Communist Party meeting at Chattanooga?

Mr. LUDWIG. I decline to answer the question.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you open that meeting with the statement, "Now is the time to start a membership drive in the South?"

Mr. LUDWIG. I decline to answer.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you attend later in 1946 the Southern Conference on Human Welfare at Monteagle, Tenn.?

Mr. LUDWIG. I decline to answer on grounds previously stated.

Mr. MORRIS. Well, you protested, did you not, to Judge Medina the fact that he was presiding at the trial of Communist defendants in August 1949?

Mr. LUDWIG. I decline to answer on grounds previously stated.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you remember contributing $60 to the defense of some local Communist Party schoolteachers?

Mr. LUDWIG. I decline to answer on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you once give Lawrence McGurty a part-time selling job for Farmers Mutual Life Insurance Co. at a time when Mr. McGurty was unemployed?

Mr. LUDWIG. I decline to answer the question on the grounds previously stated, that my answer might incriminate me.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know a woman named Helen Parsons?

Mr. LUDWIG. I decline to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. MORRIS. Sir, to your knowledge is Helen Parsons a Communist?

Mr. LUDWIG. I decline to answer on the grounds that my answer might incriminate me, or tend to.

Mr. MORRIS. If I would state that Helen Parsons has stated that you were a dedicated Communist, would that be an accurate statement?

Mr. LUDWIG. I decline to answer.

Mr. MORRIS. Are you, in fact, a dedicated Communist?

Mr. LUDWIG. I decline to answer, on grounds as previously stated.

Mr. MORRIS. Senator Jenner would like to know if you are a Communist.

Mr. LUDWIG. I decline to answer on grounds that the question might—, my answer might incriminate me.

Mr. MORRIS. The Daily Worker as of March 15, 1951, lists you as a sponsor of the American Peace Crusade. You were, in fact, a sponsor of the American Peace Crusade?

Mr. LUDWIG. I decline to answer on grounds previously stated.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Mandel, I think we have an exhibit, a Daily Worker statement to that effect. I don't know whether it is accurate or not, but certainly you can deny it if you like.

Mr. Mandel, have you got it at this time?

Mr. MANDEL. In the Daily Worker, March 15, 1951, page 5, under item 160 among notable sponsors of the peace group in Tennessee, the name of Tom Ludwig is listed.

Mr. MORRIS. All right, I have no more questions.

Chairman EASTLAND. I have no more questions.

Mr. SOURWINE. I just want to ask one question.

Are you the same Thomas Ludwig who was one of the members of the National Committee To Defend the Rights of the Twelve Communist Leaders in 1949?

Mr. LUDWIG. The same Thomas Ludwig——

Mr. SOURWINE. Yes. According to the Daily Worker, September 8, 1950, page 8, under column 3, a Thomas Ludwig was one of the members of the National Committee to Defend the Rights of the Twelve Communist Leaders. I am asking you if you are that Thomas Ludwig.

Mr. LUDWIG. I respectfully decline to answer that question, because my answer might tend to incriminate me, and I claim the privilege under the fifth amendment.

Mr. SOURWINE. No other questions.

Senator JENNER. Stand aside.

(Witness excused.)

Mr. MORRIS. Olga Zenchuk.

Senator, we have considered very carefully the calling of this next witness, who has asked that she not testify. I had a session with her this morning, and she gave me the name of a lawyer, and I called him about her and asked him then if he could be of any assistance to Mrs. Zenchuk. I made the telephone facilities of the committee available so he could talk to Mrs. Zenchuk. And you know, in view of the evidence that she has been active in Communist work, we pleaded with her to testify, and she gave no answer but said she would plead the fifth amendment. And, considering it well and long, we did feel the committee had no alternative but to call her, in view of our evidence that she has been in——.

Chairman EASTLAND. Will you hold up your right hand?

Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mrs. ZENCHUK. I do.

Mr. Chairman, with your permission I formulated a statement this morning. May I file it with the committee and read it to them?

Senator EASTLAND. No, ma'am, we just can't do that.

TESTIMONY OF OLGA ZENCHUK

Mr. MORRIS. Mrs. Zenchuk, where were you born?

Mrs. ZENCHUK. I was born in Montreal, Quebec, Canada.

Mr. MORRIS. When did you enter the United States?

Mrs. ZENCHUK. In 1938; no, 1929.

Mr. MORRIS. Well, you were naturalized in 1939, then?

Mrs. ZENCHUK. Yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you not marry a man named Michael Dalawrak in 1929?

Mrs. ZENCHUK. Yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. And divorced him in 1941?

Mrs. ZENCHUK. Yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Were you a member of the Communist Party in Detroit in the period 1941 to 1949?

Mrs. ZENCHUK. Mr. Chairman, I plead the fifth amendment.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, have you been employed in the United Packinghouse Workers of America?

Mrs. ZENCHUK. Mr. Chairman, I plead the fifth amendment.

Mr. MORRIS. In 1948, did you attend the Michigan State Communist Party convention?

Mrs. ZENCHUK. Mr. Chairman, I plead the fifth amendment.

Mr. MORRIS. Mrs. Zenchuk, have you organized strikes at various packinghouse plants?

Mrs. ZENCHUK. Mr. Chairman, I plead the fifth amendment.

Mr. MORRIS. Have you been financial secretary of local 59 at Detroit of the United Auto Workers?

Mrs. ZENCHUK. Mr. Chairman, I plead the fifth amendment.

Mr. MORRIS. Have you been a member of the Ford and Dearborn sections of the Communist Party?

Mrs. ZENCHUK. Mr. Chairman, I plead the fifth amendment.

Mr. MORRIS. Have you ever taught a Communist Party leadership school?

Mrs. ZENCHUK. Mr. Chairman, I plead the fifth amendment.

Mr. MORRIS. What do you do now, Mrs. Zenchuk?

Mrs. ZENCHUK. I am a secretary of William I. Rosamond in Columbus, Miss.

Mr. MORRIS. And do you reside in Mississippi?

Mrs. ZENCHUK. Yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you keep up your association with United Packinghouse Workers Union?

Mrs. ZENCHUK. Mr. Chairman, I decline to answer the question. I plead the fifth amendment.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you have any association with Carl Winter on May 24, 1952?

Mrs. ZENCHUK. I plead the fifth amendment, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. MORRIS. Pardon?

Mrs. ZENCHUK. I plead the fifth amendment.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Mandel, I wonder if you will identify Carl Winter for the record.

Mr. MANDEL. Carl Winter is a long-time Communist Party organizer, convicted under the Smith Act.

Mr. MORRIS. Senator, I have no further questions. Mr. Sourwine——

Mr. SOURWINE. Where did you say you live now?

Mrs. ZENCHUK. I am a secretary in Columbus, Miss.

Mr. SOURWINE. Where do you live?

Mrs. ZENCHUK. 923 North 10th Street.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are you living there under your own name, under the name Olga Zenchuk?

Mrs. ZENCHUK. No; I go by my husband's name.

Mr. SOURWINE. Dalawrak?

Mrs. ZENCHUK. That is right.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you formerly live in room 3, Sidell's Motel, Highway 45 West, Columbus, Miss.?

Mrs. ZENCHUK. I plead the fifth amendment.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you live there under the name Olga Dalawrak?

Mrs. ZENCHUK. I plead the fifth amendment.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you living alone there?

Mrs. ZENCHUK. Sir?

Mr. SOURWINE. Are you living alone now?

Mrs. ZENCHUK. I plead the fifth amendment.

Mr. SOURWINE. Before moving to Columbus, Miss., did you live in Knoxville?

Mrs. ZENCHUK. Yes, I did, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. In apartment 7, 923 North 10th Street?

Mrs. ZENCHUK. I believe you have that all wrong.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ever live at 923 North 10th Street in Knoxville, Tenn.?

Mrs. ZENCHUK. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. At what address did you live in Knoxville, Tenn.?

Mrs. ZENCHUK. At 2000 Natchez Street.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you live there alone?

Mrs. ZENCHUK. I decline to answer that, sir, on grounds it may incriminate me.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know who lived in apartment 7, 923 North 10th Street, Knoxville, while you were in Knoxville?

Mrs. ZENCHUK. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. You do not?

Mrs. ZENCHUK. Do not.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ever visit that address while you were in Knoxville?

Mrs. ZENCHUK. Repeat the address, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. 923 North 10th Street, Knoxville.

Mrs. ZENCHUK. Sir, that 923 North 10th Street is Columbus, Miss., and not Knoxville.

Mr. SOURWINE. All right, you lived at 923 North 10th Street in Columbus, Miss.?

Mrs. ZENCHUK. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. When?

Mrs. ZENCHUK. I still live there.

Mr. SOURWINE. You still live there. You did not live there at one time, and then move away from there, and then move back?

Mrs. ZENCHUK. I visited my mother for a month, and then went back there again.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ever live at apartment 7, 923 North 10th Street, Columbus, Miss., with a man not your husband?

Mrs. ZENCHUK. I decline to answer that on grounds it may incriminate me.

Senator JENNER. Are you now a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. ZENCHUK. No, I am not, sir.

Senator JENNER. When did you break your affiliation with the Communist Party?

Mrs. ZENCHUK. It was in about August of 1949, August or September, I am not quite sure.

Mr. MORRIS. 1949?

Mrs. ZENCHUK. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. Were you visited by Carl Winter in 1952?

Mrs. ZENCHUK. Sir, I decline to answer that question on grounds that it may incriminate me.

Senator JENNER. Now, if you are not a member of the Communist Party, couldn't you tell this committee, give us some information about this Communist activity?

Mrs. ZENCHUK. Sir, I plead the fifth amendment.

Senator JENNER. I wish you would think that over. You can help us on this. People like you can help this country if you will do it; if you will do it.

Mrs. ZENCHUK. Mr. Chairman——

Senator JENNER. I have no further questions, Mrs. Zenchuk.

Mrs. ZENCHUK. Mr. Chairman, may I again ask permission to read this statement at this time?

Chairman EASTLAND. You can file it with the committee, but we have a rule on that, ma'am.

Let her file it with the committee if she wants to.

Who is the next witness.

Mrs. ZENCHUK. Thank you.

(Witness excused.)

Mr. MORRIS. Senator, Mr. Simon Kasset was supposed to be here to testify, 540 North Prest Road in Chattanooga, Tenn. The marshal, however, tells us he called Mr. Kasset and read the subpena to him and made an appointment to meet him in order to give him a formal copy of the subpena, after which he failed to show, and is now said to be out of town, and the marshal reports he still can't locate him.

Senator, I would like to submit the possibility that in view of the fact that Mr. Kasset has had his subpena read to him on the phone, according to the marshal, and then Mr. Kasset agreed to meet with the marshal, whether there be an actual service of the subpena, inasmuch as all the notice apparently has already been given to the witness, it might be taken under consideration by the committee whether or not Simon Kasset of Chattanooga, Tenn., is in fact in contempt of this committee.

The next witness is Grace Lorch. Grace Lorch, please. Will Grace Lorch please come forward?

Senator JENNER. Will you be sworn to testify, Mrs. Lorch?

Do you swear the testimony you give in this hearing will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mrs. LORCH. I do.

Senator JENNER. You may be seated, Mrs. Lorch.

TESTIMONY OF GRACE LORCH

Senator JENNER. Will you give the committee your full name?

Mrs. LORCH. My name is Mrs. Grace Lorch.

Mr. MORRIS. Where do you reside, Mrs. Lorch?

Mrs. LORCH. And my home is at Little Rock. I was served a subpena on Saturday, October 26——

Senator JENNER. Just a minute, Mrs. Lorch.

Mrs. LORCH. At 2 o'clock.

Senator JENNER. We have to keep order; we have to keep order, Mrs. Lorch.

Chairman EASTLAND. Let me tell the photographer, you can't stand between the committee and the witness.

Are the photographers bothering you, Mrs. Lorch?

Mrs. LORCH. No.

Chairman EASTLAND. We will have them removed if they are. We have to proceed in an orderly fashion.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you tell us, please, where you live?

Mrs. LORCH. I am here under protest, and have been deprived against my will of my constitutional right to counsel. That is my answer.

Senator JENNER. We are going to have order, please.

Mrs. LORCH. I am here under protest, and have been deprived against my will of my constitutional right to counsel.

Senator JENNER. Mrs. Lorch, you are an educated woman. Your husband is supposed to be a college professor. Now, we are coming down here and trying to do a job for our country. Maybe we are doing it backwards. But, please, won't you cooperate and be enough of a lady just to answer the questions?

Where do you live, Mrs. Lorch? What is your address?

Mrs. LORCH. I am here under protest and have been deprived against my will of my constitutional rights.

Senator JENNER. I will ask it again.

Mrs. LORCH. I am here under protest and have been deprived against my will of my constitutional rights.

Senator JENNER. Mrs. Lorch, I will show you why you are here. You are a troublemaker, aren't you? You came in here yesterday just as a Communist functionary to attract attention and attract the press of this Nation, saying this committee was down here to investigate you because you had protected some colored girl over at Little Rock, Ark., in the recent integration affair over there. Now, I am going to tell you, Mrs. Lorch, you may have a speech, and I don't know who wrote it, but we are not down here to question you in any way about Little Rock, Ark. This committee at this time is not interested in integration in any sense of the word. But we are interested in protecting this country against the Communist conspiracy that is out to overthrow and destroy this country. Now, we are not concerned with what you have done at Little Rock, Ark. But we are trying to make you a witness at this time. You would not even avail yourself of an executive session to protect yourself. You wanted to create a scene, and you have accomplished your purpose. And the press has been very helpful with you. But here is what we want to talk to you about. We want to ask you about if you were married to Lee Lorch in 1943. Were you?

Mrs. LORCH. I am here under protest——

Senator JENNER. Well, wait just a minute.

Mrs. LORCH (continuing). And have been deprived against my will of my constitutional——

Senator JENNER. Wait just a moment, Mrs. Lorch. We want to know if you were a member of the Communist Party in Boston.

Mrs. LORCH. I am here under protest, and have been deprived against my will of my constitutional right to counsel. I am here——

Chairman EASTLAND. Your statement you are reading there, would you like to file it for the record?

Senator JENNER. You are trying to hide the fact you are a Communist.

Chairman EASTLAND. And then, so there won't be any question about it; are you a Communist?

Mrs. LORCH. We all know well what Mr. Eastland means by communism. He means—we can all describe it as you would.

Chairman EASTLAND. I have read of red herrings—your kind—all my life. And that is all the questions. We thank you.

Senator JENNER. I am going to read into this record at this time, the purpose or reason why this committee wanted to question Mrs. Lorch. We have information showing she was identified at Boston as a member of the Communist Party several years ago, that she attended the Massachusetts State convention of the party February 1943. She was invited to attend the national convention of the CPUSA in 1945. That in 1945 she was a member of the New England district of the Communist Party. In 1953 she wrote a letter to a Nashville newspaper attacking the persecution of the Rosenbergs, the atomic spies. We have information that she had connection with Junius Scales, the southern regional director of the Communist Party.

Mrs. LORCH. Would you repeat the name?

Senator JENNER. Junius, J-u-n-i-u-s Scales, while her husband was attending Fisk University. We have other things here, Mr. Chairman. I wanted to show that this woman came here to try to disrupt this hearing. She came to try to drag a red herring about this hearing, invoking Little Rock——

Mrs. LORCH. I came here because I was subpenaed.

Senator JENNER (continuing). While we are investigating communism.

Mrs. LORCH. I came here because I was subpenaed.

Senator JENNER. I suggest this woman should be excused, if she is not going to cooperate, if she is going to act against her country, I think she should be excused and cited for contempt for not answering questions.

(Witness excused.)

Mr. MORRIS. Chairman Eastland and Senator Jenner, our recommendation——

Senator JENNER. Let's have order.

Mr. MORRIS. Our recommendation will be deferred as to what disposition the committee will make of the witnesses who were subpenaed here and did not appear for various reasons, and also to reach conclusions on it between the two Senators who have heard testimony, and who will now repair to executive session.

(Whereupon, at 2:50 p. m., the hearing was adjourned.)

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RALPH McGILL

A Nation of Touch-Me-Nots

In reading the news of my trade, which presently is being justifiably criticized because of the buildup on the Vanguard test, I see where there is open protest against portrayal of reporters and their activities in some of the television dramas of our time.

Without having seen them, I am sure they are, as charged, exaggerated and a stereotype. But also I earnestly trust the dramamakers will not pay too much attention to the complaints. This seems to be a time when usually sincere and dedicated handfuls of people are wanting to take Huckleberry Finn, Tom Sawyer, Merchant of Venice and other classics off the library shelves, and some of the old spirituals off the air because allegedly they are not true to life.

This is a time, too, when admen visibly are wincing about being called hucksters or made the subjects of novels like "Zoomar," which has to do with television. "Madison Avenue" is so much a part of modern vernacular it soon will find its way into dictionaries of modern language.

Censors

Television and the movies are belabored by bankers for any characterization of a financial tycoon which does not depict him as a benevolent fellow who scorns money save for the good it will do. Various religious groups and individuals seek to impose their own concept of morality on screen, stage and books. Cartoonists are accused of being left wing if they dare lampoon pulpit, stockbrokers, or in any manner satirize civic clubs, political "leaders" and pompousness in general.

The Ku Klux Klan, when chided for blowing up an innocent man's house, insists it is ordained by God. The race-baiters argue not they, but God, wrote it all in Holy Writ, and therefore it is Christian duty to peddle their inflammatory stupidities.

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The post office deficit is likely to be wiped out by the tons of anonymous letters of complaint and abuse. Postmen are growing humpbacked toting all the hate mail which insists that Christianity doesn't mean what it says; that "Love Thy Neighbor" is strictly Marxist stuff being pushed by Khrushchev; that the Jews are as bad for the country as are the Christians who believe that brotherhood stuff; that the Negro, who is 10 per cent of the population, is about to take over America; that the Supreme Court is made up of Reds . . . and so on.

Anyhow, it is one of those times . . . such as we have known so often in our past. And it, too, will pass. But, meanwhile, everyone is sensitive. And I'd just as soon the newspapers were not upset if a TV drama pictures a reporter or an editor as something a little short of Sir Galahad.

Stereotype

Anyhow, it is a little late. The stereotype of the newspaper reporter was established generations ago. It is not true to life and is often ridiculous.

But, as a matter of fact, it is improving. Not so many years ago the stereotype of the reporter was that of a drunk whose heart of gold and greatness of soul were known only to the beautiful girl reporter. When the Scrooge-like managing editor fired the reporter for being drunk the reporter never failed to celebrate his dismissal at the worst dive in town. There he overheard the information which cracked the great bank robbery case and gave his paper such a scoop that the managing editor had to take him back. In the last reel he sobered up and married the girl reporter.

There was the formula, too, of the drunk reporter who wrote better plastered than sober. While drunk he would stumble on the story of the year and sit down and do eight columns of deathless prose. I've seen a lot of those reporters who "wrote better" drunk than sober. They did, too, but there was a reason. Someone else always wrote the story and charitably signed the drunk's name. But that stereotype is dead. The drunk reporter doesn't fit in anymore. He was a charming fellow, and vastly entertaining. It was odd how no one ever thought about what a wretched life his wife and kids must have had.

Well, anyhow, I hope newspapers don't get sensitive. There already is enough stuffiness.

THE NATIONAL ...

FIRING LINE

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VOL. NO. VII, NO. 6

March 15, 1958

A PETITION TO BAN OUR NUCLEAR BOMB TESTS

On January 13, 1958, DR. LINUS CARL PAULING, Chairman of the Chemistry and Chemical Engineering Division of the California Institute of Technology, presented a petition signed by 9,235 scientists of 44 countries to United Nations Secretary-General DAG HAMMARSKJOLD, urging an international agreement for the immediate end of all testing of nuclear weapons.

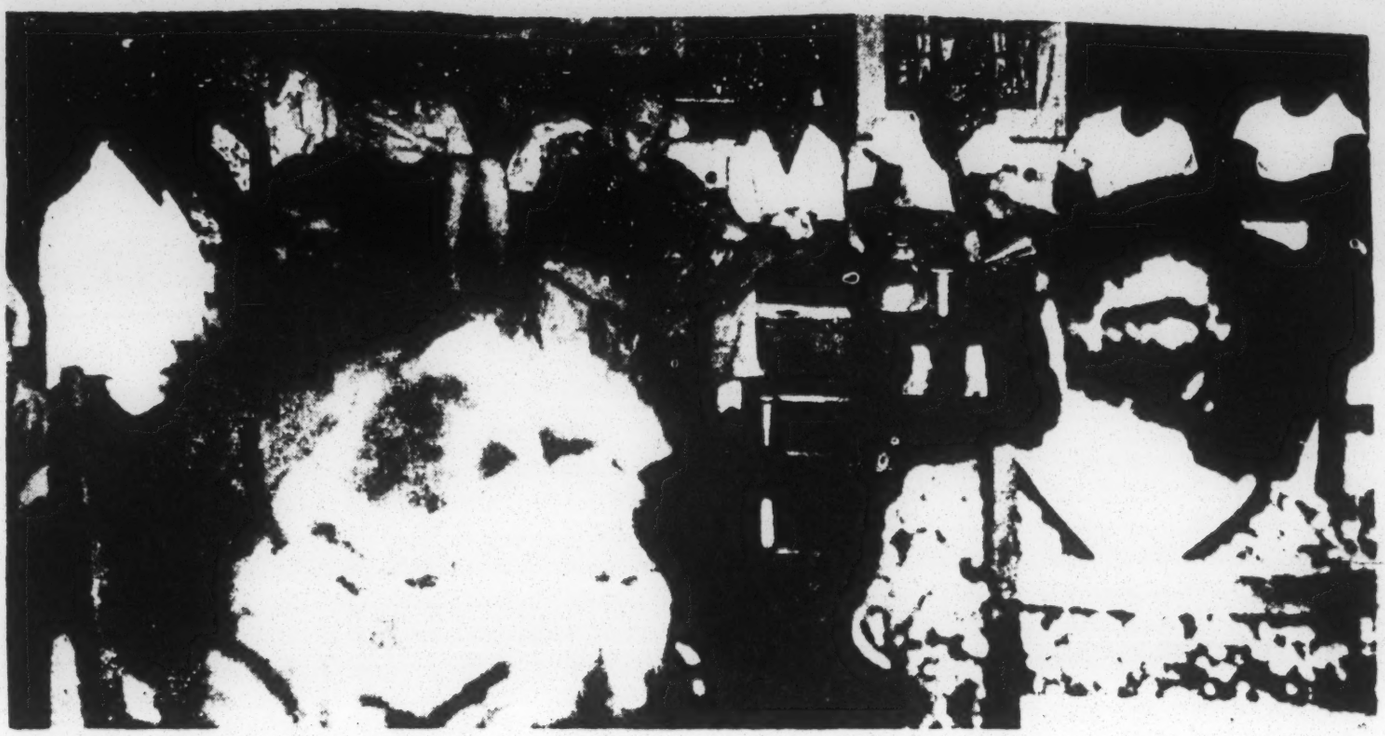
Listed among the 2,705 American scientists whose names appeared in the petition were: C. VERNON CANNON, Yellow Springs, Ohio; EDWARD U. CONDON, St. Louis, Missouri; LESLIE C. DUNN, New York City; MICHAEL HEIDELBERGER, New York City; MARTIN KAMEN, St. Louis, Missouri; EDWIN C. KEMBLE, Cambridge, Massachusetts; ISAAC M. KOLTHOFF, Minneapolis, Minnesota; KARL PAUL LINK, Madison, Wisconsin; KIRTLEY F. MATHER, Cambridge, Massachusetts; PHILIP MORRISON; LINUS PAULING, Los Angeles, California; WARD PIGMAN, Birmingham, Alabama;

DR. WILLIAM WARD PIGMAN was born in Chicago, Illinois, on March 5, 1910. He has received A. B. and M. A. degrees from George Washington University and a Ph.D. degree from the University of Maryland. PIGMAN was employed as a chemist in the National Bureau of Standards during two periods, from 1930 to 1938 and from 1941 to 1944. Upon resigning from Government service, PIGMAN was employed by the Corn Products Company of Argo, Illinois, for two years and in 1946, joined the staff of the Institute of Paper Chemistry in Appleton, Wisconsin. He left this organization in 1949 to become a Professor of Biochemistry at the University of Alabama Medical Center, a position which he presently holds. (See "American Men of Science", Volume I, 1955, page 1519 and "The Evening Sun", Baltimore, Maryland, 12-10-48.)

WHITTAKER CHAMBERS, a former courier for a Soviet espionage apparatus, testified before the House Committee on Un-American Activities in 1948 PIGMAN provided him with secret information for a Soviet spy ring while PIGMAN was employed by the Bureau of Standards. This Federal agency has been previously engaged in testing "some of the Government's most secret weapons and military devices." On December 11, 1948, WILLIAM PIGMAN and his brother GEORGE, appeared before a New York City Federal Grand Jury investigating Soviet espionage activities. After testifying, WILLIAM PIGMAN released the following statement: "I categorically deny that I have ever had any dealings with WHITTAKER CHAMBERS or that I ever knew the man...I further unqualifiedly deny that I have ever given to CHAMBERS or to any other person any unauthorized Governmental information..." (See "The Sun", Baltimore, Maryland, 12-12-48, page 1; and 6-10-49, page 1.)

During ALGER HISS' first perjury trial in June 1949, CHAMBERS reiterated his charge that PIGMAN gave him classified government information for subsequent transmission to the Soviet Union. Last December, PIGMAN addressed the annual meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science in Indianapolis, Indiana, on the subject, "The Ills of American Science and the Lessons of Sputnik." According to PIGMAN, "the triumph of Russian science and technology represented by the launching of the Sputniks focuses attention on poor relations between leaders in science and politics...Our injured national pride is a minor wound if we accept the situation at its true meaning and recognize the illnesses of American science and democracy." (See "Birmingham (Alabama) News", 12-30-57.)

"Truth" P. O. Box 6311 - B'ham 6, Ala.



FRED ROUTH, a headquarters official of Southern Regional Council, 63 Auburn Ave., N. E., Atlanta, Georgia, is pictured above leading a workshop. In at least one of these sessions, the tactics of including women and children in racial demonstrations and incidents was propounded on the basis that police are reluctant to shoot women and children.

Southern Regional Council is the recipient of Ford, Fund for the Republic grants of $497,000.00 Fund for the Republic grants originated with the Ford Motor Company. Southern Regional Council is the parent organization of 12 statewide Councils on Human Relations operated only in the Southern States.

Southern Regional Council has been able to exploit the facilities of religion and education because of a quasi-religious status afforded by occupancy of space in a building owned by a huge church. The leadership of few units of the Communist apparatus have records of Communist affiliations which exceed those of present and past directors of Southern Regional Council.

The Daily Worker, official organ of the Communist Party, credits the foundation of Southern Regional Council to Jim Jackson, Negro Communist presently head of Southern Affairs Commission of the Communist Party. Jackson is also credited with the establishment of Southern Conference Education Fund.; and Southern Conference for Human Welfare, both organizations are recognized parts of the Communist apparatus and have interlocking directorates with Southern Regional Council.

The American Legion *Firing Line*, May 15, 1957, referring to the incorporating papers says "This document, filed in the Superior Court of Fulton County, State of Georgia, listed the names of five incorporators of the Council as follows: Dr Rufus E. Clement, Ralph McGill, and Bishop Arthur J Moore, of Atlanta, Georgia; Dr Charles S. Johnson, of Nashville, Tennessee (now deceased); and Dr. Howard W Odum, Chapel Hill, North Carolina. (See Petition of the Incorporation Book 062, pages 64-67 1-6-44; and "The New York Times", 10-17-55.)

FLUORIDATION DATA TERMED TOO SCANTY

The absence of scientific evidence showing the long-range effects of fluoridated water was decried yesterday by Carlton Fredericks, nutritionist, author and radio commentator on health.

Conclusions from tests on a person with a lifetime intake of fluorine might cause as much concern as those on the results of many X-rays, Mr. Fredericks said. He spoke with other guest speakers on the topic of fluoridation on the WCBS television program "Right Now."

Fluoridation of the city's water supply will be discussed at public hearings before the Board of Estimate beginning March 6.

Mrs. Emily Mehr, president of the Committee Opposed to Fluoridation, argued against fluoridation for the entire population on the ground that the chemical was not beneficial to children more than 10 years old.

Safety of Fluoridation Questioned

NEW YORK, Feb. 20 (AP)—A statement by 300 medical men today asserted fluoridation of drinking water "imposes an extraordinary risk on certain individuals."

The statement, also hitting at what it called use of public water supplies as "a vehicle for drugs," was directed to Mayor Robert F. Wagner's attention by a 13-member delegation of the Medical-Dental Committee on the Evaluation of Fluoridation.

The delegatioin was headed by Dr. Jonathan Forman of Columbus, Ohio.

Public hearings are to be conducted March 6 on fluoridating New York drinking water.

The statement said the signers "are as concerned as anyone over the prevalence of tooth decay, and as anxious that it be prevented; but each of us . . . believes that fluoridation of public water supplies not a proper means of attempting such prevention.

The report said positive proof of the safety of fluoridation was lacking. It criticized proposed introduction of one part per million of fluoride in drinking water as "in the toxic range."

It held that the individual had the right, rather than public officials, to govern his teeth.

It declared a long-time study is needed to determine if fluoridation could be an "insidious factor in chronic disease." It hit also at the "mass medication" aspect of fluoridation, and said "less hazardous and more efficient ways" were available to obtain the benefits ascribed to fluoridation.

Dr. Forman and Dr. A. Allen London, of Boonton, N. J., described the statement as a "strictly professional undertaking" and said it represented the joint efforts of many doctors and scientists in various parts of the country.

At the City Hall discussion Dr. Charles Gordon Heyd, a former president of the American Medical Association, attacked the proposal as injecting "an infinitesimal amount of poison into our water," after Government agencies had spent millions to protect reservoirs.

TRUTH

Anti Nothing except Communism — Pro Nothing except Americanism

Birmingham, Ala. April, 1958

A GLIMPSE AT COMMUNISTS, INTEGRATIONISTS, ONE-WORLDERS AND THE PLOT AGAINST BIRMINGHAM

"Persons making up the Communist network in the South are in most cases highly educated individuals who hold positions of influence in their communities. The Communist network in the South includes housewives, as well as people in the professions and in industry. They appear to have moved with extreme facility around the Southern area and even from California and Texas and to New York while still continuing to maintain their Communist connections. (Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, Press Release, 11-27-57.)

Typical of this Communist network is the Southern Regional Council Inc. No. 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Atlanta, Ga., and its affiliated "Councils on Human Relations." To properly understand the character of the Southern Regional Council, Inc., it is necessary that we examine the history of the now defunct Southern Conference for Human Welfare. On June 12, 1947 the latter outfit was cited by the House Un-American Activities Committee of the Congress as a Communist front organization, and subsequently it withered and died. (See House Un-American Activities Report, Southern Conference for Human Welfare, 1947, pages 1 and 15.) (Or perhaps it went underground only to bob up under another name?)

The Southern Regional Council which was organized in 1944 as the successor to the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Inc., then came to the fore to take the place of the subversive, red-front Southern Conference and has since carried on its work.

The Southern Regional Council is the recipient of the largest single grant ever awarded by the FORD FOUNDATION'S infamous "FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC" having received as of 1956, a total of $445,000 "in support of studies and activities to promote interracial improvements in the South". (SEE Fund for the Republic's, Three Year Report, May 1956, Page 22). An additional $300,000 has been awarded to the South Regional Council by the Fund to the Republic it is disclosed by the American Legion's "Firing Line." (See February 1, 1958 issue of the "Firing Line"). These grants "In support of studies and activities "boiled down to plain honest language, of course, means mixing of whites and negroes from the first grade in our schools on through every level of our society.

After demise of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare many persons who had supported it shifted their energies and loyalty to the Southern Regional Council,

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Ine: Records of the American Legion's Americanism Commission discloses that sixteen (16) former directors of the Southern Regional Council have, in the past, supported the subversive Civil Rights Conference for Human Welfare. The [illegible] of the American Legion also reflect the following nine (9) CURRENT Southern Regional Council Directors have been affiliated with the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. (SEE American Legion "First Line" March 15, 1957 issue page 2). These Directors are: Rufus B. Atwood, Paul R. Christopher, Rufus E. Clements, J. W. Dent, Benjamin E. Mays, E. C. Peters, Josephine Williams, Marion A. Wright and Council Trenholm. Trenholm, is president of Alabama State College, Montgomery, Alabama.

Since 1947 until last year Director of the Southern Regional Council was Dr. George S. Mitchell former Southeastern Regional Director of the C.I.O. Political Action Committee.

Among the organizations which have supplied the Council with sponsorship, speakers, literature, or writers for its publications or have otherwise cooperated are: American Jewish Congress, N.A.A.C.P., National Religion and Labor Foundation, American Veterans Committee, C.I.O. National Urban League, National Board of the Y.W.C.A. National Conference of Christians and Jews, and the anti- Defamation League ofBnai B'rith.

The Council has distributed and promoted the pamphlets of the "Public Affairs Committee", which was founded by Evans Clark, one of the first employees of the Soviet Information Bureau in the United States and Frederick Vanderbilt Field "angel" for Red causes and former Communist Daily Worker columnist.

The Council issues a monthly magazine, New South, which has featured articles by Stetson Kennedy, writer for the Communist Daily Worker, and Federated Press Communist news service.

One of the first projects of the Southern Regional Council was a traveling display based upon the booklet "Races of Mankind." The Council recommended the booklet as appropriate reading to 13,000 police chiefs, sheriffs, and church and community leaders. A special subcommittee of the House Armed Service Committee, appointed to investigate Communist Infiltration of the U. S. Army and its training programs, charged that "Races of Mankind" was filled with "all the techniques—more or less subtly presented—of Communist propaganda."

Today the Southern Regional Council has expanded its activities into twelve (12) States. Virtually supported by the grants from the "Fund for the Republic" it has strengthened its head office in Atlanta and organized Councils on "HUMAN RELATIONS" with interracial boards and staffs in the following States: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia."

The Alabama organ of the Southern Regional Council is the "Alabama Council on Human Relations", offices in the Comer Building, Birmingham, Alabama, on February 14, 1957 the Alabama Council on Human Relations at a meeting held at Stillman College, a negro Presgyterian Institution in Tuscaloosa, Alabama was addressed by Dan C. Whitsett, pastor of the First Methodist Church, Sylacauga, Ala., and by Raymond F. Harvey, pastor of the Greenwood Baptist Church for negroes in Tuskegee, at that meeting the following officers were elected: Chairman, Dr. Duncan Hunter, pastor of the First Methodist Church, Alexander City, Alabama.

Vice-Chairman C. G. Gomillion leader of the current Tuskegee boycott, dean of students at Tuskegee Institute. Gomillion is active in red-front activities and organizations. He is a current director of the SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL and has been affiliated with the red-tinged Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc. (of which Aubrey Williams has been President of Since 1948). Gomillion has recently been exposed by the Georgia Commission on Education as being active in the Highlander Folk School of Monteagle, Tennessee which the commission has charged as being "A Communist Training School."

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Secretary—William Irby, Sylacauga, Alabama; Treasurer—J. E. Brooks, Alabama State Teachers College of Montgomery, Alabama. (SEE Sylacauga News, Thursday, February 14, 1957, Page 2 American Legion's Firing Line, May 15, 1957 issue, page 3; and series of articles in Birmingham News, Sunday, October 6 through Friday, October 11, 1957 by Edwin Strickland.)

Executive Director of the Alabama Council is Robert E. Hughes who resides in the exclusive Honeysuckle Lane section of Cahaba Heights. Since September of 1957 a great deal of Hughes organizing has been concentrated in the Tri cities of Florence and Sheffield and the Tennessee Valley.

The Alabama Council publishes a monthly newsletter it lists its address as Room 1218. Comer Building, Birmingham, Alabama and is signed by Robert E. Hughes. The January 28, 1958 issue of the newsletter, undertakes to outline the development of the situation in Macon County, the County in which 84% of the population is negro.

Hughes ridicules the efforts of the white people of Macon County to ward off domination of their county by negroes. Hughes asserts in his newsletter that the negroes will not settle for anything short of restoration of the original city limits (which would eventually mean that Tuskegee would be completely controlled by negroes from every standpoint) and that the dead-lock now existing will have to be broken by the Federal Courts.

The newsletter very pointedly calls attention to the raids personally led by Attorney-General John Patterson on the office of the Tuskegee Civic Association in July, 1957. The Tuskegee Civic Association headed by Gomillion has boycotted white merchants in direct violation of the law forbidding such illegal conspiracies. Attention is also called to Attorney General Patterson's securing of an injunction restraining TCA from their boycott. Despite the fact that the Attorney General was only upholding the law in the foregoing matters, Hughes acting quite unlike a Man of God, fails to call this to the attention of his readers. Instead, he imputes to the lawbreaking negroes a martyr like quality and to Attorney General Patterson he gives the role of oppressor and villian. By so doing, he is guilty of the sin of misleading by omission. How tragic that a clergyman should sink to this low level?

We suspect that Rev. Hughes, by his emphasis on the part played by John Patterson hopes to defeat him in his bid for the governorship of Alabama in the May Democratic primary by welding the negroes into a one-hundred per cent block against him. Without in anywise favoring one candidate or the other, we believe that Hughes can rest easy on this question, for NAACP undoubtedly has, or will pass out its bloc voting orders to the negro voters, and one finds it hard to imagine Patterson being their chosen candidate. No, the NAACP and Alabama Council choice will be the candidate they consider most pliable to their will; one who will double talk, double cross and do just about anything to gain the negro vote.

The following is a quote from the foregoing January 28 issue of the newsletter "Concern for tenuous economic and political security has been a strong motivation factor as the white minority has witnessed the growing unrest of the 84% segment of the population, the highest of any county in the nation. The average white suffers from a vague obsession that someday the Negroes might be in a position to "take over" with colored sheriffs, tax assessors, etc., creating unbearable chaos."

You will note that Hughes characterizes the apprehension of the white people of Macon County as "vague" if the situation was not so serious, such an assertion would be laughable. Their fear is far from "vague" for their county has more negroes percentage wise, than any county in the U. S. Theirs is a real fear already spelled out in the Communist International Vol. 12 No. 9 "The Negro Question in the United States" entitled "Self Determination for the Black Belt".

Theirs is a real fear, which could come true almost overnight, of a complete domination of their political and economic system by negroes. Is anyone so simple-minded as to suoppse that there would not be a negro sheriff, tax assessor; and other negro county officials? No intelligent person would hardly be so optimistic as to think that the negroes would vote for and elect white officials.

Hughes is the enemy of every white and colored southerner. The Alabama Council on Human Relations which he heads is affiliated with a radical, Communist dominated organization dedicated to the destruction of the South, the "equal" which he promises the negro will eventually be an "equal" amount of chain to shackle him to the plow of the atheistic dictator.

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Hughes should be unfrocked by the Methodist Church, ostracized by his fellow man; and expelled from the South which he so heartily despises, if you are a member of the Methodist Church, ask your minister about the Rev. Hughes, demand that not one cent of your church funds be used for his work, ask why is the Southern Regional Council allowed to occupy the Wesley Memorial Building at No. 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E. Atlanta Ga. which is owned by the Methodist Church ?Ask who assigned Hughes and the other Executive Directors to the affiliated "Councils on Human Relations" in the other eleven Southern States?

The Birmingham chapter of the Alabama Council formed in 1956, has since its inception held meetings in various places including the Chamber of Commerce Building, Negro Miles College, and prior to November 4, 1957 was meeting at the negro YMCA, 326 South 18th Street, Birmingham, Alabama.

During 1956 the President of the local cell was Dr. John Hall Jones, former professor at Howard College and now residing at No. 10 South 80th Street, Birmingham, Alabama. Jones is listed as being a member of the Advisory Board of the **Alabama Association for Mental Health.**

On Sunday, June 17, 1956 a special meeting at negro Miles College the speaker was Dr. John Hall Jones. Jones stated "This integration democracy is for the children, the adults don't matter."

July 10, 1956 at a meeting at the Chamber of Commerce Building, a white minister ldeivering a talk grew quite excited shouting he was "sick of segregation—and that he would eat only two meals a day in order to have money to contribute to the integration cause—This person was identified as Rev. Gerald Harris. Harris has recently assumed pastorate of the First Christian Church in Tuscaloosa, Alabama, and will be a speaker at the State Convention of the Alabama Christian Churches, May 4 - May 6, at Lanett, Alabama.

Editors Note: American Legions Firing Line for May 1, 1957 exposed the "Council for Social Action" which is an official body of the Congregational Christian Churches, listing the active staff and their left wing affiliations).

June 12, 1956 at a meeting held in the Chamber of Commerce building, projects were planned to encourage intermingling among the races in parks, playgrounds, etc., members were encouraged to assume leadership in Sunday School classes teaching young people that integration is the Christian duty.

The Birmingham News of Thursday, January 17, 1957, Page 2: (Quote) "The Greater Birmingham Council is a part of a statewide organization. Its board of directors is composed of Perry Daugherty, Dr. Roger Hanson, Robert Johnson, Dr Beryl McClasky, William Mitch, Rev. J. L. Ware, Rev. J. C. Wilson, Mrs. H. C. Bryant, Dr. Henry M. Edmonds, Peter Cowin, Justine Barker, Dr. Freederick Kraus, Dr. Locke White, Mrs. James Battle, Dr. John Hall Jones, John Martin, Mrs. R. M. Howard, Emory Jackson and Arthur Shores.

On October 8, 1957 at a meeting held at the Negro Y.M.C.A., 326 South 18th Street, Birmingham, Alabama at which there was in attendance some twelve of fifteen white persons and an equal number of negroes. This meeting was completely mixed and every Custom, Tradition, and our State and CITY law was contemptuously flouted and violated.

The speaker at this meeting was Conrad Browne, head of the infamous and illegally operated interracial Koinonia Farm located in Americus, Georgia. During the speech he made in part the following statement; "Some people accuse us of being Communist. Well, I guess we are—"he then went on to revile and attempt to ridicule our American system of free enterprise. On April 5, 1957, a Grand Jury in Sumter County, Georgia, charged in a 20 page presentment that Koinonia Farm "May be a front for the Communist Party." Summarizing its 7 day inquiry, the Grand Jury uncovered evidence the 1,100 acre interracial establishment had "close friends among known Communists and has entertained known Communists". The statement also reflected that the 15 year old "religious colony" may have perpetrated "recent bombings, shootings, and burnings, at the farm. . . . . from the inside to create sympathy and attract financial aid." According to page 5 of the February 25, 1957 edition of the subversive, **National Guardian**, Koinonia Farm was conceived "as an expirement in Christian Communism". (See May 1, 1957 issue of "Firing Line" Page No. 4).

In addition to Conrad Browne the following WHITE residents of Birmingham or

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nearby areas were present at the meeting mentioned above at the negro YMCA.

Dr. and Mrs. Frederick Kraus, 114 Stratford Road, Hollywood, Homewood, Ala. He is a research scientist at the University of Alabama Dental College. Mrs. F. W. Kraus is listed as a member of the Board of Directors of Aid for Retarded Children Assn., Inc. of Jefferson County, 1025 South 19th, Street, Birmingham, Ala. Dr. and Mrs. Kraus are members of the **Unitarian** movement in greater Birmingham.

Alfred W. Hobart, 502 Edgeland Place, Mt. Brook, Ala. Hobart is leader of the **Unitarian** movement in greater Birmingham and listed as President of Greater Birmingham Council on Human Relations. Mrs. Hobart is employed at the University of Alabama Medical College, Birmingham, Ala. (See Birmingham News, Thursday, February 17, 1957, Page 2).

Hobart is listed as Second Vice President of **Social Hygiene and Mental Health Association**, 1912 8th Avenue, South, Birmingham, Alabama (in Jefferson County, State, Local, and National Mental Health activities are supported through the UNITED APPEAL).

Mrs. Arthur J. Tomisek, 142 Spring Etreet, Crestline Heights, Mrs. Tomisek is a member of the **UNITARIAN** movement. Dr. Tomisek is listed as a scientist at the Southern Research Institute, 2000 9th Avenue, South. Mrs. Tomisek is reported to be Secretary of the local "Council on Human Relations."

Mrs. James V. Kidd, No. 86 Fairway Drive. Mrs. Kidd is listed as a member of the Board of Directors of the **Social Hygiene and Mental Health Assn.**, 1912 8th Avenue, South, Birmingham, Alabama.

Albert W. Horn, Formerly residing at 8336 8th Avenue, North, Birmingham, Ala. Horn was at this time an attorney for the Labor Relation Board in Birmingham. He is now living in Washington, D.C. Horn can best be remembered as the student who circulated the petition at the University of Alabama asking reinstatement of Autherine Lucy after her (expulsion) by school officials.

Roland K. Turrentine, 855 Hillcrest Road, Birmingham, Alabama. Thoroughly brainwashed Turrentine is active in solicitation of membership to the Council.

Claude Williams, RFD, Helena, Alabama. The American Mercury magazine issue of February, 1954 in an article by Dr. J. B. Matthews, "Rev. Claude Williams a Communist party member under the name "John Galey."

Williams record on file before the U. S. House of Representatives Committee on Un-American Activities is composed of seven single space type written pages. His record places him as one of the most radical and revolutionaly figures in the history of the Communist party, U.S.A.

Claude Williams record—From the House Un-American Activities Committee' Claude Williams left wing radical record dates back to the early 1930's. In the early 30's he was minister of the First Presbyterian Church of Paris, Arkansas. During his ministry at this church, he carried a continuous campaign of agitation among farmers and workmen urging them to militant action by revolutionary means against our system of free enterprise. Finally, his congregation could no longer stomach his radicalism, particularly his advocacy of violent overthrow of our social, economic, and political systems, and expelled him from the church.

In 1947 the Rev. Williams in company with six other American clergymen, visited Communist, Russia dominated Yugoslavia. Members of this group included Dr. Guy Emery Shiplerand, Dr. William Howard Melish, individuals who like Rev. Williams, have long records of support of Communist front organizations. After returning from this trip, these despicable supposedly "Men of God" issued a report containing high praise of conditions in that Russian satellite, stating among other things, "that religious freedom exists in Yugoslavia." This in spite of the fact that irrefutable evidence from highly authoritative sources gives the lie to this report in toto.

Rev. Williams has been prominently connected with the Peoples Institute of Applied Religion, Inc., an organization cited by the U. S. Attorney General as subversive and communist, and identified in testimony before the U. S. House of Representatives Committee on Un-American Activities as one of the most vicious communist groups in the U. S. In this testimony, Williams was named as Director of the Institute and its location was given as 4105½ 3rd Avenue, South, Birmingham, Alabama.

The Peoples Institute of Applied Religion has for its avowed objective the destruction of Catholic and Protestant religions. In a speech in New York on December 29, 1945 at the National Convention of the Institute, Rev. Williams said:

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"Catholic church religion came into being to buttress the decaying Roman Empire. It proclaimed the divine rights of kings. It prospered and protected lords and ladies. It oppressed and persecuted serfs and chattels. Today this church religion is controlled by a closely-knit politico-economic leadership. This hierarchy has economic investments in virtually every country."

"Protestant church religion came into being to enhance the rise of capitalism. It proclaimed the divine right of property. It defied (Sic.) the kings of finance, the lords of commerce and the captains of industry. Today this church religion is directed by remote control from the Chamber of Commerce, the National Association of Manufacturers and the offices of cartel imperialists. With these it has economic investments in the capitalist exploits of the whole world."

"The People's Institute of Applied Religion, therefore, goes beyond church religion of all kinds. It goes back to the class struggle basis of true religion. It defines, reclaims, and acts upon the democratic dynamic of our **Judaeo-Christian Heritage."**

Rev. Claude Williams was praised in a Daily Worker article entitled "As We See It—Some Solidarity Proposals for Your Christmas List," by Abner W. Berry in the December 16, 1948 (page 9) issue, excerpts from which are quoted:

"The Rev. Claude Williams, head of the People's Institute of Applied Religion is an ardent believer in the dynamic quality of **Judo-Christian** culture. His organization, composed of practicing religionists, is working toward what they believe is a renewal and verification of religious doctrine through application to the problems of the world."

In addition to the foregoing, the following are more of Williams "left-wing Red activities:

1. According to the Daily Worker of March 5, 1941, he was one of the signers of a statement sent to the President in defense of the Communist Party.

2. Former Director of Commonwealth College, Mena, Arkansas, an institute cited by the Attorney General as Communist. (Editors note:) Commonwealth College was founded by the infamous Aubrey Williams of Montgomery, Alabama who was former head of the National Youth Administration).

3. Editorial adviser of "The Protestant's publication cited by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities as "a magazine which has faithfully propagated the Communist Party line under the guise of a religious journal."

4. In 1950 Williams was one of the sponsors of Mid-Century Conference for Peace, a conference cited by the House Un-American Activities Committee as a sounding board for Communist propaganda.

5. Signed letter to U. S. Attorney General Biddle defending Harry Bridges, notorious West Coast Communist.

6. Member of Civil Rights Congress and National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, both of which are on the subversive list of the U. S. Attorney General.

7. Has praticipated in meetings of the National Negro Congress, an organization cited as subversive by the U. S. Attorney General.

Numerous other examples of the Communist tinge of Claude Williams could be cited but space does not permit. Need we say that this man, presently living in our midst, and active in the Birmingham chapter of the Alabama Council on Human Relations, is a dangerous, dedicated agent of Moscow, Russia. Does anyone doubt he and his fellow Reds are working for the destruction of our Republic?

SLEEP! BIRMINGHAM, SLEEP!

The other whites present at the meeting have not been identified or have otherwise denied being present. Due to the fact that the meeting was investigated by members of the Birmingham Police Department some of those present left hurriedly by any available exit like rate deserting a sinking ship. This meeting being in violation of city ordinances remained in session during investigation.

These unidentified persons arrived or left in automobiles having the following license tags. The name of the person in whose name each car is registered on official files is shown opposite the tag number.

1957—1-93980—Roger W. Hanson, 1601 29th Court, South, Birmingham, Alabama. Roger W. Hanson is listed as a scientist at the University of Alabama Medical College. Mrs. Hanson is director and master of ceremonies of the television program "Bette Lee Show". On February 6, 1958 William Ward Pigman appeared on this program. (See reproduction herein for information on Dr. William Ward Pigman). PIGMAN plugging fluoridation on this program.

1957—1-76702—Exchange Furniture Co., R. Burton Zell, owner, 312 Glenwood Drive, East Homewood, Alabama. R. Burton Zell is listed as First Vice-President of

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the Young Men's Business Club. The Young Men's Business Club supported the annual "Brotherhood Week" program sponsored by the National Conference of Christians and Jews, during the week of February 16) - 23, 1958. Zell was Chairman of the YMBC committee. (See copies of "Truth" October, December, 1957 and February, 1958 which exposed race mixing program of National Conference of Christians and Jews.) Thursday, January 30, 1958 WILLIAM WARD PIGMAN at the invitation of Burton Zell was a guest speaker at the Young Men's Business Club, Pigman's guest was Alfred W. Hobart, and a Mrs. Wagner, a paid Secretary of the NCCJ. (PIGMAN again plugging flouridation).

1957—41-1988—Pauline Gravlee, Box 467, Florence State Teachers College, Florence, Alabama, 2 female persons.

1957—1A-22853—Robert E. Hughes, Honeysuckle Lane, Cahaba Heights, Hughes as mentioned before is Executive Director of the Alabama Council on Human Relations.

In a series of articles in the Birmingham News bylined Edwin Strickland, Sunday, October 6, 1957 through Friday, October 11, showing the relationship between racial strife and the Communist Party we are warned of the subtile way communists carry on their diabolical conspiracies in the following words. "Communists are not found on soap boxes or handing out leaflets. They operate from offices and respectable addresses. They are like termites, which enter a timber, gut it to a shell and destroy its streng h before being discovered. In many organizations today, they entered just as unnoticed, work just as stealthily, and in the end bring about the same ruin."

Are there any of these "TERMITES" working in your Church, your Union, your Children's School, Your Civic Organization. These organizations are today the target of an insidious campaign to increase Communist strength. The pressure is tremendous. The Communists are determined to advance their cause by cunning, stealth and downright dishonesty.

These tactics depict, most vividly, the current status of the Communist Party U.S.A. The Party has dropped deeper and deeper underground; More and more of its operations are being carried on in clandestine channels—the training of leaders, execution of policy, holding of meetings.

Membership cards are no longer issued, records have been destroyed, open meetings virtually disbanded.

The party virtually is submerged—only here and there elements protrude above ground.

The rising wrath of the American people has caused the party to seek underground shelter. Prosecutions, investigations by congressional committees, all these factors have caused the Communists to reverse their tactics.

They know the true feeling of the nation, but they will not give up. Indeed Not. They are insidious workers. "Let's infiltrate non-Communist groups. Let them do our work." This is the Communist strategy today.

They want you, the loyal citizens of the nation, to promote their unholy cause. Sounds fantastic doesn't it? That is what they are doing today!

Communist are joining legitimate organizations—a women's community club, a youth organization, a parents study group. They are working hard, taking an active part, Why? To gain control of the organization? No.

The Communist are few in numbers, probably one, two, or even three. They desire to influence policy, NEUTRALIZE actions of groups opposing communism. Perhaps elect a "favorable" candidate, determine a policy decision, postpone action on an anti-Communist decision. In this way, by being inside a legitimate organization, they are misguiding many unsuspecting loyal citizens into support of policies fostered by the Communist.

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Take, for example the issue of "racial violence" or "peace" these topics occupies an important role today in Communist strategy. They proclaim their support for "non violence" or "peace" urging that petitions be signed.

But the Communist role is a phony role. They care no more about non-violence than about peace. They utilize this word to mean a peace in which would Communism reigns supreme, a peace in which free nations submits to the everlordship of the atheistic dictator.

Communist membership has declined. NOT THAT FEWER COMMUNIST ARE IN OPERATION! They simply, for security reasons are not enrolling. THEY STILL ARE HERE, as dangerous as ever before. Their strength lies not in numbers, but in cunning and fanaticism. They have a hard core of disciplined membership, with this nucleus they are enticing non-Communist to support their endeavors.

Communism or the Communist Party is not a political party, has never been a political party, and will never be a political party. It is a way of life-an evil atheistic, malignant way of life, is the Communist party succeeding in its purpose? It is, if you believe the communist menace is lessening!

Remember that eternal vigilance is the price of freedom. Too long we have been asleep. Such groups as the Alabama Councils on Human Relations whose objectives were conceived in the same brains that ordered the blowing out of the brains of the Hungarian patriots and whose crafty and cold-blooded massacres have enslaved more than half the peoples of this earth—and that you and your precious children are high on the Communist list of "expendables" whom they will not hesitate to liquidate unless they can brainwash you into servitude by their dupes and willing tools in pulpits, schools, organizations, and mass communication media. To quote Herb. Philbrick, "They hate your guts! and all that you hold dear!"

The plot against the South and the Nation is clearly shown by the foregoing facts. Note carefully that these organizations and many of the individuals named are operating right here in Birmingham. The danger to our liberties, customs, traditions, and laws is not distant. IT IS HERE RIGHT NOW. Gradually without fanfare, without publicity, they are working against us. Can anyone doubt after reading the facts revealed herein, the dangers they present? Can anyone doubt they will succeed in their work unless patriotic Americans resist and counter-attack. The Southern Regional Council and its Alabama agency, The Alabama Council on Human Relations, have an abundance of money supplied by the "Fund for the Republic". They are guided and controlled by educated, intelligent people, and will inevitably gain their objectives unless the American people awake and demand that they be stopped.

Now is the Time! Ask Attorney General John Patterson to request a Congressional investigation of Communist activities in Birmingham and Alabama? And to begin court actions to outlaw the Alabama Council from operating in your state. He has the power to investigate and make public these facts. Is he sincere in his platform or only rendering lip-service in his bid for the governorship of Alabama?

The Materials concerning the Southern Regional Council and Dr. William Ward Pigman was supplied by the "Firing Line", a fine patriotic publication prepared and distributed by the National Americanism Commission of the American Legion, P. O. Box 1055, Indianapolis, Indiana. The "Firing Line" is dedicated to the exposure of anti-American activities and we recommend it to all thinking, patriotic Americans. A subscription for one year may be obtained by mailing $3.00 to "Firing Line" at the above post office box.

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NAACP AND FREEDOM OF ASSOCIATION

A resolution Adopted by the Biennial Convention
of the
American Jewish Congress
May 14-18, 1958
Miami Beach, Florida

The epoch-making decision of the United States Supreme Court declaring racial segregation in the public schools unconstitutional has given rise to a multiplicity of devices in efforts to frustrate that decision and to defeat or delay its effectuation. These efforts, in addition to perpetuating the denial of equality to millions of Americans, have themselves brought with them a host of other denials of fundamental constitutional liberties. One of the most serious of these has been and continues to be the denial of freedom of association.

Recognizing that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has been in the forefront of the struggle for equality and integration and that as a practical matter the successful implementation of the Supreme Court's anti-segregation decision rests in large measure upon its activities, many of the Southern states have launched a concerted attack upon the NAACP in a determined effort to destroy that organization or frustrate its actions. Practically every instrumentality of law and government in the South has been used to persecute the NAACP. It has been harassed at every turn by new laws enacted for that purpose and archaic laws revived for the same end. Legal processes and procedures have been used and abused to interfere with its legitimate activities. Unfounded charges have been leveled against it. It has been compelled to expose its membership lists and thus subjects its members to the threat of physical injury and economic duress. Registration and tax

laws have been invoked against it. Its officers and members have been subjected to hostile legislative investigations reminiscent of the worst days of the McCarthy era. In general, all of the forces of law and government have been marshalled in a determined campaign to destroy it completely.

This assault upon the NAACP gravely threatens a basic freedom of our American democracy. Whether or not one agrees with the Supreme Court's school segregation decision; whether or not one favors speedy integration, gradual integration or even no integration at all; whatever may be one's views on the entire question of segregation, the danger to our democratic way of life posed by the assault upon the NAACP must be recognized by all.

A totalitarian state is by its nature suspicious of, if not actively hostile to, all associations not dominated by the state and looks to every such association as a potential rival if not enemy. Suppression of independent associations is a normal and necessary feature of totalitarian regimes, both fascist and communist.

Our American heritage proceeds on a different premise. It welcomes voluntary associations as an indispensable aspect of a democratic pluralistic society. It recognizes that freedom of association, like the other great freedoms of the First Amendment -- freedom of conscience and of speech -- are for those who exercise the freedom, but even more for the benefit of the community at large. It protects the people's right to hear, to know, to be informed, so that they may properly exercise their rights and fulfill their obligations as citizens.

As a voluntary organization of citizens formed to protect the rights of Jews, the American Jewish Congress has a special concern with the assault upon a voluntary organization of citizens formed to protect the rights of Negroes. Today it is the NAACP that is subjected to attack. Tomorrow it may well be any other organization.

For these reasons the American Jewish Congress

1. Calls upon all individuals and organizations dedicated to the maintenance of constitutional liberty to come to the defense of the NAACP against the unprincipled attack to which it is being subjected;

2. Calls upon the United States Civil Rights Commission to conduct a public investigation of the extent to which constitutional freedom has been invaded by these attacks, publish its findings, turn over to the Department of Justice any evidence of violation of Federal law that it uncovers, make necessary recommendations to Congress for additional legislation and take all further appropriate action;

3. Calls upon the United States Department of Justice to intervene in the various proceedings in the Southern states that are designed to outlaw the NAACP, paralyze its lawful activity or curb advocacy of its program of desegregating the public schools.

4. Calls upon the President of the United States to realize the vast potentiality for moral leadership inherent in his office by condemning publicly this campaign of suppression and exercising his influence to bring it to an end.

Fellowship With All Races Urged By Southern Baptist Convention

HOUSTON (AP) — The Southern Baptist Convention Thursday overwhelmingly accepted a report calling for strengthened "fellowship with people of every race." The report, by the Christian Life Commission, was assailed by a Georgia minister.

The report denounced "social usages" that "deny basic American freedoms" to any citizen, and said "racial antipathy" at home had impeded missionary work abroad.

It urged staunch support for the public schools, and urged Baptists to "help and not hinder the progress of justice for all peoples."

The Rev. Montague Cook, of Moultrie, Ga., assailed the document, saying its plea for racial fellowship was synonymous with integration. He provided the dictionary definitions.

He also maintained that the action would be construed by the public as representing the opinion of all Southern Baptists, although the convention has no power to impose policy on local churches.

Replied the Rev. Adiel J. Moncrief, of St. Joseph, Mo., chairman of the commission: "We are endeavoring to follow the Bible, rather than the dictionary or press reports."

The convention must witness to Christian principles fearlessly, he said, adding:

"We are not living in a cloistered, sweet, contemplative life amid happy surroundings. On the contrary, we have espoused a militant, disturbing way of life—a dangerous way of life."

Rep. Brooks Hays (D-Ark.), convention president, said principle should not be bogged down in "verbiage and semantics," adding: "We must adhere to the ministry of reconciliation."

"It seems strange," said the Rev. Avery Lee, of Ruston, La., "that Baptists, of all people, should try to delete anything that is termed reconciliation."

The report also condemned the liquor trade, and "traffic throughout the nation in pornography and obscene literature" and called for steps to curb it.

Charges that the Christian Life Commission was using "tainted money" to promote racial concord were thunderously repudiated Thursday by the convention.

By a booming voice vote, approximately 12,000 messengers slapped down a motion that they return a big cash gift made to the commission by the Fund for the Republic.

A Selma, Ala., man, Jack Trammell, launched an attack on the

Continued on Page 7, Column 2

Southern Baptists Urge Fellowship

Continued From Page 1

fund, saying it had been accused of giving aid to communism, and that "we ought not to accept any money that is tainted."

The move touched off a wave of rebuttals. The Rev. Reuben E. Alley of Richmond, Va., editor of a state Baptist paper, said he had investigated the charges thoroughly, and added:

"The fund . . . is absolutely and completely untainted by any relationship to Communist causes. There are no grounds whatever for these charges."

A fund gift of $15,000 to the commission, which works for racial harmony and other social improvements, has been widely criticized in southern White Citizen Council organs.

In the squabble over the Fund for the Republic, a half dozen churchmen rose to defend it, saying it had been the target of scurrilous rumors, misinformation and unfounded charges.

"There's nothing subversive about the organization," said the Rev. Fred L. Bell of Nashville, Tenn. Like Alley, Bell said he had made a special study of the matter.

Other convention business included:

1. The Rev. Paul M. Stevens of Fort Worth, director of the convention's Radio and Television Commission, reported an expanding program of spreading the gospel message on the air.

2. The Rev. Dr. R. Orin Cornett of Nashville, executive secretary of the Education Commission, reported enrollments in 70 southern Baptist colleges have reached a record 59,371.

3. The Rev. Alfred Carpenter of Atlanta, director of the Chaplains Commission, reported that Southern Baptists have their full military chaplains quota filled—with 425 chaplains on active duty.

4. The Rev. Dr. Court Redford of Atlanta, head of the Home Missions Board, described a new program the board has started in New York City to combat juvenile delinquency—one of 43 city mission programs. He also reported steps to help Canada Baptists, and assignment of a specialist to step up work with Negroes.

THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION
May 23, 1958

Let Christians Accept Challenge of Rep. Hays

Christians everywhere, noting the decline of most downtown churches and seeing, too, the shocking percentage of American citizens who attend no church at all, are worried whether the traditional methods of bringing the gospel to nonchurchgoing persons are in need of change.

Southern Baptists, meeting at Houston, Tex., heard their convention president, Congressman Brooks Hays, of Arkansas, say imagination must go along with compassion. He called for head-on action to meet the problems of our time, including that of race.

He told the policy-guiding meeting of what is the South's largest Christian body that there should be no reluctance to confront controversy or the examination of differences.

Congressman Hays said, too, that "traditional methods of extending help to Negro neighbors won't suffice.

"Imagination must accompany our compassion," he said.

Mr. Hays, who was reelected president of the convention Wednesday, also came to the defense of the denomination's Christian Life Commission, which has been under attack from some congregations for its activity in race relations and other social issues.

"I realize we cannot have complete unanimity in these matters," he said, but "it would be tragic for us to assume that we can function as a Christian body without assigning to trusted representatives of the convention the task of pointing out our Christian duty with respect to social evils and current conflicts."

Certainly no one can quarrel with Congressman Hays' premise. The Christian church cannot and must not avoid the great controversial issues of our time. The church itself was founded in the midst of controversy and has lived with it ever since. The major social issues are not dancing, card playing, smoking or, serious as it is, drinking. The great war is on for men's minds and Christians must participate.

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Text of Supreme Court Decision Upholding N.A.A.C.P. in Alabama Case

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, June 30—Following is the text of the Supreme Court opinion by Justice John Marshall Harlan today in the Alabama case involving the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People:

We review from the standpoint of its validity under the Federal Constitution a judgment of civil contempt entered against petitioner, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, in the courts of Alabama.

The question presented is whether Alabama, consistently with the due process clause of the Fourteenth Amendment, can compel petitioner to reveal to the state's Attorney General the names and addresses of all its Alabama members and agents, without regard to their positions or functions in the association.

The judgment of contempt was based upon petitioner's refusal to comply fully with a court order requiring in part the production of membership lists. Petitioner's claim is that the order, in the circumstances shown by this record, violated rights assured to petitioner and its members under the Constitution.

Alabama has a statute similar to those of many other states which requires foreign corporations, except as exempted, to qualify before doing business by filing the corporate charter with the Secretary of State and designating a place of business and an agent to receive service of process. The statute imposes a fine on a corporation transacting intrastate business before qualifying and provides for criminal prosecution of officers of such a corporation. Ala. code, 1940, Tit. 10, Sections 192-198.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is a nonprofit membership corporation organized under the laws of New York. Its purposes, fostered on a nationwide basis, are those indicated by its name, and it operates through chartered affiliates which are independent unincorporated associations, with membership therein equivalent to membership in petitioner.

The first Alabama affiliates were chartered in 1918. Since that time the aims of the association have been advanced through activities of its affiliates, and in 1951 the association itself opened a regional office in Alabama, at which it employed two supervisory persons and one clerical worker. The association has never complied with the qualification statute, from which it considered itself exempt.

A Bill in Equity

In 1956 the Attorney General of Alabama brought an equity suit in the State Circuit Court, Montgomery County, to enjoin petitioner from doing business in the state, alleging that it had violated the qualification statute in many instances and had made and continued to make the state courts a forum in which to litigate its claims against persons who had allegedly injured its members. The complaint prayed for a temporary restraining order, a temporary injunction, and a permanent injunction, and for a forfeiture of petitioner's right to do business in the state.

The Circuit Court granted the temporary restraining order, and on the return of the order petitioner's officers were examined by the state. Thereafter the court, on motion of petitioner, dissolved the temporary restraining order insofar as it prevented the production of membership lists, but continued it in effect in other respects. The court then ordered petitioner to produce a large number of its records, including membership lists, and to permit the state to make extensive inquiry into the business of petitioner in Alabama. The court also ordered petitioner to show cause why it should not be ousted from the state for its failure to comply with the qualification statute, and why it should not be fined for its contempt in failing to produce the membership lists. The court ordered that the show cause order be merged with the ouster suit, and that the contempt fine be held in abeyance pending the final disposition of the ouster suit. The court also ordered that if petitioner should produce the membership lists, the temporary restraining order would be dissolved in its entirety, but that if petitioner should not produce the lists, the temporary restraining order would be reinstated in its entirety. Petitioner did not produce the lists, and the temporary restraining order was reinstated in its entirety.

Petitioner's motion for a remission of the fine was granted in part and denied in part. The court ordered that petitioner should be fined $100,000 unless it produced the membership lists, but that the fine would be remitted in part if petitioner should produce the lists at any time before the end of the five-day period following the date of the order, in the amount of $1,000 for the first day, $2,000 for the second day, $4,000 for the third day, $8,000 for the fourth day, and $16,000 for the fifth day, but that the remission would be forfeited in its entirety if petitioner should be in contempt at the end of the five-day period, and that the remission would be forfeited in part if petitioner should be in contempt in any lesser part of the five-day period in the amount of $1,000 for the first day, $2,000 for the second day, $4,000 for the third day, $8,000 for the fourth day, and $16,000 for the fifth day, but that the remission would be increased to $100,000.

At the end of the five-day period petitioner produced substantially all the data called for by the prosecution order except its membership lists, as to which it contended that Alabama could not constitutionally compel disclosure, and moved to modify or vacate the contempt judgment, or stay its execution pending appellate review. This motion was denied.

While a similar stay application, which was later denied, was pending before the Supreme Court of Alabama, the Circuit Court made a further order adjudging petitioner in continuing contempt and increasing the fine already imposed to $100,000. Under Alabama law, see Jacoby v. Goetter, Weil & Co., 74 Ala. 427, the effect of the contempt adjudication was to foreclose petitioner from obtaining a hearing on the merits of the underlying ouster action, or from taking any steps to dissolve the temporary restraining order which had been issued ex parte, until it purged itself of contempt. But cf. Harrison v. St. Louis & S. F. R. Co., 232 U. S. 318; Hovey v. Elliott, 167 U. S. 409.

The State Supreme Court thereafter twice dismissed petitions for certiorari to review this final contempt judgment, the first time, 91 So. 2d 221, for insufficiency of the petition's allegations and the second time on procedural grounds. 265 Ala. 349, 91 So. 2d 214. We granted certiorari because of the importance of the constitutional questions presented. 353 U. S. 972.

Contention Taken Up

We address ourselves first to respondent's contention that we lack jurisdiction because the denial of certiorari by the Supreme Court of Alabama rests on an independent non-Federal ground, namely, that petitioner in applying for certiorari had pursued the wrong appellate remedy under state law.

Respondent recognizes that our jurisdiction is not defeated if the non-Federal ground relied on by the state court is "without any fair or substantial support," Ward v. Board of County Commissioners, 253 U. S. 17, 22. It thus becomes our duty to ascertain, "* * * in order that constitutional guarantees may appropriately be enforced, whether the asserted non-Federal ground independently and adequately supports the judgment." Abie State Bank v. Bryan, 282 U. S. 765, 773.

The Alabama Supreme Court held that it could not consider the constitutional issues underlying the contempt judgment which related to the power of the state to order production of membership lists because review by certiorari was limited to instances "* * * where the

The New York Times

SPOKESMAN: Justice John Marshall Harlan, who wrote the Supreme Court opinion that said Alabama's fine of National Association for the Advancement of Colored People was illegal.

the writ of certiorari, the Supreme Court concluded that petitioner had been accorded due process, and in explaining its denial the court considered and rejected various Constitutional claims relating to the validity of the order. There was no intimation that the petitioner had selected an inappropriate form of appellate review to obtain consideration of all questions of law raised by a contempt judgment.

State Argument Cited

The Alabama cases do indicate, as was said in the opinion below, that an order requiring production of evidence "* * * may be reviewed on petition for mandamus." 265 Ala., at 353, 91 So. 2d, at 217. See ex parte Hart, 240 Ala. 642, 200 so. 783; cf. ex parte Driver, 255 Ala. 118, 50 so. 2d 413. But we can discover nothing in the prior state cases which suggests that mandamus is the exclusive remedy for reviewing court orders after disobedience of them has led to contempt judgments. Nor, so far as we can find, do any of these prior decisions indicate that the validity of such orders can be drawn in question by way of certiorari only in instances where a defendant had no opportunity to apply for mandamus.

Although the opinion below suggests no such distinction, the state now argues that this was in fact the situation in all of the earlier certiorari cases, because there the contempt adjudication should where possible be avoided. See Ashwander v. Tennessee Valley Authority, 297 U. S. 288, 346-348 (concurring opinion). The principle is not disrespected where Constitutional rights of persons who are not immediately before the court could not be effectively vindicated except through an appropriate representative before the court. See Barrows v. Jackson, 346 U. S. 249, 255-259; Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee v. McGrath, 341 U. S. 123, 183-187 (Concurring opinion).

Right Called Assertable

If petitioner's rank-and-file members are constitutionally entitled to withhold their connection with the association despite the production order, it is manifest that this right is properly assertable by the association. To require that it be claimed by the members themselves would result in nullification of the right at the very moment of its assertion.

Petitioner is the appropriate party to assert these rights, because it and its members are in every practical sense identical. The association, which provides in its constitution that "Any person who is in accordance with [its] principles and policies * * * "may become a member, is but the medium through which its individual members seek to make more effective the expression of their own views. The reasonable likelihood that the association itself through diminished financial support and membership may be aversely affected if production is compelled is a further factor pointing towards our holding that petitioner has standing to complain of the production order on behalf of its members. cf. Pierce v. Society of Sisters, 268 U. S. 510, 534-536.

III

We thus reach petition's claim that the production order in the state litigation trespasses upon fundamental freedoms protected by the due process clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. Petitioner argues that in view of the facts and circumstances shown in the record, the effect of compelled disclosure of the membership lists will be to abridge the rights of its rank-and-file members to engage in lawful association in support of their common beliefs. It contends that governmental action which, although not directly suppressing association, nevertheless carries this consequence, can be justified only upon some overriding valid interest of the state.

Effective advocacy of both public and private points of view, particularly controversial ones, is undeniably enhanced by group association, as this court has more than once recognized by remarking upon the close [illegible] the freedoms of

tute as effective a restraint on freedom of association as the forms of governmental action in the cases above were thought likely to produce upon the particular constitutional rights there involved.

This court has recognized the vital relationship between freedom to associate and privacy in one's associations. When referring to the varied forms of governmental action which might interfere with freedom of assembly, it said in American Communications Association v. Douds, supra, at 402: "A requirement that adherents of particular religious faiths or political parties wear identifying arm-bands, for example is obviously of this nature." Compelled disclosure of membership in an organization engaged in advocacy of particular beliefs is of the same order. Inviolability of privacy in group association may in many circumstances be indispensable to preservation of freedom of association, particularly where a group espouses dissident beliefs. cf. United States v. Rumely, supra, at 56-58 (concurring opinion).

We think that the production order, in the respects here drawn in question, must be regarded as entailing the likelihood of a substantial restraint upon the exercise by petitioner's members of their right to freedom of association. Petitioner has made an uncontroverted showing that on past occasions revelation of the identity of its rank-and-file members has exposed these members to economic reprisal, loss of employment, threat of physical coercion and other manifestations of public hostility.

Under these circumstances, we think it apparent that compelled disclosure of petitioner's Alabama membership is likely to affect adversely the ability of petitioner and its members to pursue their collective effort to foster beliefs which they admittedly have the right to advocate, in that it may induce members to withdraw from the association and dissuade others from joining it because of fear of exposure of their beliefs shown through their associations and of the consequences of this exposure.

The Crucial Factor

It is not sufficient to answer, as the state does here, that whatever repressive effect compulsory disclosure of names of petitioner's members may have upon participation by Alabama citizens in petitioner's activities follows not from state action but from private community pressures. The crucial factor is the interplay of governmental and private action, for it is only after the initial exertion of state power represented by the production order that private action takes hold.

We turn to the final question

1918; (2) has offered to comply in all respects with the state qualification statute, although preserving its contention that the statute does not apply to it; and (3) has apparently complied satisfactorily with the production order, except for the membership lists, by furnishing the Attorney General with varied business records, its charter and statement of purposes, the names of all of its directors and officers, and with the total number of its Alabama members and the amount of their dues.

These last items would not on this record appear subject to constitutional challenge and have been furnished, but whatever interest the state may have in obtaining names of ordinary members has not been shown to be sufficient to overcome petitioner's constitutional objections to the production order.

Cites Ruling on Klan

From what has already been said, we think it apparent that Bryant v. Zimmerman, 278 U. S. 63, cannot be relied on in support of the state's position, for that case involved markedly different considerations in terms of the interest of the state in obtaining disclosure.

There, this court upheld, as applied to a member of a local chapter of the Ku Klux Klan, a New York statute requiring any unincorporated association which demanded an oath as a condition to membership to file with state officials copies of its "* * * constitution, by-laws, rules, regulations and oath of membership, together with a roster of its membership and a list of its officers for the current year." N. Y. laws 1923, C. 664, sections 53, 56.

In its opinion, the court took care to emphasize the nature of the organization which New York sought to regulate. The decision was based on the particular character of the Klan's activities, involving acts of unlawful intimidation and violence, which the court assumed was before the state legislature when it enacted the statute, and of which the court itself took judicial notice. Furthermore, the situation before us is significantly different from that in Bryant, because the organization there had made no effort to comply with any of the requirements of New York's statute but rather had refused to furnish the state with any information as to its local activities.

We hold that the immunity from state scrutiny of membership lists which the association claims on behalf of its members is here so related to the right of members to pursue their lawful private interest privately and to associate freely with others in so doing as to come within the protection of the Fourteenth Amendment. And we conclude that Alabama has fallen short of showing a controlling justification for the deterrent effect on the free enjoyment of the right to associate which disclosure of membership lists is likely to have. Accordingly, the judgment of civil contempt and the $100,000 fine which resulted from petitioner's refusal to comply with the production order in this respect must fall.

IV

Petitioner joins with its attack upon the production order a challenge to the constitutionality of the state's ex parte temporary restraining order preventing it from soliciting support in Alabama, and it asserts that the Fourteenth Amendment precludes such state action. But as noted above, petitioner has never received a hearing on the merits of the ouster suit, and we do not consider these questions properly here.

The Supreme Court of Alabama noted in its denial of the petition for certiorari that such petition raised solely questions pertinent to the contempt adjudication. "The ultimate aim and purpose of the litigation is to determine the right of the state to enjoin petitioners from doing business in Alabama. That question, however, is not before us in this proceeding." 265 Ala., at 352, 91 So. 2d, at 216. The proper method for raising questions in the state appellate courts pertinent to the underlying suit for an injunction appears to be by appeal, after a hearing on the merits and final judgment by the lower state court. Only from the disposition of such an appeal can review be sought here.

For the reasons stated, the judgment of the Supreme Court of Alabama must be reversed and the case remanded for proceedings not inconsistent with this opinion.

ALABAMA DENIED ACCESS TO ROLLS

Continued From Page 1

state corporations doing business in the state to register and designate an agent to receive legal process. This is a standard corporation law that

interest of its own. An example was the approval of the Taft-Hartley Act's requirement that union leaders swear they are not Communists.

But in this case, the justice wrote, Alabama has demonstrated no interest "sufficient to justify the deterrent effect" on freedom of association.

The original purpose of the Alabama litigation was to find out whether the N. A. A. C. P. was doing enough business in the state to require its registra-

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of business and an agent to receive service of process. The statute imposes a fine on a corporation transacting intrastate business before qualifying and provides for criminal prosecution of officers of such a corporation. Ala. code, 1940, Tit. 10, Sections 192-198.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is a nonprofit membership corporation organized under the laws of New York. Its purposes, fostered on a nationwide basis, are those indicated by its name, and it operates through chartered affiliates which are independent unincorporated associations, with membership therein equivalent to membership in petitioner.

The first Alabama affiliates were chartered in 1918. Since that time the aims of the association have been advanced through activities of its affiliates, and in 1951 the association itself opened a regional office in Alabama, at which it employed two supervisory persons and one clerical worker. The association has never complied with the qualification statute, from which it considered itself exempt.

A Bill in Equity

In 1956 the Attorney General of Alabama brought an equity suit in the State Circuit Court, Montgomery County, to enjoin the association from conducting further activities within, and to oust it from, the state. Among other things the bill in equity alleged that the association had opened a regional office and had organized various affiliates in Alabama; had recruited members and solicited contributions within the state; had given financial support and furnished legal assistance to Negro students seeking admission to the State University; and had supported a Negro boycott of the bus lines in Montgomery to compel the seating of passengers without regard to race.

The bill recited that the association, by continuing to do business in Alabama without complying with the qualification statute, was "* * * causing irreparable injury to the property and civil rights of the residents and citizens of the State of Alabama for which criminal prosecution and civil actions at law afford no adequate relief * * *." On the day the complaint was filed, the Circuit Court issued ex parte an order restraining the association, pendente lite, from engaging in further activities within the state and forbidding it to take any steps to qualify itself to do business therein.

Petitioner demurred to the allegations of the bill and moved to dissolve the restraining order. It contended that its activities did not subject it to the qualification requirements of the statute and that in any event what the state sought to accomplish by its suit would violate rights to freedom of speech and assembly guaranteed under the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

Before the date set for a hearing on this motion, the state moved for the production of a large number of the association's records and papers, including bank statements, leases, deeds and records containing the names and addresses of all Alabama "members" and "agents" of the association. It alleged that all such documents were necessary for adequate preparation for the hearing, in view of petitioner's denial of the conduct of intrastate business within the meaning of the qualification statute. Over petitioner's objections, the court ordered the production of a substantial part of the requested records, including the membership lists, and postponed the hearing on the restraining order to a date later than the time ordered for production.

An Answer to the Bill

Thereafter petitioner filed its answer to the bill in equity. It admitted its Alabama activities substantially as alleged in the complaint and that it had not qualified to do business in the state.

Although still disclaiming the statute's application to it, petitioner offered to qualify if the bar from qualification made part of the restraining order were lifted, and it submitted with the answer an executed set of the forms required by the statute.

However, petitioner did not comply with the production order, and for this failure was adjudged in civil contempt and fined $10,000. The contempt judgment provided that the fine would be subject to reduction or on procedural grounds. 265 Ala. 349, 91 So. 2d 214. We granted certiorari because of the importance of the constitutional questions presented. 353 U. S. 972.

Contention Taken Up

We address ourselves first to respondent's contention that we lack jurisdiction because the denial of certiorari by the Supreme Court of Alabama rests on an independent non-Federal ground, namely, that petitioner in applying for certiorari had pursued the wrong appellate remedy under state law.

Respondent recognizes that our jurisdiction is not defeated if the non-Federal ground relied on by the state court is "without any fair or substantial support," Ward v. Board of County Commissioners, 253 U. S. 17, 22. It thus becomes our duty to ascertain, "* * * in order that constitutional guarantees may appropriately be enforced, whether the asserted non-Federal ground independently and adequately supports the judgment." Abie State Bank v. Bryan, 282 U. S. 765, 773.

The Alabama Supreme Court held that it could not consider the constitutional issues underlying the contempt judgment which related to the power of the state to order production of membership lists because review by certiorari was limited to instances "* * * where the court lacked jurisdiction of the proceeding, or where on the face of it the order disobeyed was void, or where procedural requirements with respect to citation for contempt and the like were not observed, or where the fact of contempt is not sustained * * *." 265 Ala., at 353, 91 So. 2d, at 217.

The proper means for petitioner to obtain review of the judgment in light of its Constitutional claims, said the court, was by way of mandamus to quash the discovery order prior to the contempt adjudication. Because of petitioner's failure to pursue this remedy, its challenge to the contempt order was restricted to the above grounds. Apparently not deeming the Constitutional objections to draw into question whether "on the face of it the order disobeyed was void," the court found no infirmity in the contempt judgment under this limited scope of review. At the same time it did go on to consider petitioner's Constitutional challenge to the order to produce membership lists but found it untenable since membership lists were not privileged against disclosure pursuant to reasonable state demands and since the privilege against self-incrimination was not available to corporations.

Earlier Ruling Cited

We are unable to reconcile the procedural holding of the Alabama Supreme Court in the present case with its past unambiguous holdings as to the scope of review available upon a writ of certiorari addressed to a contempt judgment. As early as 1909 that court said in such a case, ex parte Dickens, 162 Ala. 272, at 276, 279-280, 50 So. 218, at 220, 221:

"Originally, on certiorari, only the question of jurisdiction was inquired into; but this limit has been removed, and now the court 'examines the law questions involved in the case which may affect its merits.' * * * The judgment of this court is that the proper way to review the action of the court in cases of this kind is by certiorari, and not by appeal.

"We think that certiorari is a better remedy than mandamus, because the office of a 'mandamus' is to require the lower court or judge to act, and not 'to correct error or to reverse judicial action'; * * * whereas, in a proceeding by certiorari, errors of law in the judicial action of the lower court may be inquired into and corrected."

This statement was in full accord with the earlier case of ex parte Boscowitz, 84 Ala. 463, 4 So. 279, and the practice in the later Alabama cases, until we reach the present one, appears to have been entirely consistent with this rule. See ex parte Wheeler, 231 Ala. 356, 358, 165 So. 74, 75-76; ex parte Blakey, 240 Ala. 517, 199 So. 857; ex parte Sellers, 250 Ala. 87, 88, 33 So. 2d 349, 350.

For example, in ex parte Morris, 252 Ala. 551, 42 So. 2d 17, decided as late as 1949, the petitioner had been held in contempt for his refusal to obey a court order to produce names of members of the Ku Klux Klan. On writ of certiorari, Constitutional grounds were urged in part for reversal of the contempt conviction. In denying rejected various Constitutional claims relating to the validity of the order. There was no intimation that the petitioner had selected an inappropriate form of appellate review to obtain consideration of all questions of law raised by a contempt judgment.

State Argument Cited

The Alabama cases do indicate, as was said in the opinion below, that an order requiring production of evidence "* * * may be reviewed on petition for mandamus." 265 Ala., at 353, 91 So. 2d, at 217. See ex parte Hart, 240 Ala. 642, 200 so. 783; cf. ex parte Driver, 255 Ala. 118, 50 so. 2d 413. But we can discover nothing in the prior state cases which suggests that mandamus is the exclusive remedy for reviewing court orders after disobedience of them has led to contempt judgments. Nor, so far as we can find, do any of these prior decisions indicate that the validity of such orders can be drawn in question by way of certiorari only in instances where a defendant had no opportunity to apply for mandamus.

Although the opinion below suggests no such distinction, the state now argues that this was in fact the situation in all of the earlier certiorari cases, because there the contempt adjudications, unlike here, had followed almost immediately the disobedience to the court orders. Even if that is indeed the rationale of the Alabama Supreme Court's present decision, such a local procedural rule, although it may now appear in retrospect to form part of a constituent pattern of procedures to obtain appellate review, cannot avail the state here, because petitioner could not fairly be deemed to have been apprised of its existence. Novelty in procedural requirements cannot be permitted to thwart review in this court applied for by those who, in justified reliance upon prior decision, seek vindication in state courts of their Federal constitutional rights, cf. Brinkerhoff-Faris Co. v. Hill, 281 U. S. 673.

That there was justified reliance here is further indicated by what the Alabama Supreme Court said in disposing of petitioner's motion for a stay of the first contempt judgment in this case. This motion, which was filed prior to the final contempt judgment and which stressed constitutional issues, recited that "the only way in which the [association] can seek a review of the validity of the order upon which the adjudication of contempt is based [is] by filing a petition for writ of certiorari in this court." In denying the motion, 265 Ala. 356, 357, 91 So. 2d 220, 221, the Supreme Court stated:

"It is the established rule of this court that the proper method of reviewing a judgment for civil contempt of the kind here involved is by a petition for common law writ of certiorari. * * *

"But the petitioner here has not applied for writ of certiorari, and we do not feel that the petition [for a stay] presently before us warrants our interference with the judgment of the Circuit Court of Montgomery County here sought to be stayed."

We hold that this court has jurisdiction to entertain petitioner's Federal claims.

II

The association both urges that it is constitutionally entitled to resist official inquiry into its membership lists, and that it may assert, on behalf of its members, a right personal to them to be protected from compelled disclosure by the state of their affiliation with the association as revealed by the membership lists.

We think that petitioner argues more appropriately the rights of its members, and that its nexus with them is sufficient to permit that it act as their representative before this court. In so concluding, we reject respondent's argument that the association lacks standing to assert here Constitutional rights pertaining to the members, who are not, of course, parties to the litigation.

To limit the breadth of issues which must be dealt with in particular litigation, this court has generally insisted that parties rely only on Constitutional rights which are personal to themselves. Tieston v. Ullman, 318 U. S. 44; Robertson and Kirkham, jurisdiction of the Supreme Court (1951 ed.) Section 298. This rule is related to the broader doctrine that constitu- cial support and membership may be aversely affected if production is compelled is a further factor pointing towards our holding that petitioner has standing to complain of the production order on behalf of its members, cf. Pierce v. Society of Sisters, 268 U. S. 510, 534-536.

III

We thus reach petition's claim that the production order in the state litigation trespasses upon fundamental freedoms protected by the due process clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. Petitioner argues that in view of the facts and circumstances shown in the record, the effect of compelled disclosure of the membership lists will be to abridge the rights of its rank-and-file members to engage in lawful association in support of their common beliefs. It contends that governmental action which, although not directly suppressing association, nevertheless carries this consequence, can be justified only upon some overriding valid interest of the state.

Effective advocacy of both public and private points of view, particularly controversial ones, is undeniably enhanced by group association, as this court has more than once recognized by remarking upon the close nexus between the freedoms of speech and assembly. De Jonge v. Oregon, 299 U. S. 353, 365; Thomas v. Vollins, 323 U. S. 516, 530.

It is beyond debate that freedom to engage in association for the advancement of beliefs and ideas is an inseparable aspect of the "liberty" assured by the due process clause of the Fourteenth Amendment, which embraces freedom of speech. See Gitlow v. New York, 268 U. S. 652, 666; Palko v. Connecticut, 302 U. S. 319, 324; Cantwell v. Connecticut, 310 U. S. 296, 303; Staub v. City of Baxley, 355 U. S. 313, 321. Of course, it is immaterial whether the beliefs sought to be advanced by association pertain to political, economic, religious or cultural matters, and state action which may have the effect of curtailing the freedom to associate is subject to the closest scrutiny.

The fact that Alabama, so far as is relevant to the validity of the contempt judgment presently under review, has taken no direct action, cf. de Jonge v. Oregon, supra; Near v. Minnesota, 283 U. S. 697, to restrict the right of petitioner's members to associate freely, does not end inquiry into the effect of the production order. See American Communications Association v. Douds, 339 U. S. 382, 402.

Abridgement of Rights

In the domain of these indispensable liberties, whether of speech, press or association, the decisions of this court recognize that abridgement of such rights, even though unintended, may inevitably follow from varied forms of governmental action. Thus in Douds, the court stressed that the legislation there challenged, which on its face sought to regulate labor unions and to secure stability in interstate commerce, would have the practical effect "of discouraging" the exercise of constitutionally protected political rights, 339 U. S., at 393, and it upheld the statute only after concluding that the reasons advanced for its enactment were constitutionally sufficient to justify its possible deterrent effect upon such freedoms.

Similar recognition of possible unconstitutional intimidation of the free exercise of the right to advocate underlay this court's narrow construction of the authority of a Congressional committee investigating lobbying and of an act regulating lobbying, although in neither case was there an effort to suppress speech, United States v. Rumely, 345 U. S. 41, 46-47; United States v. Harris, 347 U.S. 612, 625-626. The governmental action challenged may appear to be totally unrelated to protected liberties. Statutes imposing taxes upon rather than prohibiting particular activity have been struck down when perceived to have the consequence of unduly curtailing the liberty of freedom of press assured under the Fourteenth Amendment. Grosjean v. American Press Company, 297 U.S. 233; Murdock v. Pennsylvania, 319 U.S. 105.

An Effective Restraint

It is hardly a novel perception that compelled disclosure of affiliation with groups engaged in advocacy may consti- exposed these members to economic reprisal, loss of employment, threat of physical coercion and other manifestations of public hostility.

Under these circumstances, we think it apparent that compelled disclosure of petitioner's Alabama membership is likely to affect adversely the ability of petitioner and its members to pursue their collective effort to foster beliefs which they admittedly have the right to advocate, in that it may induce members to withdraw from the association and dissuade others from joining it because of fear of exposure of their beliefs shown through their associations and of the consequences of this exposure.

The Crucial Factor

It is not sufficient to answer, as the state does here, that whatever repressive effect compulsory disclosure of names of petitioner's members may have upon participation by Alabama citizens in petitioner's activities follows not from state action but from private community pressures. The crucial factor is the interplay of governmental and private action, for it is only after the initial exertion of state power represented by the production order that private action takes hold.

We turn to the final question whether Alabama has demonstrated an interest in obtaining the disclosures it seeks from petitioner which is sufficient to justify the deterrent effect which we have concluded these disclosures may well have on the free exercise by petitioner's members of their constitutionally protected right of association. See American Communications Assn. v. Douds, supra, at 400; Schneider v. State, 308 U. S. 147, 161. Such a "* * * subordinating interest of the state must be compelling," Sweezy v. New Hampshire, 354 U. S. 234, 265 (concurring opinion).

It is not of moment that the state has here acted solely through its judicial branch, for whether legislative or judicial, it is still the application of state power which we are asked to scrutinize.

It is important to bear in mind that petitioner asserts no right to absolute immunity from state investigation, and no right to disregard Alabama's laws. As shown by its substantial compliance with the production order, petitioner does not deny Alabama's right to obtain from it such information as the state desires concerning the purposes of the association and its activities within the state. Petitioner has not objected to divulging the identity of its members who are employed by or hold official positions with it. It has urged the rights solely of its ordinary rank-and-file members.

This is therefore not analogous to a case involving the interest of a state in protecting its citizens in their dealings with paid solicitors or agents of foreign corporations by requiring identification. See Cantwell v. Connecticut, supra, at 306; Thomas v. Collins, supra, at 538.

The Exclusive Purpose

Whether there was "justification" in this instance turns solely on the substantiality of Alabama's interest in obtaining the membership lists. During the course of a hearing before the Alabama Circuit Court on a motion of petitioner to set aside the production order, the state Attorney General presented at length, under examination by petitioner, the state's reason for requesting the membership lists.

The exclusive purpose was to determine whether petitioner was conducting intrastate business in violation of the Alabama Foreign Corporation Registration Statute, and the membership lists were expected to help resolve this question.

The issues in the litigation commenced by Alabama by its bill in equity were whether the character of petitioner and its activities in Alabama had been such as to make petitioner subject to the registration statute, and whether the extent of petitioner's activities without qualifying suggested its permanent ouster from the state.

Without intimating the slightest view upon the merit of these issues, we are unable to perceive that the disclosure of the names of petitioner's rank-and-file members has a substantial bearing on either of them.

As matters stand in the state court, petitioner (1) has admitted its presence and conduct of activities in Alabama since roster of its membership and a list of its officers for the current year." N. Y. laws 1923, C. 664, sections 53, 56.

In its opinion, the court took care to emphasize the nature of the organization which New York sought to regulate. The decision was based on the particular character of the Klan's activities, involving acts of unlawful intimidation and violence, which the court assumed was before the state legislature when it enacted the statute, and of which the court itself took judicial notice. Furthermore, the situation before us is significantly different from that in Bryant, because the organization there had made no effort to comply with any of the requirements of New York's statute but rather had refused to furnish the state with any in- judication. The ultimate aim and purpose of the litigation is to determine the right of the state to enjoin petitioners from doing business in Alabama. That question, however, is not before us in this proceeding." 265 Ala., at 352, 91 So. 2d, at 216. The proper method for raising questions in the state appellate courts pertinent to the underlying suit for an injunction appears to be by appeal, after a hearing on the merits and final judgment by the lower state court. Only from the disposition of such an appeal can review be sought here.

For the reasons stated, the judgment of the Supreme Court of Alabama must be reversed and the case remanded for proceedings not inconsistent with this opinion.

ALABAMA DENIED ACCESS TO ROLLS

Continued From Page 1

state corporations doing business in the state to register and designate an agent to receive legal process. This is a standard corporation law that does not require the disclosure of members' names.

Because of this failure to register, the state sought a temporary injunction forbidding the association to operate in Alabama. An Alabama judge granted the injunction the same day, before the association had a chance to answer.

As proof that the organization was doing business in Alabama, Alabama's Attorney General, John Patterson, charged that it had supported the Negro bus boycott in Montgomery and had paid Miss Autherine Lucy when she shought admission to the University of Alabama.

The N. A. A. C. P. asserted that the corporation law did not apply to it because it was a nonprofit organization. But it offered to comply anyway. The Alabama court rejected this offer and enjoined the association from complying with the corporation statute.

Alabama then asked the court, as part of the pre-trial procedure, to require production of various organization records—including the membership lists. The court so ordered. The association produced everything else but refused to disclose its members' names.

Argument Held Up

At that point the N. A. A. C. P. was fined $100,000 for contempt. Under Alabama law the contempt citation prevented it from arguing the merits of the case. For that reason the injunction stopping its operations in Alabama had to continue unless it could get free of the contempt order.

The association took the case to the Alabama Supreme Court on a petition for certiorari—one method of obtaining appellate review. But that court ruled that certiorari was the wrong method of review and thus refused to consider the Constitutional issues.

Under long-standing Supreme Court doctrine, the court will not review a state decision holding that a party had followed incorrect state procedure. But that rule is not followed if the state decision was a surprise or was "without any fair or substantial support" in state law.

Justice Harlan found, first, that all the Alabama cases before this one had described certiorari as the proper method for reviewing a contempt citation. The N. A. A. C. P. had no way to anticipate a new procedural ruling, he said, and hence the ruling was unfair.

"Novelty in procedural requirements cannot be permitted to thwart review in this court," he wrote, "for those who, in justified reliance upon prior decisions, seek vindication in state courts of their Federal constitutional rights."

No 'Novel Perception'

On the constitutional issue, Justice Harlan said it was "hardly a novel perception that compelled disclosure of affiliation with groups engaged in advocacy" might discourage membership and thus inhibit the right to advocate the beliefs through an organization.

Justice Harlan noted that the Supreme Court had upheld some compulsory disclosure, despite the loss of freedom, because the state had a vital countervailing interest of its own. An example was the approval of the Taft-Hartley Act's requirement that union leaders swear they are not Communists.

But in this case, the justice wrote, Alabama has demonstrated no interest "sufficient to justify the deterrent effect" on freedom of association.

The original purpose of the Alabama litigation was to find out whether the N. A. A. C. P. was doing enough business in [illegible] tion under the corporation statute and, if so, to oust it for not complying. Justice Harlan said that members' names did not seem relevant to either of these ends, considering that the organization had produced many records and had agreed to register.

Alabama had relied on a 1928 Supreme Court decision upholding, as applied to the Ku Klux Klan, a New York law requiring oath-bound groups to disclose their members. But Justice Harlan said the state had demonstrated a clear interest in disclosure in that case because of the Klan's "acts of unlawful intimidation and violence."

Robert L. Carter of New York, arguing for the National Association, had also asked the Supreme Court to set aside the original order enjoining the association from operating in Alabama.

But Justice Harlan found that, with the contempt citation out of the way, the Alabama courts must now try the issue of whether the N. A. A. C. P. will be allowed to register under the corporation statute or should be ousted for not complying earlier.

The case was argued for Alabama by Assistant Attorney General Edmon L. Rinehart.

Alabama to Press Fight

MONTGOMERY, Ala., June 30 (AP)—The office of Attorney General John Patterson said today that it would continue its fight to keep the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People from operating in Alabama.

Mr. Patterson was unavailable for comment, but a spokesman said the Supreme Court's ruling did not stop the state from proceeding with a new contempt case against the organization.

The Attorney General seeks to have the association and two Negro leaders, W. C. Patton of Birmingham and William P. Mitchell, held in contempt on charges of violating the two-year-old injunction.

Mr. Patterson contends that the N. A. A. C. P. is still doing business under the name of a newly formed organization, the Alabama State Coordinating Association for registration and voting. Mr. Patton, the state president of the N. A. A. C. P. when the injunction was issued, and Mr. Mitchell are among the organizers of the new group.

The Attorney General says the coordinating association had been set up to carry on the N. A. A. C. P.'s functions while the other organization was barred from operating in the state.

BILL ON JUDGES VOTED

Senate Backs House-Passed Measure on Retirements

WASHINGTON, June 30 (AP)—The Senate Judiciary Committee approved today a House-passed bill to require chief judges in the Federal courts to relinquish their administrative duties at age 75.

It would apply to chief judges of the District and Circuit Courts of Appeal but not the Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court.

Sent to: Kentucky, Arkansas, Alabama, South Carolina, North Carolina, Georgia, Tennessee, and Florida

MEMORANDUM July 8, 1958

To: State Councils on Human Relations

From: Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

Re: SUPREME COURT DECISION IN THE ALABAMA-NAACP CONTEMPT CASE.

- : -

The recent Supreme Court decision in the Alabama-NAACP contempt case has significance for all human relations organizations in the South. Of particular importance is Section III of the decision. We have reproduced this section of the text as it appeared in the New York Times of Tuesday, July 1, and are enclosing a copy.

- : -

hattanooga Daily Times

CHATTA[illegible] ENN., THURSDAY, AUGUST 21, 1958.

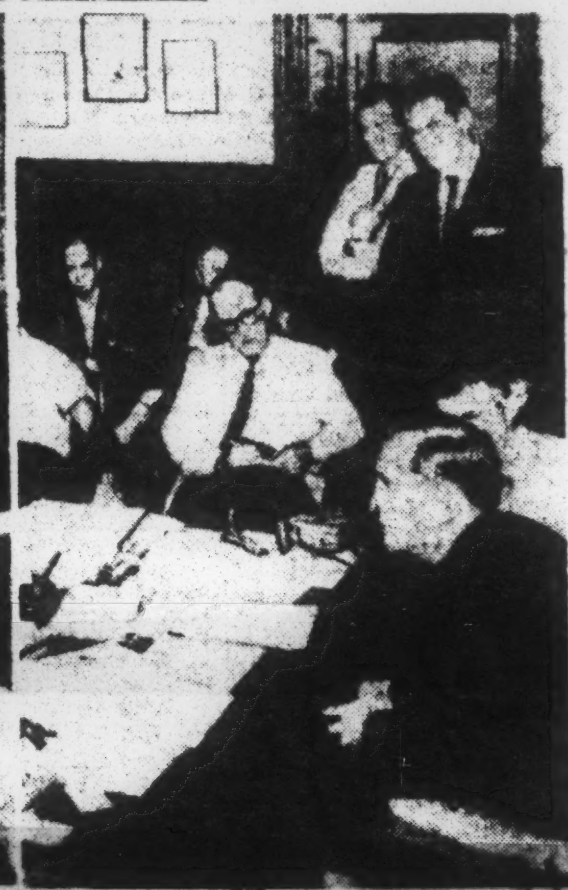
PRICE: 7 CENTS

Tristate Weather

CITY—Partly cloudy, continued warm today.
TENNESSEE—Fair and cool.
GEORGIA—Fair and warm.
ALABAMA—Partly cloudy with showers.
Full Weather Report on Page 2.

EISENHOWER SAYS STATES MUST BACK COURT ORDERS; FAUBUS' ATTITUDE DEFIANT

PRESIDENT SPEAKS



FAUBUS ANSWERS

—Associated Press Wirephoto.

U.S. CHARTS MOVE

Justice Department Gets Series of Plans Ready for Little Rock

PRESIDENT HAS PLEA

States' Citizens Have Duty to Comply Regardless of Their Beliefs

By JAMES RESTON
© New York Times News Service

WASHINGTON — Another solemn constitutional crisis developed Wednesday over the integration of the races in the public schools of Little Rock.

In an effort to avoid a recurrence of last year's clash of authority between the federal government and the state of Arkansas, President Eisenhower appealed Wednesday morning for order and compliance with the Supreme Court's school integration decision of 1954.

He said it was the "solemnity" of all Americans to comply with the final orders of the Supreme Court of the United States and implied that if state authorities did not suppress unlawful opposition to the integration order, the federal government would do so, with troops if necessary.

Governor Scoffs

This immediately produced a defiant statement from Gov. Faubus of Arkansas, questioning the legality of the Supreme Court order, refusing to use state troops to permit compliance, and scoffing at what Gov. Faubus characterized as the President's efforts to invoke "the sacred name of the Constitution and the once-magic name of Eisenhower."

Thus, 13 days before the opening of Central High School in Little Rock, where federal troops were used last year to enable nine Negroes to attend classes, a major test of strength was in prospect between the conflicting authority of the federal and state governments.

INTERRACIAL UNIT BACKS PRESIDENT

Southern Council Calls on Moderates to Agree on Need for Compliance

Special to The Chattanooga Times

ATLANTA — The Southern Regional Council called on "moderates of both races" Wednesday to express their agreement with President Eisenhower's "insistence on legality" in public school desegregation situations.

Moreover, the council stressed, the President's statement "will bring sobering truth to the defiant elements in some states" by impressing upon them that "there will be no ambiguity in executive leadership and that

FAUBUS' ATTITUDE DEFIANT

—Associated Press Wirephoto

PRESIDENT SPEAKS — FAUBUS ANSWERS

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Thus, 13 days before the opening of Central High School in Little Rock, where federal troops were used last year to enable nine Negroes to attend classes, a major test of strength was in prospect between the conflicting authority of the federal and state governments.

Justice Department Hopeful

The Department of Justice was still hoping Wednesday to avoid the use of federal troops, this time by getting federal court injunctions against anybody who, by threats or violence, attempts to prevent the Negro students from attending the Little Rock school.

It is known that officials of the Justice Department are watching developments in Little Rock with great care and that Atty. Gen. William P. Rogers is ready with a series of alternate recommendations for the President to deal with any move by Gov. Faubus or anybody else to frustrate the integration of the school.

Faubus, who called out National Guard troops that blocked nine Negro students from the Little Rock school last September, said he does "recognize my duty to preserve the peace of my state." Preservation of order was cited by him as his reason for calling out the troops.

"What Mr. Eisenhower and many others who express similar viewpoints fail to realize is that they are supporting a court decision which is not constitutional, and there are millions of people in every section of the country who know it," he added.

Gov. Faubus Wednesday night

See Page Four, Column Five

INTERRACIAL UNIT BACKS PRESIDENT

Southern Council Calls on Moderates to Agree on Need for Compliance

Special to The Chattanooga Times

ATLANTA — The Southern Regional Council called on "moderates of both races" Wednesday to express their agreement with President Eisenhower's "insistence on legality" in public school desegregation situations.

Moreover, the council stressed, the President's statement "will bring sobering truth to the defiant elements in some states" by impressing upon them that "there will be no ambiguity in executive leadership and that the laws of the land will be enforced."

The council, foremost interracial organization in the South, is composed of representatives from 13 states in the fields of education, religion, business, labor and journalism.

Hidden Views Emphazised

Harold C. Fleming, executive director of the council, with headquarters in Atlanta, emphasized that the statement supporting the President underscored the "existence of rational attitudes in the South that so often have been hidden from the nation by the rantings of the extremists."

"The South," Fleming said, "with its deep moral heritage and its basic commitment to the system of law established by the region's very forefathers has at all times had a vital segment of responsible people who would choose the path of temperate, planned developments in this difficult hour.

"But too often the irrational voices, the mythmakers, have crowded the stage and driven

See Page Four, Column Three

President's Remarks on Schools

WASHINGTON (AP) — President Eisenhower's statement today on the subject of school integration follows:

Because there are still some phases of this case pending in the courts, it would not be appropriate for me to express my view on the case itself.

This case, however, or any person's agreement or disagreement with its outcome, must not be confused with the solemn duty that all Americans have to comply with the final orders of the court.

Nor should we lose sight of the fact that the maintenance of order to permit complaince with the final orders of the court is the responsibility of each state.

Each state owes to its inhabitants, to its sister states and to the Union the obligation to suppress unlawful forces. It cannot by action or deliberate failure to act permit violence to frustrate the preservation of individual rights as determined by a court decree.

It is my hope that each state will fulfill its obligation with a full realization of the gravity of any other course.

Defiance of this duty would present the most serious problem, but there can be no equivocation as to the responsibility of the federal government in such an event. My feelings are exactly as they were a year ago. As I said then:

"The very basis of our individual rights and freedoms rests upon the certainty that the President and the executive branch of government will support and insure the carrying out of the decisions of the federal courts."

Every American must understand that if an individual, community or state is going successfully and continuously to defy the courts, then there is anarchy.

I continue to insist that the common sense of the individual and his feeling of civic responsibility must eventually come into play if we are to solve this problem.

MORE TIME GIVEN TO STUDY ON MSU

State Board Allows Group to Postpone Decision on Desegregation

By FRED TRAVIS
Chattanooga Times Bureau

NASHVILLE — The state board of education Wednesday authorized a special committee to continue its study of a proposal to delay desegregation at Memphis State University.

The special committee, established by the board earlier this month when MSU President J. M. Smith asked for the delay, submitted a two-sentence report. It said:

"In accordance with your directions, your committee has spent considerable time investigating the problem assigned to it.

"We are unable to make a report and recommendation at this meeting and request further time."

The board promptly adopted a resolution authorizing additional time and adjourned subject to call of the chairman, State Education Commissioner Quill Cope.

Little Rock Effect

The special committee, headed by W. R. Landrum of Trenton, declined to explain its need for additional time. However, the general relief was that the delay is intended to permit a final determination of whether federal courts will permit a postponement of desegregation at Little Rock (Ark) Central High School.

A federal district court authorized the Little Rock desegregation program to be halted for two years but was overruled by a U.S. circuit court of appeals. An appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court is planned. Smith was not present for the board meeting which lasted only about 15 minutes. However, he was in town and met earlier with the special committee composed of board members.

Violence Feared

At the previous meeting Aug. 8, Smith told the board he feared "considerable trouble and even violence" would result from efforts to desegregate MSU this fall.

He called attention to the heightened racial tensions resulting from the Little Rock troubles and from the raising of the segregation issue in the recent campaigns for governor and U.S. senator.

The board previously had ordered desegregation next fall for all state institutions of higher learning under the board's control. This includes all state-financed colleges and universities except the University of Tennessee.

The board's action came after the U.S. Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals rejected a plan for gradual desegregation of the colleges, one year at a time.

After complete desegregation was authorized, the board

PRESIDENT GIVES STATES WARNING

Asserts All Have Duty to Obey Court Orders on Racial Decisions

From Page One

said he had a "very friendly and amicable meeting" with the Little Rock school board which he had challenged to take quick action on preventing integration here.

Faubus refused to say whether he plans to call a special session of the Arkansas Legislature to deal with school integration or whether he has any other plans afoot.

The governor said after the meeting, which lasted nearly two hours, that "the board answered many questions posed by me in a previous statement."

These questions were demands to know whether the board planned any concrete maneuvers aimed at preventing a resumption of school integration at Little Rock next month.

Faubus said the board couldn't answer some of the questions because the answers were not yet known to the board members.

This was no casual statement by President Eisenhower Wednesday. It was carefully worked out in the Department of Justice with the specific purpose of making clear in advance the determination of the federal government to take whatever action is necessary to maintain order and permit compliance with the integration order.

Prepared in Advance

Eisenhower came into his news conference looking serious and carrying the policy statement in his right hand. He refused to say whether he thought the Supreme Court integration decision was right or wrong, but left it to the statement to define the administration's policy. It made these points:

1. Regardless of whether he agreed or disagreed with specific court orders in the Little Rock case, it was the duty of all Americans to comply with the final orders of the Supreme Court.

2. The maintenance or order, to permit compliance with the final orders of the Supreme Court, is the responsibility of the state, and the state could not "by action or deliberate failure to act, permit violence to frustrate the preservation of individual rights as determined by a court decree."

3. "Defiance of this duty," the President's statement said, "would present the most serious problem, but there can be no equivocation as to the responsibility of the federal government in such an event. My feelings are exactly as they were a year ago."

4. Finally, he added: "Every American must understand that if an individual community, or state is going successfully and continuously to defy the courts,

Clothes Lines Break Boy's 5-Story Fall

NEW YORK (AP) — A 13-year-old boy fell five stories from the roof of an upper East Side tenement Tuesday and may have escaped serious injury because he struck several clothes lines in his plunge, police said.

The boy, Gilbert Ruiz, was taken to Metropolitan Hospital, where a preliminary examination showed no serious injury.

Police said the boy and his brother, Santos, 14, were playing on the roof of a building when Gilbert tripped and fell five stories to a rear yard.

able discussion and debate here for the following reasons:

Ever since the Supreme Court unanimously ordered an end of segregation of the races in the public schools in May 1954, it has been obvious that the problem was to persuade the Deep South to consent to the gradual integration of the schools.

From the beginning the President has been under considerable pressure to take the lead in this task of persuasion, not only by insisting, as he did Wednesday, that it was the duty of all Americans to comply with a final Supreme Court order, but by supporting the principle of gradual integration itself.

This latter the President has hesitated to do, and he has now explained why, in a statement that throws considerable light on his concept of presidential responsibility. He has now said, in effect, that he will use executive power to the utmost to enforce the final orders of the Supreme Court, but he will not use presidential influence to persuade the nation that the court's decision was right or wrong.

Inside Debate

Even within the administration, this philosophy is now the subject of lively debate. Some officials agree with the President. Others feel that to withhold presidential guidance on decisions of the Supreme Court is to leave the country without the full force of presidential leadership on some of the most controversial subjects in the world.

Even those who take this latter view, however, were saying Wednesday night that the President's intervention in the case went further than he has ever gone before in urging compliance with the court's integration order.

He did not restrict himself to calling for the maintenance of law and order so that the court's order could be carried out. He called specifically for "compliance" with that order as a "solemn duty" of all Americans, regardless of whether they agreed or disagreed with the court's reasoning or conclusion.

In his only other reference to the integration problem, the President told a questioner that he had had some preliminary conversations with Virginians about the school integration problem in that state, but that he had not arranged any meeting with the governor of the state, J. Lindsay Almond.

a "plan of action" or "just a pretty speech."

By all available evidence, the indications were that it was the former. The Justice Department left no doubt Wednesday morning that it was ready for any eventuality, and this attitude was even stiffer Wednesday afternoon when the reports of Gov. Faubus' reaction reached the capital.

INTERRACIAL UNIT BACKS PRESIDENT

From Page One

the real Southern conservative of humanistic values into the wings. The President's voice on this occasion offers the region another chance to turn away from the irresponsible voices that do not offer leadership for the South's best interests or efforts."

Chapters All Over South

The council, established about 14 years ago, maintains chapters in each Southern state to implement local programs of adjustment in race relations through education and persuasion.

The council has issued some 500,000 pamphlets on methods for improving race relations and distributed them through church groups and human relations organizations. It has had a leading role in promoting the hiring of Negro policemen and has worked for advances in Negro vote gains and desegregation in public transportation facilities.

The council's statement commending President Eisenhower's stand on the Little Rock school issue follows:

"The prepared statement made by President Eisenhower at his news conference will be welcome by all Southerners concerned with the maintenance of public order and respect for law. The Southern Regional Council commends him and the language of his announcement.

Defiant Elements Warned

"It will bring sobering truth to the defiant elements in some states. The President has told them that there will be no ambiguity in executive leadership and that the laws of the land will be enforced.

"It is clearly not true that the courts are forcing the South to move with revolutionary speed. The district judges have shown willingness to permit temperate, planned developments. They have encouraged and supported local

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"It is clearly not true that the courts are forcing the South to move with revolutionary speed. The district judges have shown willingness to permit temperate, planned developments. They have encouraged and supported local initiative.

"But the President made clear as the court of appeals did on Monday that violence will not be allowed to set aside the law. We commend the President also for his reminder that each state has an obligation to suppress unlawful forces.

"All Southerners are united in hoping that there will not again be armed troops guarding our school buildings. But let us make sure that the events which led to the sending of those troops will not again occur. That is the responsibility of state and local officials and of public opinion in the South.

"The President's statement will be greeted with the usual angry protests from some. We think that now, if ever, is the time for moderate Southerners of both races who do not share this contempt for law and for human rights to express their agreement with the President's calm insistence on legality."

by a U.S. circuit court of appeals. An appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court is planned. Smith was not present for the board meeting which lasted only about 15 minutes. However, he was in town and met earlier with the special committee composed of board members.

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The board's action came after the U.S. Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals rejected a plan for gradual desegregation of the colleges, one year at a time.

After complete desegregation was authorized, the board approved a plan for entrance tests for Memphis State.

Eight of 10 Negroes who took the MSU test for admission with the fall term made passing grades and became eligible for enrollment. None of the 10 who applied were among the five Negroes who filed the original suit to force desegregation of the Memphis university.

The special committee gave no indication how much additional time it might require to complete its study.

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4. Finally, he added: "Every American must understand that if an individual community, or state is going successfully and continuously to defy the courts, then there is anarchy."

No Personal References

The President, unlike Gov. Faubus avoided any personal references to those who differed with him in the case. He did not mention Little Rock or Arkansas. He said that "it would not be appropriate" for him to discuss this week's action of the 8th Circuit Court of Appeals, insisting on the integration process in Little Rock, since some phases of this action were still pending in the courts. And he added that he would have nothing further to say about the integration problem or the cases now before the courts.

Nevertheless, he did undertake to define his philosophy about expressions of presidential opinion on the wisdom of the Supreme Court's integration decision.

His point on this was that what he thought about the decision was not the central question. The main thing was that the agency of government established to interpret the Constitution had issued a final order opposing the segregation of the races in the public schools and that it was a binding duty on all to comply with that order.

No Enthusiasm Evident

Indeed, he phrased his attitude in such a way as to give some support to the widely-held belief in Washington that he is not the most enthusiastic person in the capital about the integration order.

When a reporter noted that the President had always emphasized the importance of supporting final federal court orders, and asked whether he would go further and state whether he personally favored the beginning or an end to segregated schools, he replied:

"I have always declined to do that for the simple reason that here was something that the Supreme Court says: This is the direction of the Constitution, this is the instruction of the Constitution. That is, they say: This is the meaning of the Constitution.

"Now, I am sworn to one thing: To defend the Constitution of the United States, and execute its laws. Therefore, for me to weaken public opinion by discussion of complete, separate cases, where I might agree or disagree, seems to me to be completely unwise and not a thing to do.

"I have an oath; I expect to carry it out. And the mere fact that I could disagree very violently with a decision, and would so express myself, then my own duty would be much more difficult to carry out, I think."

This passage led to consider-

Even within the administration, this philosophy is now the subject of lively debate. Some officials agree with the President. Others feel that to withhold presidential [illegible] decisions of the Supreme Court is to leave the country without the full force of presidential leadership on some of the most controversial subjects in the world.

Even those who take this latter view, however, were saying Wednesday night that the President's intervention in the case went further than he has ever gone before in urging compliance with the court's integration order.

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In his only other reference to the integration problem, the President told a questioner that he had had some preliminary conversations with Virginians about the school integration problem in that state, but that he had not arranged any meeting with the governor of the state, J. Lindsay Almond.

There was very little public comment here after the President's statement. Both Sens. John L. McClellan, Arkansas Democrat, and James O. Eastland, Mississippi Democrat, refused to discuss it.

Another Senate Judiciary Committee member, John A. Carroll, Colorado Democrat, inquired whether the President's speech was the forerunner of a "plan of action" or "just a pretty speech."

By all available evidence, the indications were that it was the former. The Justice Department left no doubt Wednesday morning that it was ready for any eventuality, and this attitude was even stiffer Wednesday afternoon when the reports of Gov. Faubus' reaction reached the capital.

File
Defense
"Criticism"

22 Richmond Times-Dispatch

DAVID TENNANT BRYAN, *President and Publisher*

VIRGINIUS DABNEY, *Editor* JOHN H. COLBURN, *Managing Editor*

Thursday, August 21, 1958

A Race Agency and the Facts

Inaccurate statements as to its origins of the Southern Regional Council of Atlanta appeared recently in THE TIMES-DISPATCH, and should be corrected. They appeared — inadvertently, we are sure—in one of the series of articles by EDWARD B. SIMMONS of the New Bedford, Mass., *Standard-Times* concerning Communist efforts to incite racial strife in the United States.

MR. SIMMONS stated in the article appearing in our paper on August 5 that the Southern Regional Council, established in Atlanta in 1944, was an "offshoot of the old Southern Conference for Human Welfare, which was dissolved in 1948 after twice being described by the Federal Government as 'Communist front.'" He also said: "'The Communist *Daily Worker* openly boasted that JAMES E. JACKSON, chief of the Southern branch of the U. S. Communist party, was a co-founder of the Regional Council."

Taking these two charges in order, the Southern Regional Council was not an offshoot of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. It was established in response to an appeal from respected Southern Negro leaders, who met at Durham, N. C., in October, 1942, on the call of DR. GORDON B. HANCOCK, of the Virginia Union faculty here, and DR. P. B. YOUNG, of Norfolk, publisher of the Norfolk *Journal and Guide*. These Negro leaders did not ask for the elimination of segregation in the schools or anywhere else; they asked that "separate but equal" be made a reality.

Responding to their appeal, a group of white leaders met in Atlanta in the spring of 1943, and expressed a desire to cooperate. Out of this grew the Southern Regional Council. The Council was the successor to the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, founded in 1919 by leading churchmen. To repeat, it not only was no "offshoot" of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare; it was criticized in some quarters because it was more conservative than that organization and suspected of being in competition with it.

We must remember, too, that when the Southern Conference for Human Welfare was established in 1938, it was not suspected of having any Communist connections, and many well-intentioned and patriotic Southerners participated in its early meetings. A number of these later joined the Southern Regional Council when they discovered the true purposes of the Conference for Human Welfare.

As to the allegation of the Communist *Daily Worker* that JAMES E. JACKSON, chief of the Southern branch of the U. S. Communist party, was a "co-founder of the Southern Regional Council," there is nothing to support this.

A JAMES E. JACKSON is listed as having attended the Durham meeting of Negro leaders in October, 1942, but is not mentioned by the Norfolk *Journal and Guide* as having been on the committee which drew up the statement then issued. JACKSON did not participate in the meetings of white and Negro leaders in 1943 and 1944 which led to the establishment of the Southern Regional Council, and he was not at any time an officer, director, or member of that agency. The *Daily Worker's* statement that he was a "founder" is as unreliable and inaccurate as nearly everything else in that Communist sheet.

The late DR. HOWARD W. ODUM, noted and respected member of the University of North Carolina faculty, was the first president of the Council. He was succeeded in 1945 by PAUL D. WILLIAMS, prominent Catholic layman of Richmond and co-founder of the Catholic Committee of the South, who served until 1951. MR. WILLIAMS was succeeded in that year by MARION A. WRIGHT, South Carolina attorney, former chairman of the South Carolina Library Board and past president of the University of South Carolina Alumni Association.

It should be emphasized that SRC worked within the framework of "separate but equal" for seven years, and did not announce for integration until 1951.

While we disagree strongly and completely with its present position on this issue, we feel obligated to point out, in fairness, that it was in no sense Communist in its origins. The Southern Regional Council was established because of a sincere desire on the part of white and Negro leaders in the South to eliminate many of the disabilities and discriminations from which Negroes were suffering.

It was hoped that if these could be substantially lessened, the colored South would not look to the colored North for leadership. Insufficient progress was made, unfortunately, and the NAACP moved in and launched its drive for the complete elimination of segregation — sooner than it probably would have done if SRC's accomplishments had been larger.

That is where we stand today.

Letters To The

The News and Courier welcomes letters to the editor when they are concise (no longer than 200 words) and bear the writer's signature in longhand. They also must carry the sender's address and be plainly written, preferably typed. All letters are subject to rejection or editing. None will be returned.

Reply To Editorial

To The News and Courier:

I was shocked that South Carolina's most Outspoken Newspaper would resort to such unspeakable tactics in criticizing my article on newspapers and race relations, which appeared in The Quill and New South.

Your editorial of Sept. 29 resorted to a trick unbecoming a Southern gentleman — quoting out-of-context to prove what you wanted your readers to believe.

My article most certainly did not advocate suppressing the news, but presenting "the news in full and fair fashion," your description of a newspaper's "one principal duty." I quote from my article:

"Don't hust up serious racial incidents, but report them with the greatest accuracy and factualness to avoid stirring up mob violence. . ."

The Charleston Gazette and other West Virginia newspapers covered all demonstrations against school integration and, to my knowledge, did not "play down" the views of pro-segregation citizens. Criticism of segregationists was limited strictly to editorial comment, as you advocated. No attempt was made to humiliate them in the news columns. These points were clearly made in my article.

The remarks of The Gazette city editor, which you again quoted out-of-context, were made in reference to telephone calls from unidentified students seeking publicity. If a student strike did occur, The Gazette covered it.

With any freedom goes a responsibility. Freedom of the press gives newspapers a somber responsibility to attack those evils which destroy a democratic society. Prejudice, as practically all of the world's outstanding psychiatrists and social scientists will testify, is one of those evils.

If The News and Courier is Really interested in covering the news "in full and fair fashion," I suggest that you do a series of articles on how well integration is working in border states like West Virginia and Kentucky.

Charleston, South Carolina, could benefit from the experience of "the other Charleston" in West Virginia. After more than a half-century of segregation, its public schools were integrated. Integration is working smoothly, several hundred thousand dollars have been saved from the abolition of expensive segregated schools and there are no "muted voices" that live in daily fear of mob violence

And for South Carolinians who prefer the refreshing breeze of reason to outspoken hysteria, I suggest that they subscribe to New South — and excellent magazine dedicated to saving the South from destroying itself by clinging to the shabby myths of the 19th Century.

HARRY W. ERNST
Charleston, West Va.

(Editor's note: New South is a publication of the Southern Regional Council, an organization in Atlanta financed by the Fund for Th eRepublic that promotes racial integration.)

Greetings From Friends

To The News and Courier:

The Boy Scouts of the Pee Dee Area Council extend best wishes to you and your paper as you observe National Newspaper Week, and wish for you many more years of successful service to your community and state.

We, in Scouting, sincerely appreciate the very fine cooperation extended us by you and your staff and are most grateful for the excellent manner in which you have told the story of Scouting to the public.

During the last several years, Scouting in this area has made great strides in membership growth and other phases of the program. This has been due to the unselfish work done by hundreds of volunteers and the generous support you have given in

S. C. COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

Retain to

S. C. COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

To SRC,

The News and Courier

South Carolina's Most Outspoken Newspaper

Thomas R. Waring, Editor — Arthur M. Wilcox, Assistant Editor — Anthony Harrigan, Editorial Writer

FOUNDED JAN. 10, 1803

12 CHARLESTON, S. C., MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 29, 1958

West Virginia Reveals How Press 'Humiliated' Objectors To Mixing

How to suppress the news, in one easy lesson, might be an accurate title for an article by Harry W. Ernst, a writer for The Charleston (W. Va.) Gazette which appeared recently in The Quill, a magazine of journalism.

The article is reprinted in the current issue of New South, publication of The Southern Regional Council, under the title, "West Virginia Press Sets Good Example."

New South is an integration propaganda sheet put out with Fund for the Republic money. We aren't surprised that it has picked up this do-it-yourself article on suppression of truth. What does surprise us is the frankness of an American newsman who boasts that the press of his state sneers at the public and who admits it is in the business of pushing people around.

It is, of course, the right of any newspaper to expound its beliefs. If the newspapers of West Virginia believe that racial integration is good for their communities, we would expect them to state their views in their editorial columns.

We are dismayed to learn, if Mr. Ernst is to be believed, that the West Virginia press uses its news columns to favor one side in a local dispute.

Mr. Ernst's point is that newspapers have responsibility "in helping cleanse the American psyche of a disruptive demon—prejudice."

We don't believe that newspaper editors are a priesthood that knows what is best for the souls of readers. We subscribe to the belief that newspapers have one principal duty — to present the news in full and fair fashion.

For that reason we can't believe in what Mr. Ernst terms "enlightened news coverage." The news, we believe, should speak for itself in the news columns. Editorial opinion should be so designated.

Mr. Ernst praises the West Virginia press for having "helped create a climate in which classroom integration could move forward with a minimum of public protest."

How were the views of pro-segregation citizens played down?

"The few segregationists who spoke up publicly," Mr. Ernst quoted one editor as saying, "were humiliated in our editorial columns."

The papers also employed what one West Virginian called "restrained news coverage," which is another way to describe failure to cover a story completely.

How did Mr. Ernst's paper, The Gazette, handle a threatened student strike? He quotes The Gazette's city editor as saying: "We just sneered at them, pointing out that whatever they did was too trivial for us to fool with."

There is a word for such journalism. The word is "suppression." We are surprised and grieved to find that "the other Charleston" has such muted voices.

CIVIL LIBERTIES

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION FOUNDED 1920

NUMBER 165

MONTHLY PUBLICATION OF THE AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION NOV. 1958

LIKE A ROCK

"We should set our faces like a rock against any attempt to allow state aid to be given to any sectarian system of education; and on the other hand, we should set our faces like a rock against any attempt to exclude any set of men from their full and proper share in the government of the public schools because of their religion."

"To discriminate against a thoroughly upright citizen because he belongs to some particular church, or because, like Abraham Lincoln, he has not avowed his allegiance to any church, is an outrage against that liberty of conscience which is one of the foundations of American life."

"True liberty shows itself to best advantage in protecting the rights of others, and especially of minorities."

THEODORE ROOSEVELT
Born October 27, 1858

Louisiana ACLU Refuses to File Affidavit Under New State Law

Herblock, Washington Post & Times Herald

"ALL WE WANT IS THE TRUTH AS WE SEE IT"

The Louisiana Civil Liberties Union announced on October 17 its decision to challenge as unconstitutional a new Louisiana law requiring it (and similar non-commercial associations) to file an affidavit attesting that no officer of any out-of-state organization with which the LCLU may be affiliated belongs to a group cited by the House Un-American Activities Committee or the U.S. Attorney General as "Communist, Communist-front or subversive."

Act 260 of the 1958 Legislative Session also provides that information from the files of the Un-American Activities Committee "shall constitute prima facie evidence of such membership in said organizations."

George A. Dreyfous, President of the Union's Louisiana affiliate, publicly informed Governor Earl K. Long that the law "is manifestly unconstitutional, being in conflict with Article I, Section 2 of the Constitution of the State of Louisiana and with the provisions of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States."

Dreyfous and the Board of the LCLU added that the act is also "diametrically opposed to the purposes, as declared in the preamble, for which the Constitution of Louisiana was ordained, namely: to secure the civil, political and religious liberties we enjoy.

"Wherefore, the Louisiana Civil Liberties Union has decided to disregard the said act as being null and void and will refuse to file any such affidavit."

"In the event that you disagree with these conclusions," Dreyfous told Governor Long, "I suggest that you institute an action for a declaratory judgment against the Louisiana Civil Liberties Union, or against me as its president, in order that the constitutionality of said act may be determined."

ACLU Files Brief Challenging Existence of House Un-American Activities Committee

The continued existence of the House Committee on Un-American Activities faced a new challenge in the U.S. Supreme Court late last month. The ACLU filed a brief on behalf of Lloyd Barenblatt who was convicted of contempt for refusing to answer the Committee's questions. The Union asserts that the Committee's mandate from Congress is unconstitutional and that thus it has no right to conduct investigations or to compel testimony. Moreover, declares the ACLU brief, the Committee violates due process and unconstitutionally tries to restrict freedom of belief, expression and association.

Barenblatt, an instructor in psychology at Vassar for four years prior to his appearance before the Committee in June 1954, refused to tell the Committee whether he had belonged to the Communist Party, had known one of his colleagues as a Communist, or had participated in Communist-led discussion groups while a graduate student at the University of Michigan from 1947 to 1950. In federal District Court, he was convicted of contempt, fined $250, and sentenced to six months in prison. His conviction was upheld by the U.S. Court of Appeals in the District of Columbia, and later, when the Supreme Court remanded his case for reconsideration in the light of its 1957 decision in the Watkins case, the appeals tribunal re-affirmed Barenblatt's conviction, 5-4.

In their brief, ACLU General Counsel Edward J. Ennis, cooperating attorney Nanette Dembitz, and Staff Counsel Rowland Watts —and Barenblatt's own lawyer, David Scribner—strike hard at the Committee's persistent practice of damaging witnesses' reputations merely because of their beliefs, and of forcing them to "purge" themselves by naming others who may hold unorthodox opinions.

38th ANNUAL REPORT

The Union's 1957-58 Annual Report is on the press and should reach all members of the ACLU in December.

No December CIVIL LIBERTIES

As an economy measure, CIVIL LIBERTIES will not be published in December. It will resume in January.

HELP GREATLY NEEDED

The Union's national office is in great need of volunteers, both long-term and short, to count National Committee ballots, to handle pamphlet orders, to process the ACLU library's new books, and to work in the Membership Department during its busiest season. Members in the New York area are asked to call ORegon 5-5990 and ask for Mrs. Floyd. The office is open from 9 A.M. to 6 P.M., and evening and Saturday hours can be arranged.

CIVIL LIBERTIES

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Jeffrey E. Fuller, *Editor*

Small Parties' Right To Ballot Supported

After the new Independent-Socialist Party won its ACLU-supported fight for a place on New York State's ballot this Election Day, the Union and its New York affiliate called for a thorough review of the state's election laws to simplify the requirements placed on minority parties.

NYCLU Executive Director George E. Rundquist and ACLU Staff Counsel Rowland Watts hailed the county court's decision, but went on to say, "We stated earlier that we felt the banning of the Independent-Socialist Party was 'pettifogging and picayune.' This also is true in the case of the Socialist Labor Party, which this year has been ruled off the ballot. The time has come for a thorough evaluation of New York election laws to simplify the requirements for minority representation and to eliminate the gloss of minutia challenge which has accumulated by court decisions through the years."

Florida High Court Upholds Position of Miami Affiliate

The Florida Supreme Court has upheld the position of the Union's Greater Miami affiliate that the Florida Constitution cannot be revised by the Legislature acting alone, without the calling of a constitutional convention.

The decision came in a suit (supported by an ACLU friend-of-the-court brief) to restrain the state from printing ballots for a referendum asking approval or rejection of the Legislature's revisions of the Constitution in the area of education, which it adopted in an attempt to circumvent the U.S. Supreme Court's desegregation rulings.

THE LAW OF WIRETAPPING — 1958

BY MELVIN L. WULF
Assistant Staff Counsel, ACLU

The recent Supreme Court decision in *Benanti v. U.S.*, holding that evidence procured by state law enforcement officers as the result of wiretapping was inadmissible in the federal courts, was an important civil liberties victory. It gives reason to believe that the privacy of telephone conversations will be accorded increasing recognition in the future. This seems to be an appropriate time, therefore, to review the present state of the law of wiretapping.

The statute around which adjudication revolves is Section 605 of the Federal Communications Act. Its pertinent provisions provide:

> ". . . no person not being authorized by the sender shall intercept any communication and divulge or publish the existence, meaning (etc.), of such intercepted communication to any person. . . ."

The statute was adopted in 1934, six years after the Supreme Court, in *Olmstead v. U.S.*, held that wiretapping was not a search within the meaning of the Fourth Amendment. The consequence of *Olmstead* was to permit information acquired directly or indirectly by wiretapping to be introduced as competent evidence in the Federal court. In effect, it sanctioned official intrusion into an area of privacy that many thought, and continue to think, is worthy of constitutional protection.

Within a few years after the passage of Section 605, the Supreme Court in *Nardone v. U.S.* determined that at a minimum the statute prohibited the use in federal courts of evidence acquired through wiretapping. It was also settled that this prohibition applied to intra-state as well as to inter-state communications.

It was now clear that by outlawing wiretapping, Congress intended to restore the right to private telephone conversations to its deserved place in the law. It is no secret, however, that the intent of the statute has not been entirely realized. Both Federal and local law enforcement officials regularly intercept telephone messages, and one can only speculate on the extent of wiretapping by private investigators bent on divers assignments.

The cases arising after *Nardone* dealt largely with the semantics of Section 605. Two principal questions were in issue: (a) the nature of the authorization that would remove an intercepted communication from the ambit of the statute, and (b) the definition of "intercept." Typically, the questions were presented concurrently when a government informer engaged a suspect in a phone conversation in order to permit it to be recorded from an extension phone.

In 1940, Judge Learned Hand, in *Polakoff v. U.S.*, said that the anti-phonal nature of a telephone conversation rendered the word "sender" inapt, and he held that Section 605 was not satisfied unless both parties authorized the interception and disclosure. He also rejected the contention that a recording made from an extension phone was not an interception, saying, ". . . anyone intercepts a message to whose intervention as a listener the communicants do not consent; the means he employs can have no importance; it is the breach of privacy that counts." Other courts took a more spatial view of the problem and held otherwise.

In 1957 the question was resolved against Judge Hand by the Supreme Court in *Rathbun v. U.S.* The decision not only held that a recording from an extension was not an interception, it also held that the "sender" need not even have been the initiator of the call.

Whereas *Nardone* early laid to rest the evidence question in the Federal courts, it was not until 1952 that the Court agreed to review the application of the same question to the state courts. In *Schwartz v. Texas* the Court decided that insofar as Section 605 established a rule of evidence, it did not apply to the state courts. They were free to admit such evidence or not as they chose. It was to the allied problem of the use of state procured wiretap evidence in the Federal courts that *Benanti,* mentioned earlier, was directed. But whereas *Benanti* strengthened the right to privacy, *Schwartz* substantially impaired that right, for it assured local officials that no federal disability would attach to their use of wiretap evidence. Since deciding *Schwartz,* the Supreme Court, on at least three occasions, has declined to reconsider the question there presented. In view of its decision in *Benanti,* however, it is possible that the Court will give the problem fresh attention. An opportunity for it to do so is now pending before it on petition for review in *Voci v. Pennsylvania.* In the event the Court grants the petition, ACLU participation is anticipated.

It is interesting to note that Section 605 is more than a rule of evidence. It is also a prohibitory statute to which penal sanctions apply. It becomes increasingly interesting when one also notes that the Department of Justice has prosecuted at least six persons—none of them law enforcement officials—for violations of the statute. Thus, at the same time that FBI agents were monitoring the 90 taps that J. Edgar Hoover announced were in effect one day last summer, some of their confreres were presumably seeking out violators around the country. Charity, it seems, does begin at home.

Eighty Agencies Marking Tenth Human Rights Day

The ACLU is one of some eighty national organizations which have joined together to form the U.S. Committee for the Observance of the Tenth Anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. In New York the event will be marked by an all-day conference at the Waldorf-Astoria on December 9, the day before the celebration at the U.N.

A Letter to the ACLU

Menlo Park, California
October 21, 1958

Gentlemen:

Prompted by the item in the October CIVIL LIBERTIES about the Cincinnati Public Library's banning of "Lolita," I checked with our county library here to find out if they intended buying the book. According to the librarian, they were at that moment trying to decide about the book. "It is one of the most difficult decisions I've ever been called on to make," she said.

Phone calls to several other libraries in the area disclosed that most, but not all of them, had the book already or were in the process of placing it on their shelves. Armed with these figures, I called both the *San Francisco Chronicle's* Herb Caen (our favorite West Coast journalistic son) and the *San Mateo Times* on Wednesday. Caen mentioned the incident the next day in the lead-off spot in his column, commenting that the "guardians of the public weal" were trying to decide whether or not adults should be allowed to read the book in San Mateo County libraries.

On Saturday, the San Mateo City Library announced that they had been flooded by requests, presumably as a result of the publicity, and had decided to buy the book. On Tuesday (today) the County Library also decided to buy the book. Thus, only six days elapsed between rejection and reconsideration.

Two thoughts occur to me regarding this incident: for one thing, favorable publicity such as this has not always been as easy to obtain for civil liberties causes. The easy success of the two calls was based on all the unrewarded efforts of countless ACLU members in less sympathetic years. As a member of only five years standing, I realize the debt that is owed to old-timers in this field.

The second thought is this: how many other public libraries are doing the same thing in cities where other ACLU members live? How many members have made that ten cent phone call to their library, followed by a second dime call to their local newspaper should that prove necessary?

Yours very truly,
Richard G. Gould

Budget Bureau Considering Bill of Rights Proclamation

In response to its letter asking that President Eisenhower proclaim December 15th as Bill of Rights Day—in addition to his usual Proclamation regarding December 10th, the anniversary of the UN's Declaration of Human Rights—the San Diego Chapter of the Southern California ACLU received word that "Your letter is being forwarded to the Bureau of the Budget, which assists the President in the consideration and clearance of proclamations. . . ."

The San Diego Chapter is distributing a hundred of the Union's Statue of Liberty-Bill of Rights posters to downtown stores as part of its program to commemorate the 167th anniversary of the First Ten Amendments.

MALIN ON RADIO

Executive Director Patrick Murphy Malin is scheduled to participate in the fourth program of a new Edward R. Murrow radio series entitled "The Hidden Revolution" on the CBS radio network, Wednesday evening, November 19, 8:00-9:00 P.M., E.S.T.

Worthy Loses First Round; ACLU Plans Prompt Appeal

Baltimore *Afro-American* correspondent William Worthy has lost the first round of his court battle to require Secretary of State Dulles to issue him a passport without geographic travel restrictions. The Union, which has backed Worthy's fight for a passport since early 1957, announced in October that a prompt appeal would be pressed in the U.S. Court of Appeals.

Union Puts a Stop to Deportation of Poles

Mrs. Krystyna Jurkiewicz and her 13-year-old son, Krzystof, gained a victory last month in their fight against deportation to Communist Poland when the Justice Department granted them a stay pending a further hearing.

The ACLU, in its continuing battle to get the Immigration Service to grant aliens fair hearings when they ask for political asylum, entered the Jurkiewicz case when approached by the Polish-American Immigration and Relief Committee with evidence that Mrs. Jurkiewicz's husband had been jailed for one year when he was caught escaping from Poland in 1954 and now cannot get a job there because of his opposition to the Communist regime, and that her son has been threatened with loss of schooling because of the family's politics.

Quintana Case Ruling Not So Broad

The story in last month's CIVIL LIBERTIES headed "Steelworker's Deportation Halted by Appeals Tribunal" stated, "The case will have a far-reaching effect on the status of other resident aliens, since it puts a firm time limit on the right of the government to deport a legally admitted alien." This statement was incorrect.

Steelworker Benito S. Quintana, who entered the country illegally in 1934, was granted suspension of deportation by Act of Congress in 1949. In 1955, the Attorney General asked Congress to rescind its 1949 action for the reason that Quintana had been a member of the Communist Party, and Congress did so in April 1956.

The District Court sustained the Attorney General on the ground that, while the McCarran-Walter Act limits the time in which the Attorney General can act to five years, there is no such time limit on Congress. The Court of Appeals reversed the District Court's ruling on the ground that the five-year limitation is binding on the Attorney General.

Some Thoughts for Members to Ponder

The dues of almost one half of the Union's members are—or will be—up for renewal between now and January 31st, the end of our 1958-59 fiscal year. When these 19,000 members receive their renewal notices we hope they will keep these ideas in mind:

I would remind you that the total annual budget of the American Civil Liberties Union [this year about $380,000] is only a little bit more than the amount that would be regarded as a modest annual stipend for a moderately successful executive in the major industries of the United States.—Robert M. Hutchins in a speech made in Washington last March.

If at renewal time every member would remember that inflation has hit the ACLU just as it has the nation and increase his investment in the Bill of Rights accordingly, the Union's budget would not remain so modest.

He who gives promptly gives twice as much.—attributed to Benjamin Franklin.

If every member would renew in response to our *first* reminder, hundreds of man-hours of clerical work would become available for substantive civil liberties work in both national and affiliate offices.

And finally, the promotional material offered in last month's CIVIL LIBERTIES is still available to any member on request.

STATEMENT REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF AUGUST 24, 1912, AS AMENDED BY THE ACTS OF MARCH 3, 1933, AND JULY 2, 1946 (Title 39, United States Code, Section 233) SHOWING THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, AND CIRCULATION OF

CIVIL LIBERTIES

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1. The names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are:

Publisher—American Civil Liberties Union, 170 Fifth Avenue, New York 10, N. Y.

Editor—Jeffrey E. Fuller, 170 Fifth Avenue, New York 10, N. Y.

Managing Editor—None.

Business Manager—Jeffrey E. Fuller, 170 Fifth Avenue, New York 10, N. Y.

2. The owner is: (If owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a partnership, or other unincorporated firm, its name and address, as well as that of each individual member, must be given.)

American Civil Liberties Union, incorporated under the membership corporation laws of the State of New York, 170 Fifth Avenue, New York 10, N. Y.

Ernest Angell, Chairman, Board of Directors; B. W. Huebsch, Treasurer; Patrick Murphy Malin, Executive Director; all at 170 Fifth Avenue, New York 10, N. Y.

No Stock.

3. The known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: None.

4. Paragraphs 2 and 3 include, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting; also the statements in the two paragraphs show the affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner.

5. The average number of copies of each issue of this publication sold or distributed, through the mails or otherwise, to paid subscribers during the 12 months preceding the date shown above was: (This information is required from daily, weekly, semiweekly, and triweekly newspapers only.)

(Signed) JEFFREY E. FULLER
Editor

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 16th day of September, 1958.

HARRY B. APT

[SEAL] Notary Public, State of New York. Qualified in New York County, No. 31-0086550. (Commission expires March 30, 1959.)

CIVIL LIBERTIES *around the nation*

Arkansas: In urging support for Gov. Faubus' bills to prevent school desegregation, State Rep. W. L. Ward told the Legislature at its recent special session: "We've got to have an end to this socialism and communism and running around at night."

New Jersey: Six former Fort Monmouth employees, dismissed as "security risks" in 1954 after charges by the late Senator McCarthy, got their jobs back last month by court order; with this ruling, every one of the 33 Monmouth employees suspended in 1954 has now been cleared, restored to his job if he so chose, and given the back pay he was entitled to.

Virginia: In opposition to Gov. Almond's "massive resistance" to school integration, the Virginia Congress of Parents and Teachers voted in October, 515 to 513, to support local option, which would permit each community to work the problem out for itself.

New York: All four candidates for Governor—Averell Harriman, Democrat; Eric Hass, Socialist Labor (write-in); John T. McManus, Independent-Socialist; and Nelson Rockefeller, Republican—appeared together on an hour-long WCBS-TV discussion program October 25.

District of Columbia: By 583 votes out of a total of 807, the District of Columbia Bar Association has approved admission of Negro lawyers to membership for the first time.

Indiana: The Rev. Martin Luther King told a United Church of Christ conference in Lafayette, Ind., recently that, with regard to interracial marriage, "The Negro is far more interested in becoming the white man's brother than in being his brother-in-law."

Detroit ACLU Begins Six-Session Seminar

The Union's Metropolitan Detroit Branch this month inaugurates a Seminar on Civil Liberties to be held the first three Wednesdays in November and the first three Wednesdays in December at 7:45 P.M. in MacGregor Memorial Conference Center, Wayne University. Attorney Harold Norris, recently elected Chairman of the Detroit Branch, will lead the discussion in each session, assisted by panelists. Subjects to be covered during the six evenings include freedom of assembly and speech, freedom of press and religion, the Bill of Rights and loyalty programs, fair police practices and due process, Congressional investigations and personal liberty, academic freedom, and the Fourteenth Amendment and civil rights.

Last month the Detroit ACLU helped win a victory for freedom of the arts when Wayne County Circuit Court Judge Thomas J. Murphy issued a writ compelling the Detroit Arts Commission to rent its auditorium for a concert by Pete Seeger, a folk singer considered by the Commission to be a "controversial" figure presumably because of old charges of Communist associations.

SUGGESTIONS

With the ACLU's 1958 elections almost completed—members' National Committee ballots must be in by November 17—the Union's Nominating Committee is now seeking suggestions as to 1959-62 candidates for the Board of Directors and the National Committee. ACLU members are asked to send names (with biographical data, where necessary) of men and women who have publicly demonstrated their support of the Union's principles. Candidates for the Board must be able to attend bi-weekly meetings in New York; National Committee candidates may live anywhere in the U.S. and possessions. Send suggestions to ACLU Nominating Committee, 170 Fifth Avenue, New York 10, N.Y.

Indiana CLU Holds Conference in Gary

"If the President had the moral courage to affirm what he sometimes believes, he would have gone to Little Rock and walked into school with the kids," Professor Kermit Eby of the University of Chicago told some 300 members and friends of the Indiana Civil Liberties Union in the final session of its day-long conference in Gary, September 27.

"The reason to treat our minorities as they should be treated," Eby added, "is not so they will be our allies against communism, but because it is right to do so."

Other speakers at the Gary civil liberties workshop included Madison S. Jones, Race Relations Consultant with the New York City Housing Authority, on "Integration in Housing;" attorney Leonard B. Boudin on the "Right to Travel;" ICLU Board member Ray Addington on "Censorship;" and ICLU Executive Director John Preston Ward on "Congressional Investigating Committees."

BOOK NOTES

PLEASE ORDER THESE WORKS FROM BOOK STORES OR PUBLISHERS, *not* FROM ACLU.

ONLY IN AMERICA, by Harry Golden. World Publishing Co. 317 pp. $4.00.

Harry Golden's collection of pieces—primarily from his paper, The Carolina Israelite *—is filled with warmth, wit and wisdom on a variety of topics. His pungent contributions to thinking on civil liberties questions—the Vertical Negro Plan, the Out-of-Order Plan, the White Baby Plan—are all there, and much more besides.*

AMERICAN HERITAGE, October 1958 issue, edited by Bruce Catton. American Heritage Publishing Co., 551 Fifth Avenue, New York 17, N.Y. 120 pp. $2.95.

The current issue of this handsome bi-monthly hard-cover "Magazine of History" features three articles of particular interest to those concerned with civil liberties: "Patrolling the Middle Passage," an account of the illegal slave trade in the years just before the Civil War; "Tragedy in Dedham," a report on the Sacco-Vanzetti case; and a series entitled "A Southern Artist on the Civil War."

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% Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn-NE
Atlanta 3, Ga.

By Association

ARK. GAZETTE

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12/18/58

J. B. Matthews

ARK. GAZETTE 12/18/58

(X)

Some Background On A Professional Witness

By Elizabeth Carpenter
Gazette Washington Bureau
1202 National Press Building

As a timely public service, we are reprinting this April 28, 1958, column on J. B. Matthews, who testified yesterday before the special legislative committee investigating charges of Communist influence in Arkansas.

In his recent surprise charge that "outside forces" — possibly Communist - inspired — helped create the Little Rock integration crisis, Governor Faubus relied heavily on a source whose veracity has been challenged officially by:

1. Senator John L. McClellan of Arkansas.
2. Senator Harry F. Byrd of Virginia.
3. President Eisenhower.
4. Protestant, Catholic and Jewish clergymen.

It was an article by the man in question, J. B. Matthews, that Mr. Faubus cited in support of his accusation, made in a speech to the Southwest Little Rock Kiwanis Club April 10.

The governor quoted an article by Matthews in the Easter 1958 issue of "Christian Crusade" to the effect that Lee Lorch, white professor of mathematics at Philander Smith College, and his wife, Mrs. Grace Lorch, "have been identified as members of the Communist Party." Mr. Faubus said the Lorches "were active behind the scenes and then openly in the Little Rock affair."

The governor's introduction of the "Communist issue" in the Little Rock controversy surprised some political observers, since the same issue was raised against Mr. Faubus in the 1954 gubernatorial campaign. The perplexity may have been greater among those who knew that it was Matthews who directed an investigation of Communist activities at Commonwealth College at Mena.

Mr. Faubus has admitted reluctantly that he attended the Communist - tainted college, at least for a few days as a freshman in the '30s.

★ ★ ★

practically every government intelligence agency."

But the matter came to a crux on the afternoon of July 9 when the White House received a telegram signed by a priest, a rabbi, and a Presbyterian minister, speaking for the National Conference of Christians and Jews. The telegram called Matthews' attack on the Protestant ministry "unjustified and deplorable."

President Eisenhower, who had been reluctant to be drawn into the battle of the McCarthy era, entered this one unhesitatingly, allying himself with those taking strong issue against the Matthews' article.

★ ★ ★

The president made public his reply which stated he "fully agreed" with the three clergymen that the attack on the Protestant clergy "is unjustified and deplorable."

The president went on to say, "If there be any American among us, whatever his calling, guilty of treasonous action against the state, let him legally and properly be convicted and punished. This applies to every person, lay or clergy."

As the telegrams were being made public at the White House, McCarthy "very reluctantly" accepted the resignation of Matthews.

The following morning, the Wisconsin senator tried to save face by getting the Republican majority of the committee to vote to give him complete power to hire and fire all staff employes.

It was a straight party - line vote, 4-3, and shortly afterwards, the three Democratic members of the committee, after obtaining the full backing of the Senate Democratic leadership, resigned in bloc.

Senator McClellan told the press at the time, "This committee's work is so sensitive and so delicate that it should try to work in complete harmony. Any member of the staff who might be objectionable to any member on any reasonable grounds should be subject to a discharge by a majority of the committee."

Not until the following January when Congress reconvened and Senator McCarthy surrendered

Who, then, is J. B. Matthews? This is a question which Washington asked back in the summer of 1953 when Senator Joseph R. McCarthy (Rep., Wis.) then chairman of the Senate Permanent Investigations Subcommittee, hired Matthews as staff director and found himself in the middle of one of the hottest controversies that ever broiled during the controversial heyday of the Wisconsin senator.

Actually, Matthews was not new on the scene in 1953. Between 1938 and 1945, he was director of research for the House Committee on Un-American Activities. And it was under his direction during those years that the Committee investigated Commonwealth.

But it wasn't his Commonwealth College probe that put Matthews' name in headlines.

It was, an article which he wrote for the American Mercury Magazine's July 1953 issue entitled, "Reds and Our Churches," the article opened with this sentence: "The largest single group supporting the Communist apparatus in the United States today is composed of Protestant clergymen."

The article went on to charge that the Communist Party had "enlisted the support" of "at least 7,000 Protestant clergymen" as "party members, fellow travelers, espionage agents, party-line adherents and unwitting dupes" during the last seventeen years.

McCarthy offered him the $11,000-a-year job on his committee almost simultaneously with the publication of the attack on the Protestant clergy.

The attack by Matthews brought a swift rebuttal from the three Democratic members of the committee — McClellan, Stuart Symington of Missouri, and Henry M. Jackson of Washington and what amounted to a demand for Matthews' ouster.

Jointly, McClellan, Symington, and Jackson called the Matthews article a "shocking and unwarrantable attack against the American clergy" which, they said, "cannot be supported by the facts." They requested a committee meeting to call for "appropriate action."

Their attack on Matthews was joined by the leaders of Southern conservatives. Democratic Senator Byrd of Virginia, who issued a statement declaring that Matthews "should give names and facts to sustain his charge or stand convicted as a cheap demagogue willing to blacken the character of his fellow Americans for his own notoriety and personal gain."

McCarthy defended his aide, calling him "an outstanding authority" on subversion who had been a "constant consultant to his "one-man" rule, with the repeal of the Committee regulation allowing him to hire and fire employes, did the three Democrats return.

Such was the Matthews epoch in Washington. Since then, he has taken his desk set inscribed with the words, "To J. B. Matthews, a Star-Spangled American from one of his pupils and admirers, Joe McCarthy" to New York where he is associated with the Hearst publications and still writes occasional articles, such as the one recently quoted by Governor Faubus.

About three months after his forced resignation from the McCarthy Committee, Matthews made a conspicuous appearance in Arkansas. Addressing a Freedom Forum session at Harding College of Searcy October 23, 1953, Matthews discussed in more qualified terms his charges against the Protestant clergy and contended that his article and earlier remarks on the subject had been exaggerated by the press.

Expanding into other fields, Matthews said he had information that American aircraft parts were being smuggled to Russia. He quoted a "high undisclosed source" as saying a Russian MIG airplane surrendered by a North Korean pilot to United Nations Forces was made "largely of American parts." Military leaders "didn't dare bring the plane to this country" because they were afraid to let the American people know" this secret, he added.

The Air Force immediately denied Matthews' charge. Within weeks the plane had been brought to the United States and put on public display at Air Force bases throughout the country.

By Association

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Editorial
The Arkansas Gazette
12/18/58

THE CHATTANOOGA TIMES: CHATTANOOGA, TENN., SATURDAY, DECEMBER 20, 1958.

MATTHEWS AND THE SRC

The Arkansas Legislative Council, concluding that a Communist plot is substantially responsible for the Little Rock desegregation crisis, has aired some charges so grossly unjust as to recall the McCarthyist nightmare.

There was J. B. Matthews, himself a former Communist-front leader, declaring that the Southern Regional Council had Red sympathizers in its ranks.

Just 20 years ago, Mr. Matthews was accusing Shirley Temple of aiding the Bolsheviks. The former chief counsel of the Dies Committee is primarily remembered, however, for his July 1953 article in *The American Mercury* labeling "at least 7,000 Protestant clergrymen" as "party members, fellow travelers, espionage agents, party line adherents and unwilling dupes." The protest, from President Eisenhower and others, was so strong that Sen. Joe McCarthy, who by then had carried his campaign of vilification directly to the White House, was forced to fire Matthews, whom he had just hired as executive director of his subcommittee.

In the Little Rock hearings, other familiar names in the business of smear were trotted out. The Southern Regional Council was a frequent target, though no one dared go so far as to impugn its motives as a whole.

The SRC, as is well known, is made up of foremost Southern educators, clergymen, business, labor and professional leaders. A discussion and research group, it was organized in 1943, as a result of Negro leaders' efforts to see that the "separate but equal" doctrine in Southern education be made a reality. It grew also out of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, founded in 1919 by leading churchmen.

Since then it has favored gradual compliance with the Supreme Court's decision, but even so staunchly segregationist a newspaper as the *Richmond Times-Dispatch* recently said: "The Southern Regional Council was established because of a sincere desire on the part of white and Negro leaders in the South to eliminate many of the disabilities and discriminations from which Negroes were suffering."

Now the Arkansas Legislative Council, with never a peep about the role of its own Gov. Faubus, concludes on the word of former Communists, who are professional name callers, and others, most of them from out of the region, that little more than a Red plot is the cause of their difficulties.

Defense Mat.

Department of State
W. O. TRONE
Director, Office of General Services

Department of the Treasury
ROBERT PERRY
Chief, Printing and Office Services Division

Office of Civil and Defense Mobilization
LOUIS F. KRIEGER
Director, Administrative Operations Office

General Services Administration
LEONARD T. DE LISIO
Director of Compliance

Government Printing Office
DANIEL H. CAMPBELL
Director of Purchases

Housing and Home Finance
C. W. LONG
Assistant to the Director, General Services Branch

International Cooperation Administration
ROBERT BIREN
Director, Office of Organization and Methods

Panama Canal Company
W. M. WHITMAN
Secretary

Tennessee Valley Authority
PAUL I. FAHEY
Director, Division of Materials

Veterans' Administration
JAMES N. O'NEIL
Director, Supply Management Service

Other principal contracting agencies include: Central Intelligence Agency, Federal Trade Commission, General Accounting Office, National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics, Railroad Retirement Board, and Selective Service System.

COOPERATING AGENCIES

Private Agencies

American Council on Human Rights
American Civil Liberties Union
AFL-CIO, Civil Rights Department
American Friends Service Committee
American G. I. Forum
American Jewish Congress
American Jewish Committee
American Personnel and Guidance Association
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
Bureau of Jewish Employment Problems
Catholic Interracial Council
Fund For the Republic
Japanese American Citizens League
Jewish Labor Committee
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials
National Conference of Christians and Jews
National Civil Liberties Clearing House
National Community Relations Advisory Council
National Urban League
Southern Regional Council

Public Agencies

State

Colorado Anti-Discrimination Commission
Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, Department of Labor
Connecticut Commission on Civil Rights
Illinois Commission on Human Relations
Indiana Fair Employment Practices Commission
Kansas Anti-Discrimination Commission
Kentucky Council on Human Relations
Maryland Commission on Interracial Problems and Relations

From "Five years of Progress - 1953-1958
A Report to Pres. Eisenhower by the President's Committee on Government Contracts.

See Amer. Civil Liberties Union Bulletin #1972 of Apr. 13, 1959

January 29, 1959

VIA AIR MAIL

Postmaster
General Post Office, Room 3505
33rd Street, East of 9th Avenue
New York 1, New York

Dear Sir:

Apr. 21

We are in receipt of your form 2153-X dated January 27, 1959, indicating that you have on hand addressed to this organization the publication, RESOLUTIONS OF THE VTH CONGRESS PEKING 1958.

Please be advised that no one connected with the Southern Regional Council ordered nor has use of this publication. Since we are not interested in receiving this material would you please dispose of it as you see fit.

Thank you for your attention to this matter.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA:ls

POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT

60-15

The following publications, addressed to you, are being held in this post office:

RESOLUTIONS OF THE VTH CONGRESS PEKING 1958

TO: Editor, Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. NE
Atlanta, Ga.

JAN 27 1959

If you desire to receive these, please indicate your intention by returning this card to the post office, personally or by mail. If this card is not received at the post office within 15 days from the date stamped hereon, the publications listed will be disposed of as nonmailable under the law.

POSTMASTER

I have ordered, subscribed to, or desire the publications listed on this card and I request that they be delivered to me.

(Signature)

POD Form 2153-X, Dec. 1958

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE : 1958 O—491022

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PAYMENT OF POSTAGE, $300.

POSTMASTER,

NEW YORK 1 NY

ROOM 3505

(City and State)

The Weather
KNOXVILLE AND METROPOLITAN AREA—Cloudy and continued rather cold with intermittent rain likely. High today 42. Low tonight 38. Low this morning 32. High yesterday 41.
NORTH CAROLINA—Somewhat warmer. High temperatures 37-43 west.
VIRGINIA—Mostly cloudy, high in 30s, chance of some sleet or snow in southwest in afternoon.
KENTUCKY—Partly cloudy and not so cold, high in upper 30s.
(Weather Details, Page 3)

The Knoxville Journal

Journal Comics Are World's Best
Turn to Page 15

120TH YEAR ★ KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE, TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 3, 1959 16 Pages :: Two Sections PRICE 5 CENTS

Virginia Integration Goes Smoothly

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

Car Runs Into Yard, Kills Young Mother

SEARCH ENDS—Mrs. Sharon Lee Riggle, 20, of Nappanse, Ind., clasps 3-year-old daughter Susan Lee after 4-month search. Susan was taken by father, Richard, 23, after couple separated in Salt Lake City last Sept. 22. Mrs. Riggle enlisted officers and newspaper before finding daughter was left with a young couple at Marble Caryon in remote Northeastern Arizona. (AP Wirephoto).

Others Barely Escape

A pretty young mother of three children was killed almost instantly late yesterday when she was hit by a wildly careening car which smashed into her as she stepped from her Buffat Mill Road home to go to the mail box in her yard.

Mrs. Richard A. (Betty) Ingram was rushed to St. Mary's Hospital where her husband is employed as a printer. She was pronounced dead on arrival.

Witnesses to the tragedy said a 15-year-old driver apparently lost control of his car and narrowly averted striking several pedestrians and an oncoming car before leaving the road and crashing through a fence.

Mrs. Ingram had gone to the mail box to pick up a newspaper at the time of the accident.

She was the mother of daughters aged 6, 4 and 2½.

The accident occurred just outside the city limits. Driver of the car was not immediately identified but he was taken to St. Mary's Hospital for treatment of undetermined injuries.

Washington Jail Escapee Sought By Officers

Special To The Journal

JONESBORO, Feb. 2 — Washington County officers were searching tonight for a prisoner who escaped from the jail here about 6 a.m. today after threatening Assistant Jailer Bill Miller with a knife.

Sheriff John Cloyd identified the prisoner as Matthew Hale, a Negro, who was being held on an armed robbery charge.

Sheriff Cloyd said Miller en-

FIRST DAY ENDS—White students file out of Norview High School at the end of classes in Norfolk, Va., yesterday as Alveraze Gonsouland, 16-year-old Negro pupil, stops to talk to a newsman. This was at the close of the first day of integrated classes in Norview and five other Norfolk schools. (AP Wirephoto).

Governor Promises To Name Group To Study Teacher Pay

NASHVILLE, Feb. 2 (AP)—Gov. Buford Ellington said today he will appoint a special committee to seek out a long range solution to the recurring demands by school teachers for higher pay.

He rejected appeals, chiefly from East Tennessee teachers, that the salary provisions of the General Education Bill be revised upward.

"The problem obviously cannot be solved by a biennial battle in the General Assembly," the governor said as teachers from two East state counties converged on the capitol to lobby for more money.

Parent-teacher representatives from six upper East Tennessee counties, meanwhile, adopted a resolution urging the General Assembly to approve the full $850 biennial raise sought by the

Seven Of State's Schools Open Doors To Negro Students

By DOUGLAS B. CORNELL

RICHMOND, Va., Feb. 2 (AP)—Racial integration imposed by federal courts came today to unwilling Virginia and seven of her public schools.

A few Negroes walked in unhindered. A few white pupils walked out rather than accept them.

Police stood guard, alert but unneeded. This historic shift took place without incident or disorder.

Yet it was with grimness and discontent that the Old Dominion watched the ancient ramparts of segregation start tumbling down in a state which once paced the Southland in massive resistance to the mixing of races in the schools.

Through the gaps 17 Negro youngsters filed into six junior and senior high schools in Norfolk, the state's largest city. Another four entered Stratford Junior High in Arlington County, a prosperous suburb of Washington.

So for the first time in Virginia's history, Negroes and whites began attending public schools together, limited through the scale of integration might be at the outset.

Here in this capital of the Confederacy during a war fought over another racial issue, the legislature rang out with continued cries of segregationists.

"This," said Del Sam E. Pope, "is one of the blackest days Virginia has faced since reconstruction."

"The rape of our constitutional rights is an accomplished fact," said Sen. Mills E. Godwin," also from the Southside, the area most heavily populated with Negroes.

HUNT HOPEFULLY

Segregationists in the legislature still hunted hopefully, but with slim chances of success, for some new device to bring integration to a halt. One rallying point, a new school closure bill, was defeated in the senate.

Gov. J. Lindsay Almond Jr. and legislators alike voiced gra-

FBI Probes Defeat Of Rep. Hays

WASHINGTON, Feb. 2 (AP)—FBI agents are investigating the defeat of veteran Rep. Brooks Hays by write-in candidate Dale Alford in Arkansas last November, the Justice Department said today.

The inquiry was ordered the department said, "as a result of complaints received by its Civil Rights Division."

The injury, officials said, is aimed at determining if the outcome of the election involved any violations of the federal Corrupt Practices Act.

They declined to supply details. But when asked if the investigation turned on the alleged use of an anonymous poster, the officials said this was not the matter being looked into.

Alford, an avowed segregationist running as an independent, defeated Hays, a Democrat, by 1200 votes principally cast for Alford by printed gummed stickers which were attached to the ballot. Hays' defeat was associated with his reputation as "a moderate" in relation to public school integration.

The house, by a voice vote

Space Chief Asks Time Work Money

Police Officer's Widow

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Space Chief Asks Time, Work, Money

WASHINGTON, Feb. 2 (AP)—Civilian space chief T. Keith Glennan said today it may be three years or more before the United States can match Russia in rocket engine power.

But Glennan and Secretary of Defense Neil McElroy defended President Eisenhower's budget against Democratic charges of penny-pinching.

Glennan and McElroy testified just about simultaneously at separate house inquiries into how the United States is faring in space and defense.

A (Senate) hearing last week brought Democratic challenge to Eisenhower's contention that his $41,000,000,000 defense program provides for balanced strikeback power and speedy development of advanced missiles.

McElroy told the House Armed Services Committee "there is nothing under the rug" in Eisenhower's budget, that US defense is "prepared to meet the threat it faces today," and no further large manpower cuts are slated for the armed services.

He also assured Committee Chairman Carl Vinson (D-Ga.) that Eisenhower's new budget request, which seeks money for items cutting across service lines, will not change the actual method of appropriating funds to the separate services.

And the Pentagon boss said the first few Atlas intercontinental ballistic missiles will be

Continued on Page 3, Col. 3

Dulles Sees Fulbright, Plans Trip

WASHINGTON, Feb. 2 (AP) — Secretary of State Dulles sought today to strengthen his congressional flank on the German issue before flying off to critical talks in Europe.

On the eve of his departure, Dulles arranged a 6 p.m. EST meeting at his home with Sen. J. William Fulbright (D-Ark), soon to become chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

The obvious intent was to give Fulbright the State Department picture of the situation, with a view to getting his approval.

Tomorrow at 3 p.m. Dulles plans to be airborne for London. Stops at Paris and Bonn are scheduled in the week or so thereafter.

While he is gone, high ranking US, British, French and West German representatives will be meeting at the State Department. Their major task is to draft a reply to the Soviet note of Jan. 10 which proposed a 28-nation conference on a German peace treaty.

The substance of that reply is a foregone conclusion. Basically, the answer is no. The Western Allies prefer, as Dulles repeated at his news conference last Tuesday, to hold a big four foreign minister meeting on the whole German issue sometime this spring.

But the "working group" at the State Department, meeting for the first time Wednesday must do the actual drafting of the west's formal reply.

While this middle level discussion is going on, Dulles will be conferring at the top. His plans are to talk with Prime Minister Harold MacMillan and Foreign Minister Selwyn Lloyd at London, President Charles De Gaulle and Foreign Minister

Continued on Page 2, Col. 7

MARMADUKE
By ANDERSON & LEEMING

"Hmm! Don't make 'em like they used to, do they?"

Stubblefield Submits TVA Finance Bill

WASHINGTON, Feb. 2 (AP)—Legislation to permit the Tennessee Valley Authority to do its own financing was introduced today by Rep. Frank A. Stubblefield (D-Ky).

Stubblefield said there is a growing need for power in Kentucky that would be made available if TVA were allowed to expand its facilities through his bill.

The same bill was passed by the Senate in the last session but never got through the house.

a 15-year-old driver apparently lost control of his car and narrowly averted striking several pedestrians and an oncoming car before leaving the road and crashing through a fence.

Mrs. Ingram had gone to the mail box to pick up a newspaper at the time of the accident.

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Sheriff John Cloyd identified the prisoner as Matthew Hale, a Negro, who was being held on an armed robbery charge.

Sheriff Cloyd said Miller entered Hale's cell this morning and was grabbed by the prisoner, who held a knife at the assistant jailer's back while he took Miller's keys, then fled from the jail.

Hale had three visitors at the jail yesterday, two of them women, according to Sheriff Cloyd, who said he believes one of the visitors brought the knife to the prisoner.

Hale recently complete a penitentiary sentence after being convicted of murder, and had been free only a month when he was arrested and charged with armed robbery, the sheriff reported. The robbery occurred at a Johnson City grocery store, where an employe was threatened with a knife, Sheriff Cloyd said.

Ground Hog Sees Shadow--'Bad' Weather Coming

East Tennessee's weather will be "bad" for the next six weeks if the legend of the groundhog is true because the furry fellow definitely saw his shadow when he took his annual look yesterday.

It was generally a cloudy day but the sun shone brightly for a short time.

The Weatherman is supporting Mr. groundhog to some extent, at least for today. Cloudy and continued rather cold weather is in prospect for Knoxville and East Tennessee with intermittent rain likely.

Today's high temperature will be about 42 degrees, one degree higher than yesterday's top reading, and low tonight is expected to be 38. Low forecast for this morning is 32.

Rain and becoming colder is the outlook for tomorrow.

MIDDLE EAST TENNESSEE—Cloudy and continued cold with intermittent rain likely. High 42.

LOWER EAST TENNESSEE—Cloudy and continued cold with intermittent rain likely. High 42.

TRI-CITIES—Cloudy and continued rather cold with intermittent rain likely. High 40.

CROSSVILLE-LaFOLLETTE—Cloudy and continued rather cold with intermittent rain likely. High 40.

Parents Urged To Fight For Better Education

By FRANK CAREY
Associated Press Science Writer

WASHINGTON, Feb. 2 (AP) — American parents can help strengthen their country for the space ages if they'll "get up on their hind legs and shout" for better education.

That's a conclusion reached by one of the nation's finest minds, Dr. Alan T. Waterman, director of the National Science Foundation.

It is his job to promote much of the basic scientific research needed if the United States is to maintain world leadership in science generally.

One of the needs he sees is a lot of money. Another is greater acceptance of the fact that basic research is the starting point of all our technology, be it automobiles or guided missiles, warships or washing machines.

"We need better education all along the line, especially in science," says Waterman. "We need to identify talents. We need better teachers. We need opportunities for young people after they are educated."

He added, in an interview:

"Our first line of defense has to be that route. Then, we have the training ground for the scientists and engineers the government needs.

"If we could persuade the parents of the country that these things should be done, then they'd be more receptive if federal and state governments come up with educational programs.

'If the parents would get up on

Continued on Page 2, Col. 6

FIRST DAY ENDS—White students file out of Norview High School at the end of classes in Norfolk, Va., yesterday as Alveraze Gonsouland, 16-year-old Negro pupil, stops to talk to a newsman. This was at the close of the first day of integrated classes in Norview and five other Norfolk schools. (AP Wirephoto).

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The General Education Bill provides for a $100 raise the first

Tennessee Teachers Among Lowest Salaried. Page 7.

NEW YORK, Feb. 2 (AP)—The city's 800 evening high school teachers resigned en masse today when their demands for wage boosts were turned down. Affected were 16 schools in the city's five boroughs with an estimated 30,000 night-school students, including armed forces veterans and other adults.

year and an additional $100 the second year.

The Tennessee Education Assn., which represents the teachers in legislative matters, announced last week it would not attempt to amend the bill. The TEA originally had proposed the $850 figure.

Teachers from Carter and Johnson Counties, dissatisfied with the decision of the TEA's administrative council, organized automobile caravans to Nashville. They intend to buttonhole legislators and voice their demands for higher pay at a joint meeting of the House and Senate Committees tomorrow afternoon.

Ellington said the citizens committee, which he expects to name soon, will be made up 'of outstanding citizens in various fields—both laymen and educators."

"This committee will be specifically instructed to determine whether there ought to be a constitutional amendment to give our schools greater financial support," the governor said. The group's recommendations, Ellington added, will be made in time

Continued on Page 2, Col. 1

Police Officer's Widow Sued Over Crash Death

Jean Crane, daughter of Mrs. Eva Crane, police department clerk killed in an automobile accident last March 29, yesterday brought suit for $50,000 in Circuit Court against Mrs. Robert H. Jenkins Sr., widow of the police sergeant who died in the same wreck.

Jenkins, 48, and Mrs. Crane, 49, were killed when a car driven by Jenkins plunged from the highway while rounding a curve in the 3100 block of Kingston Pike and crashed into a utility polie.

The fatal accident occurred at 1:30 a.m. How Sergeant Jenkins and Mrs. Crane, widow of F. H. Crane, a city fireman, happened to be in the car together was never determined.

Jenkins told superiors he was ill between 7 and 8 p.m., went to his home, 2425 McCalla Avenue, for supper and did not return to the station. Mrs. Crane was off duty about 11 p.m.

There was some speculation that Jenkins might have suffered a heart attack, but the family declined an autopsy.

Miss Crane sued as administratrix for her mother's estate and named Mrs. Jenkins defendant as administratrix for her husband's estate. The suit charged negligent and reckless driving by Jenkins was responsible for Mrs. Crane's death.

Vodka, Whisky Difference Nill, Judge Decides

After 10 days of study, acting City Judge H. O. Pollard apparently concluded there is no legal difference between vodka and whisky, and fined an East Oklahoma woman $25 for possessing one-half pint of vodka.

Judge Pollard fined Naomi Allen, 204 East Oklahoma, Avenue, yesterday in city court, 10 days after he passed judgment on the case Jan. 23 when Mrs. Allen's attorney claimed "Whisky and vodka are as different as the state of Kentucky and Russia."

The defense attorney, T. Edward Cole, moved for dismissal of the possessing whisky charge, because the warrant charged Mrs. Allen with possessing "intoxicating whisky," not vodka. The charges grew out of a raid on Mrs. Allen's house Nov. 19.

Another possessing whisky case against Mrs. Allen was dismissed in court when officers failed to produce the search warrant. Similarly, Amos Carl Haney, 204 Oklahoma Avenue, went free on possessing whisky charges arising out of the same Nov. 19 raid, when officers failed to find his warrant.

Obituaries

LAFOLLETTE—George F. McCullah.
ROGERSVILLE—Mrs. Laura Johnson.
ROGERSVILLE—Wiley M. Kenner.
ROGERSVILLE—Mrs. Cordelia Brotherton Bloomer.
SEVIERVILLE—Arthur Claude Fraze.
LAFOLLETTE—David Hicks.
SNEEDVILLE—Loyd Sizemore.
George McMillon.
H. S. (Jake) Householder.
Mrs. Josephine Leake Preston.
Frank Reginald Panter Sr.
James Perkins.
Royal T. Dodson.
James W. Latham.
Mrs. Ida Mae Ault.

OBITUARIES ON PAGE 11

Freezing Rain, Snow Move East

DALLAS, Tex., Feb. 2 (AP) — Snow and freezing rain moved from Colorado and New Mexico toward Alabama today, leaving at least 14 dead in Texas from weather-caused accidents.

The Weather Bureau issued a special warning of freezing rain or snow in parts of Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi and on into extreme Northern Alabama. Parts of Texas, Oklahoma, Colorado and New Mexico felt the hazardous weather earlier.

The ice conditions extended South into Central Texas, almost to Austin.

Scores of Texas schools closed because slick highways and streets created hazards for children seeking to attend classes.

Almost all Southwestern highways were open but many were termed hazardous by official sources.

Except for mountain areas, heaviest overnight snow reported was more than 8 inches at Gage, Okla., near the Texas border. Follett, in the Texas Panhandle, reported 6 inches.

Thirty inches of new snow fell atop Wolf Creek Pass in Southwest Colorado during the weekend, bringing the total on the ground three to 4 feet. The mountain town of Fraser, 60 miles

Continued on Page 3, Col. 3

Telephone Caller Threatens Bomb; YHS Emptied

The student body of Young High School was evacuated yesterday afternoon after an anonymous telephone caller told an office assistant, "there is a bomb in one of your lockers."

Principal John K. Hicks said a man called about 1 p.m. and talked to a student office assistant who relayed the message to the school secretary.

Hicks said the school was evacuated within 25 seconds, using the regular fire alarm alert.

An hour's search by some 15 Civil Defense officers, rescue squad members and county deputies disclosed no trace of a bomb.

youngsters filed into six junior and senior high schools in Norfolk, the state's largest city. Another four entered Stratford Junior High in Arlington County, a prosperous suburb of Washington.

So for the first time in Virginia's history, Negroes and whites began attending public schools together, limited through the scale of integration might be at the outset.

Here in this capital of the Confederacy during a war fought over another racial issue, the legislature rang out with continued cries of segregationists.

"This," said Del Sam E. Pope, "is one of the blackest days Virginia has faced since reconstruction."

"The rape of our constitutional rights is an accomplished fact," said Sen. Mills E. Godwin," also from the Southside, the area most heavily populated with Negroes.

HUNT HOPEFULLY

Segregationists in the legislature still hunted hopefully, but with slim chances of success, for some new device to bring integration to a halt. One rallying point, a new school closure bill, was defeated in the senate.

Gov. J. Lindsay Almond Jr. and legislators alike voiced gratification that the transition to integration was peaceful at Norfolk and Arlington. That was just what school and community authorities had predicted—with crossed fingers.

Both at Norfolk and in Arling-

Continued on Page 3, Col. 1

Senate Asked To Abolish South's Hold

WASHINGTON, Feb. 2 (AP)—Sen. William Proxmire (D-Wis) called on the Senate today to abolish the seniority tradition he said gives the South domination of committee chairmanships.

Although Proxmire conceded his proposal is likely to be shunted aside, he urged in a prepared speech that the Senate adopt a rule under which no more than half of the chairmen of 15 major committees could come from the same section of the country.

Proxmire said he would object when an order is brought up in the senate to name Sen. J. William Fulbright (D-Ark) as chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee and Sen. A. Willis Robertson (D-Va) as head of the Banking Committee.

Fulbright will vacate the banking post to take over the foreign relations job from which Sen. Theodore Francis Green (D-RI) resigned last week. Democratic leader Lyndon B. Johnson of Texas said the Senate will be asked next week to make this transfer official.

In length of Senate service, Fulbright ranks next to Green among Democrats on the Foreign Relations Committee. He has been a senator since 1945. Robertson has been in the Senate since 1946.

Today's Chuckle

About the only thing that will improve some people's conversation is silence.

US Communists Jailed, American Tells Reds

MOSCOW, Feb. 2 (AP)—James E. Jackson Jr., the US Communist party's secretary for Negro and southern affairs, said today many Communists are in jails of the United States.

But for that, he told the Soviet Communist Party's 21st Congress, there would be a bigger American representation in Moscow for sessions of the Congress.

Jackson praised Premier Khrushchev's seven-year plan in an address to the Congress. He drew applause by saying in Russian:

"Long live peace, long live Communism."

These were the concluding words of a message to the Congress from the US party's national committee.

Jackson told the gathering:

"If President Eisenhower could say, as Khrushchev did in his report (on Russia), that in the United States there is not a single political prisoner, then many leaders of the Communist and workers movement in the United States would be able to be present here and to greet the delegates of the Congress."

Jackson, 43, of Brooklyn, was among six Communist leaders who won reversal last Aug. 4 of convictions under the Smith Act of conspiring to teach and advocate the forcible overthrow of the US government. A New York federal appeals court held there was no proof that they taught revolutionary deeds—beyond mere theory. The reversal nullified prison sentences of from one to five years.)

The Communist party in the United States, Jackson said, will find in Khrushchev's appeal for world peace a great source of inspiration and moral support.

He said US Communists will not allow "imperialist merchants of death" to plunge the United States into a war whose only outcome would be national disaster."

Defeat Of Rep. Hays

WASHINGTON, Feb. 2 (AP)—FBI agents are investigating the defeat of veteran Rep. Brooks Hays by write-in candidate Dale Alford in Arkansas last November, the Justice Department said today.

The inquiry was ordered the department said, "as a result of complaints received by its Civil Rights Division."

The injury, officials said, is aimed at determining if the outcome of the election involved any violations of the federal Corrupt Practices Act.

They declined to supply details. But when asked if the investigation turned on the alleged use of an anonymous poster, the officials said this was not the matter being looked into.

Alford, an avowed segregationist running as an independent, defeated Hays, a Democrat, by 1200 votes principally cast for Alford by printed gummed stickers which were attached to the ballot. Hays' defeat was associated with his reputation as "a moderate" in relation to public school integration.

The house by a voice vote seated Alford on Jan. 7 after a special election's committee recommended 3-2 that he be denied the oath pending further inquiry. He was accepted by the Democrats as one of their number after a question had been raised on this point.

The committee heard complaints in December by John F. Wells, Little Rock weekly newspaper publisher, and others that Arkansas Gov. Orval Faubus and his supporters had engaged in a conspiracy to unseat Hays.

Wells contended that "many irregularities," figured in the Fifth District election and that the write-in stickers in some cases were given to voters along with their ballots.

The committee also heard allegations that too many votes had been counted at some polling places.

As is customary, the Justice Department declined to identify the source of the complaints which put the FBI into the case.

Integration Figure Draws Prison Term

ATLANTA, Feb. 2 (AP) — Carl Braden, Louisville, Ky., integration advocate, was sentenced today to 12 months for contempt of Congress.

The contempt charge was made after Braden refused to answer questions of a House Un-American Activities subcommittee here last July. Braden was convicted in US District Court here Jan. 21.

Federal Judge Boyd Sloan set Braden's bond at $1000 pending a motion by his attorney for a new trial.

Frank Wilkinson of Los Angeles, was given a similar sentence for contempt of the committee. He is secretary of the Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedom.

Braden is field secretary for the Southern Conference Educational Fund. He accused the committee of using its position to harass people working for integration.

Carmichael

Well, how often SHOULD you feed a goldfish?

(Not printed at Government expense)

Congressional Record

United States of America

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 86th CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

Southern Regional Council

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD BOLLING

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 2, 1959

Mr. BOLLING. Mr. Speaker, a sense of fairness impels me to insert the following editorials from two respected southern papers. These editorials from the Richmond Times-Dispatch and the Chattanooga Times discuss certain attacks on the good name of the Southern Regional Council and deserve the careful attention of every fairminded citizen regardless of his views:

[From the Richmond Times-Dispatch, Aug. 21, 1958]

A RACE AGENCY AND THE FACTS

Inaccurate statements as to its origins of the Southern Regional Council of Atlanta appeared recently in the Times-Dispatch, and should be corrected. They appeared—inadvertently, we are sure—in one of the series of articles by Edward B. Simmons, of the New Bedford (Mass.) Standard-Times, concerning Communist efforts to incite racial strife in the United States.

Mr. Simmons stated in the article appearing in our paper on August 5 that the Southern Regional Council, established in Atlanta in 1944, was an "offshoot of the old Southern Conference for Human Welfare, which was dissolved in 1948 after twice being described by the Federal Government as Communist front." He also said: "The Communist Daily Worker openly boasted that James E. Jackson, chief of the southern branch of the U S. Communist Party, was a cofounder of the regional council."

Taking these two charges in order, the Southern Regional Council was not an offshoot of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. It was established in response to an appeal from respected southern Negro leaders, who met at Durham, N.C., in October 1942, on the call of Dr. Gordon B. Hancock, of the Virginia Union faculty here, and Dr. P. B. Young, of Norfolk, publisher of the Norfolk Journal and Guide. These Negro leaders did not ask for the elimination of segregation in the schools or anywhere else; they asked that "separate but equal" be made a reality.

Responding to their appeal, a group of white leaders met in Atlanta in the spring of 1943, and expressed a desire to cooperate. Out of this grew the Southern Regional Council. The council was the successor to the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, founded in 1919 by leading churchmen. To repeat, it not only was no offshoot of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare; it was criticized in some quarters because it was more conservative than that organization and suspected of being in competition with it.

We must remember, too, that when the Southern Conference for Human Welfare was established in 1938, it was not suspected of having any Communist connections, and many well intentioned and patriotic southerners participated in its early meetings. A number of these later joined the Southern Regional Council when they discovered the true purposes of the Conference for Human Welfare.

As to the allegation of the Communist Daily Worker that James E. Jackson, chief of the southern branch of the U.S. Communist Party, was a cofounder of the Southern Regional Council, there is nothing to support this.

A James E. Jackson is listed as having attended the Durham meeting of Negro leaders in October 1942, but is not mentioned by the Norfolk Journal and Guide as having been on the committee which drew up the statement then issued. Jackson did not participate in the meetings of white and Negro leaders in 1943 and 1944 which led to the establishment of the Southern Regional Council, and he was not at any time an officer, director, or member of that agency. The Daily Worker's statement that he was a founder is as unreliable and inaccurate as nearly everything else in that Communist sheet.

The late Dr. Howard W. Odum, noted and respected member of the University of North Carolina faculty, was the first president of the council. He was succeeded in 1945 by Paul D. Williams, prominent Catholic layman of Richmond and cofounder of the Catholic Committee of the South, who served until 1951. Mr. Williams was succeeded in that year by Marion A. Wright, South Carolina attorney, former chairman of the South Carolina Library Board and past president of the University of South Carolina Alumni Association.

It should be emphasized that SRC worked within the framework of "separate but equal" for 7 years, and did not announce for integration until 1951.

While we disagree strongly and completely with its present position on this issue, we feel obligated to point out, in fairness, that it was in no sense Communist in its origins. The Southern Regional Council was established because of a sincere desire on the part of white and Negro leaders in the South to eliminate many of the disabilities and discriminations from which Negroes were suffering.

It was hoped that if these could be substantially lessened, the colored South would not look to the colored North for leadership. Insufficient progress was made, unfortunately, and the NAACP moved in and launched its drive for the complete elimination of segregation—sooner than it probably would have done if SRC's accomplishments had been larger.

That is where we stand today.

[From the Chattanoga (Tenn.) Times, Dec. 20, 1958]

MATTHEWS AND THE SRC

The Arkansas Legislative Council, concluding that a Communist plot is substantially responsible for the Little Rock desegregation crisis, has aired some charges so grossly unjust as to recall the McCarthyist nightmare.

There was J. B. Matthews, himself a former Communist-front leader, declaring that the Southern Regional Council had Red sympathizers in its ranks.

Just 20 years ago, Mr. Matthews was accusing Shirley Temple of aiding the Bolsheviks. The former chief counsel of the Dies committee is primarily remembered, however, for his July 1953 article in the American Mercury labeling "at least 7,000 Protestant clergymen" as "party members, fellow travelers, espionage agents, partyline adherents, and unwilling dupes." The protest,

from President Eisenhower and others, was so strong that Senator Joe McCarthy, who by then had carried his campaign of vilification directly to the White House, was forced to fire Mathews, whom he had just hired as executive director of his subcommittee.

In the Little Rock hearings, other familiar names in the business of smear were trotted out. The Southern Regional Council was a frequent target, though no one dared go so far as to impugn its motives as a whole.

The SRC, as is well known, is made up of foremost southern educators, clergymen, business, labor, and professional leaders. A discussion and research group, it was organized in 1943, as a result of Negro leaders' efforts to see that the "separate but equal" doctrine in southern education be made a reality. It grew also out of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, founded in 1919 by leading churchmen.

Since then it has favored gradual compliance with the Supreme Court's decision, but even so staunchly segregationist a newspaper as the Richmond Times-Dispatch recently said: "The Southern Regional Council was established because of a sincere desire on the part of white and Negro leaders in the South to eliminate many of the disabilities and discriminations from which Negroes were suffering."

Now the Arkansas Legislative Council, with never a peep about the role of its own Governor Faubus, concludes on the word of former Communists, who are professional name-callers, and others, most of them from out of the region, that little more than a Red plot is the cause of their difficulties.

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U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE: 1959

Unanswered

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3/6/59

P. O. Drawer 429
Sumter, S.C.
March 3, 1959

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Gentlemen:

It is understood indirectly that the Southern Regional Council is a member of a group established some two and one half years ago under the name of Consultative Committee on Desegregation, or CCD.

In what purports to be the minutes of the Mass Media Committee of CCD held in New York Wednesday February 4, 1959, it is reported that the Southern Regional Council is reprinting the Arkansas Gazette report on the effect of the desegregation controversy on economic conditions in Arkansas and that copies will be sent to all CCD agencies.

I would very much like to see a copy of this report. If it is to be for sale will you please advise prices both of individual and in bulk.

It is understood that CCD is now composed of some 40 organizations. It will be appreciated if you can furnish me with the names and addresses of the organizations that are members.

Yours very truly,

S. L. Gentry

S. L. GENTRY

—Letter To The Editor—

Mr. Virginius Dabney, Editor
The Richmond Times Dispatch
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Mr. Dabney:

For convenience, there is attached an editorial from a recent issue of the Times Dispatch, said to be by you, which was reprinted in the Sumter Daily Item September 24th.

The stated purpose of this editorial is to correct two alledged errors with respect to the origin and founders of the Southern Regional Council, which appeared in a recent series of articles reprinted in the Times Dispatch, namely (1) the Southern Regional Council is an off-shoot of the now defunct Southern Conference for Human Welfare and, (2) one of the founders was a James E. Jackson cited as a communist.

I fear that by the omission of some pertinent facts in your commendable effort to be fair to the Southern Regional Council that you have inadvertently attributed to that organization respectability to a degree to which it is not entitled.

The facts, as I understand them to be, are as follows:

The effectiveness of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare was practicaly at an end — due to exposures being made by the House Un-American Activities Committee — when the meeting to which you refer was held in Durham, N. C. during October 1942. The Southern Regional Council was born at that meeting because of what its founders conceived to be the necessity for an organization to continue striving to attain the purposes and goals of the then discredited Southern Conference for Human Welfare but which would avoid its publicly exposed excesses. This problem was solved by the new organization by consolidating with the Commission on Interracial Relations, not then exposed or cited as a Communist front, and ostensibly adopting its purposes and goals.

Anyone who studies the pattern of subversive organizations in this nation over the past three decades will find that our nation is afflicted with more than its fair share of easily duped "do-gooders" whose favorite habitat is radical organizations with noble sounding names and purposes until exposure begins when they begin to flee to the protection of some newly formed organization usually in the same field. This is exactly the pattern followed by the workers in the Southern Conference for Human Welfare when they fled to the newly formed Southern Regional Council. Some are generous enough to credit these easily duped "do-gooders" with a degree of patriotism and good intentions. Frankly, I possess no such generosity.

Today, about the only difference between the now defunct Southern Conference for Human Welfare and the present Southern Regional Conference is that the former was financed by the Robert Marshall Foundation, a principal source of Communist front funds in the nation, while the present Southern Regional Council is financed by the almost equally pinkish Fund for the Republic.

This brief summary, I believe, represents the understanding generally of the people in the South with respect to the origin and connections of the Southern Regional Council. If incorrect, it should be corrected from some authentic and reliable source. We, of course, do not wish to be unfair to the Southern Regional Council or to any other organization. However, we should be very careful, in the present state of our affairs, not to add in any degree respectability to any organization that is a canker in the bowels not only of the South but of the nation as well.

Sincerely yours,
S. L. GENTRY

The bowhead whale has a mouth big enough to hold a cow. But, its throat can swallow nothing larger than a small herring.

Sumter (S.C.) Item 10/3/58

File - SRC Defense Materials

Letter To The Editor

Office of the President
Rip Raps Plantation
Mayesville, South Carolina
October 19, 1958

Oct 23 '58

Mr. H. D. Osteen, Editor
The Sumter Daily Item
Dear Sir:

In THE SUMTER DAILY ITEM of October 3, you ran a copy of a letter written by S. L. Gentry and addressed to Virginius Dabney, Editor, THE RICHMOND TIMES-DISPATCH, Richmond, Virginia, in which Mr. Gentry questions Mr. Dabney's opinion of the nature of the Southern Regional Council and suggests as his own opinion that the Council is communist tainted.

Since Mr. Gentry expressed the desire to be fair to the Southern Regional Council, I am somewhat surprised that he hasn't given the same publicity to Mr. Dabney's reply as he did to his own letter to Mr. Dabney. For in that reply — which I am attaching to this letter — Mr. Dabney stood by his earlier stand that the Council was a solid American organization, with whose stand on the segregation issue he however disagreed.

As president of the Southern Regional Council I may be permitted to point out that Mr. Dabney is in slight error in stating that the Council is financed by the Fund for the Republic; this might imply that the Council is entirely supported by the Fund. The Council has indeed been heavily supported by the Fund, especially in the past; but anyone who concludes that the Council is entirely supported by the Fund sadly underestimates the importance of the Council.

But this is a detail. I think the main issue is whether your readers wish to accept, in the matter of the Council's relation to communism, the opinion of Virginius Dabney, pro-segregationist editor of the RICHMOND TIMES - DISPATCH and one of the founders of the Council, or of Mr. S. L. Gentry.

Respectfully,
J. M. DABBS.

October 8, 1958

Mr. S. L. Gentry,
Sumter Daily Item,
124 E. Hampton Avenue,
Sumter, South Carolina.

Dear Mr. Gentry:

I have your letter concerning the editorial republished in the Sumter, S. C., Item from the Richmond Times-Dispatch.

No one has convinced me that any of the statements in that editorial are inaccurate, and few have tried to do so. I stand by the statements contained therein.

I am in complete disagreement with the present pro-integrationist stand of the Southern Regional Council, and am entirely familiar with that stand, as well as with the fact that the organization is financed by the Fund for the Republic. None of which alters the facts as to the organization's establishment and the things for which it stood from 1944 to 1951.

Sincerely yours,
VIRGINIUS DABNEY.

MILN TACTRIC

STEIN Craftsmen

MUrray 8-4546

Attention H Z

The following publications, addressed to you, are being held in this post office:

87-18

WORLD FESTIVAL OF YOUTH AND STUDENTS

TO: Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave.
NE, Atlanta, Ga.

APR 21 1959

Please indicate whether you ordered, subscribed to, or otherwise solicited such material by checking below and returning this card to the post office, personally or by mail. If this card is not received at the post office within 15 days from the date stamped hereon, the publications listed will be disposed of as nonmailable under the law.

POSTMASTER

I have ordered ☐; have not ordered ☐; have subscribed to ☐; have not subscribed to ☐; otherwise solicited ☐; not otherwise solicited ☐; the publication(s) listed on this card.

(Signature)

POD Form 2153-X, Mar. 1959

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE : 1959 OF—499212

Dear Sir:

This letter is to advise you that the Postal Service has received foreign mail addressed to you consisting of certain publications which contain political propaganda as defined by the Foreign Agents Registration Act (22 U.S. Code 611–621).

Such matter ordinarily would be treated as nonmailable. However, such matter lawfully may be passed through the mails and delivered to the addressee when it has been ordered, subscribed to, or otherwise solicited, and is not for dissemination. It is possible that you did not order this material and that your name is on a mailing list over which you have no control. Therefore, in order to determine whether the publications listed on the enclosed card may be passed through the mails and delivered to you please return the accompanying card.

If the enclosed card is not received within 15 days, the publications listed thereon will be disposed of as nonmailable under the law.

POSTMASTER

POD FORM MAR. 1959 2154-X

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE : 1959—O-499213

UNITED STATES POST OFFICE
GENERAL POST OFFICE, ROOM 3505
NEW YORK 1, NEW YORK

OFFICIAL BUSINESS
P-433-SP

PENALTY FOR PRIVATE USE TO AVOID PAYMENT OF POSTAGE, $300.

VIA AIR MAIL

April 23, 1959

Postmaster
General Post Office, Room 3505
33rd Street, East of 9th Avenue
New York 1, New York

Dear Sir:

We are in receipt of your form 2153-X dated April 21, 1959, indicating that you have on hand addressed to this organization the publication WORLD FESTIVAL OF YOUTH AND STUDENTS.

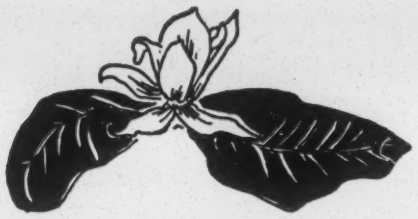
Please be advised that no one connected with the Southern Regional Council ordered nor has use of this publication. Since we are not interested in receiving this material you may dispose of it as you see fit.

Thank you for your attention to this matter.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf



McCarthyism under the Magnolias

by WILMA DYKEMAN & JAMES STOKELY

"AT A TIME when the South might well use a renewed vision of Robert E. Lee's virtue or Andy Jackson's vigor," a young Southern liberal said recently, "it seems a shame that we should choose to start reviving the spirit of Joe McCarthy."

An embattled social scientist in Atlanta summed up the situation during a conversation: "One trouble outsiders have in understanding our present difficulties is the culture-lag in the South. McCarthy never caught on down here back in his heyday, but as the last-ditch fight for segregation grows more desperate, all his ugly techniques are revived. At the end of the decade we're in the throes of an experience the rest of the country put behind it in the early Fifties."

One recent example came, perhaps with some appropriateness, in the legislative halls of the nation's capital. When Representative Dale Alford, newly elected Congressman from Arkansas, presented his maiden speech in the House in February, the proposed subject of his discourse was only slightly less sensational than the whirlwind eight-day paste-in campaign which had won him victory over veteran Representative Brooks Hays in last November's election.

Voicing alarm "at the complacency of some officials toward the menace of the Communist conspiracy . . . to make this great nation of ours part of a one-world government, operated from Moscow," Representative Alford then announced he would reveal the close alliance between Communism and "racial agitation" in the South.

The speech was founded largely on intricate webs of association and denunciations of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the bi-racial Southern Regional Council, "renegade journalist" Harry Ashmore, "the Warren-Myrdal Supreme Court," and several less prominent individuals and groups. Its "revelations" were often without relevance.

Perhaps the whole performance of equating a controversial issue with Communism and then identifying as fellow travelers those people interested in confronting the issue seems anachronistic to Americans outside the South, where McCarthyism is only a bitter memory. But to many people in the South it is a significant thermometer reflecting the epidemic already in their midst, and a barometer suggesting the proportions of attacks yet to come.

As McCarthyism moves South under the magnolias, most of those against whom the search for subversives appears to be directed are not political Communists as much as racial non-conformists, people who seek a reasonable way of abiding by the Supreme Court ruling on desegregation of the public schools, while those who would subvert the law by defiance and maneuver designate themeselves the super-patriots and inquisitors. By their words the investigators are seeking out Southerners "soft on Communism;" by their acts they are singling out Southerners "soft on segregation."

Of course, the very fact that they feel this necessary indicates the absence of a monolithic South, and reveals that there are many Southerners who abhor the present dilemma and are willing to work for a solution. But the nature of this crisis, with its pull from the past and its emotional undertow, makes it especially susceptible to McCarthyism. In a time of tremendous change at the regional level (involving integration), and deep apprehension at the national level (involving Communism), where these regional racial tensions coincide with our national survival fears, there is created a no-man's land of uncertainty and suspicion. In such an atmosphere, threats and innuendo serve well to intimidate and immobilize creative thought and action on controversial problems.

In October, 1954, Circuit Court Judge Tom P. Brady of Mississippi made an address to the Indianola Citizens' Council. The judge gave a lengthy historical picture of the rise of the vertebrates, the various migrations, nations, and wars of mankind, and such "facts" of eugenics and biology as that "the Negro's brain pan seals and hardens quicker than the white man's." Seeking to explain how the Supreme Court had overlooked all this history and biology in its recent decisions, he cited the influence of the NAACP and the 87 "Communist-front organizations" behind it.

A year later the attempt to identify black leadership and the red cause received added impetus from Attorney General Eugene Cook of Georgia. In a talk entitled "The Ugly Truth about the NAACP," which was given saturation distribution as a printed pamphlet throughout the South, Cook sought to prove that through affiliations of some of its officers with other organizations, some of which were listed in the files of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, and because the Communist Party had an identical stated aim of "full racial equality," the NAACP had "allowed itself to become part and parcel of the Communist conspiracy to overthrow the democratic governments of this nation and its sovereign states."

He closed with a warning which was both the most explicit and implicit of any as to what "do-gooder" community leaders might expect if they continued to participate in interracial groups. "Investigations currently are being made . . . the results of which will greatly embarrass those

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WILMA DYKEMAN and JAMES STOKELY, native Southerners, are a husband-and-wife writing team whose recent book on the South, "Neither Black Nor White," won the 1958 Hillman Award and has now been issued in a paperback edition.

good citizens who unwittingly have become involved in their activities. I urge all such persons to take immediate steps to disassociate themselves from these groups . . . before they, their friends, and their congregations are exposed to the anguish and embarrassment which exposure of these groups will necessarily mean."

Such speeches, widely disseminated throughout the South by the segregationist Citizens' Councils, were only the prelude. In March, 1957, a special Louisiana state legislative committee (sometimes called the "watchdog" committee on segregation) held a three-day hearing in Baton Rouge to find "the causes of racial unrest in the South." As the testimony unfolded, however, it seemed that these causes had already been determined. The committee, headed by state Senator William Rainach, did not appear to seek from its six "cooperative" witnesses information as much as confirmation.

The Rainach Committee hearing marked the first appearance on the Southern scene of some of the old pros of the investigative road shows, refurbished now to play the Southern circuit. Manning Johnson, a Negro from New York and self-confessed former Communist, was the star. In 1954 Johnson was the principal denouncer in the loyalty investigation of United Nations Undersecretary Ralph J. Bunche. His accusations were discredited. He himself testified before the Subversive Activities Control Board that he believed "some things are more important than the truth," and in 1956 the Board expunged from the record of certain of its hearings what it called "tainted" testimony given by Harvey Matusow, the late Paul Crouch, and Manning Johnson.

Yet Johnson, who was reported to have earned up to $9,096 over a two-year period as a professional former Communist witness, appeared in Louisiana to castigate Judge William Hastie, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt ("somebody should muzzle her and put her in a cage"), Martin Luther King, Jr. ("I think Reverend King could stand a thorough investigation"), the respected Southern Regional Council, and the Mississippi Council on Human Relations.

It was in testimony concerning these two organizations that Johnson's and the committee's irresponsibility became most evident. Having falsely asserted that the Southern Regional Council was founded by a Communist, Johnson compounded falsehood with guilt-by-association and reached from Louisiana over into Mississippi to discuss the Mississippi Council on Human Relations. He had no startling "revelations" about this state group but did take time to read into the record the names and addresses of the officers of the biracial organization.

The reason for publicizing these names and addresses was not made clear, but results came promptly. One board member named, along with the Catholic Bishop of Mississippi and other eminent clergymen, was the wife of a well-known Greenwood, Mississippi, cotton dealer. Six days after Johnson's testimony the dining room of their home was ripped by a bullet blast. A reporter later concluded, "It was not intended to kill but just to frighten."

These public proceedings did not nail down any specific Communist individual or group against which Louisiana and the federal government could move to lessen racial difficulties in the South. Assessments of guilt were conveniently general, emphasizing "racial nationalism," NAACP "dictation" to the Supreme Court and the President, and destruction of individual liberty by the "Communist timetable of world conquest."

Several subsequent investigations have arrived at similar conclusions. Hard on the heels of the disastrous developments in Little Rock, in October, 1957, the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, headed by Senator James O. Eastland of Mississippi, moved into Memphis to study "Communism in the Mid-South." At the end of the two-day hearing, with 14 witnesses, seven had invoked the Fifth Amendment and one, a Little Rock housewife who had made news earlier that autumn by comforting one of the Negro girls in the school crisis, had been accused of affiliation with the Communist Party in 1945. The statement of conclusions, however, was still general: "Communist activity in the Mid-South is highly conspiratorial, deeply cloaked in secrecy." Without specific elaboration these deductions left room for intimidation, without risk of libel, when they asserted that the targets of the Red network were churches, parent-teacher associations, colleges, high schools, and labor organizations.

Three months later, in February, 1958, an investigation of racial agitation in Florida was undertaken by a joint legislative committee in Tallahassee. Senator C. E. Johnson, sponsor of segregation bills at two previous legislative sessions, was chairman. The star witness on this occasion was J. B. Matthews.

Billed as a one-time investigator for the late Senator McCarthy's Committee, it was not pointed out that Matthews had lasted as staff director for McCarthy less than a month. Although he asserted flatly that "Communists or Communist influence were directly involved in every major race incident of the past four years since the Supreme Court 'legislated' on the subject of integration," reports were forced to state that Matthews' further testimony was "general in nature."

The Tampa *Tribune* suggested that the committee's sessions had been "largely devoted to old charges and an intense study of the obvious." It stated that the committee's treatment of the treasurer of the Tallahassee Council on Human Relations "was repugnant to the American concept of fair play," and voiced the hope that in the future the committee might "have evidence which is current, and which is related to Communism."

The Human Relations Council treasurer to whom the paper referred was a respected furniture dealer, James Shaw. The episode involving him highlighted the most unsavory feature of such investigations and one frequently forgotten by many citizens. Equated in the public mind with a trial, these hearings are not bound by the rules of actual courts of law, and their arbitrary development of one point of view may make a mockery of justice.

Shaw was subpoenaed to present the financial records of the Tallahassee Human Relations Council to the committee. When he did so, he was refused the right to make a statement, although one member of the committee wished to hear him. Shaw later told the press: "I wanted to say that I presented the records under protest because I feel that being subpoenaed to bring them here created implications and insinuations about me and my organization. They could have called any officer of the organization and we would have been glad to turn over the records to them. Anyone could have attended any one of our meetings and realized there was nothing to investigate."

His summary of the council's aims and methods must seem modest enough to anyone removed from the total resistance atmosphere of much of the South today: "This organization is not secret. Most of our meetings have been held at the courthouse. One of the purposes of it is to create a line of communication between Negroes and whites. We have not done very much but we have tried to ease the tensions that have been created by statewide political campaigns."

The increasing all-out effort to discredit just these individuals and groups working to "create a line of

communication" and "ease the tensions" became even more evident during a recent investigation conducted in Arkansas. Attorney General Bruce Bennett, who examined witnesses for the state committee, said the hearing would serve "as an educational program more than anything else," and added, "most of our case will be tried at the bar of public opinion." He indicated that those called to testify would be friendly to the committee's purpose, which indeed proved to be true.

Manning Johnson and J. B. Matthews were the principals among these witnesses. Johnson repeated his summary of Communist history and strategy and restated his antagonism to the NAACP which he had voiced at the Rainach Committee hearing in Louisiana. Matthews went even farther than he had during his appearance before the Florida committee. He named as Communists four former residents of Arkansas, two of whom had left the state years before, two of whom had been in Little Rock until recently. The rest of his testimony was largely an effort to link together those groups interested in integration and smear them and their members with one sweeping assertion of witting or unwitting aid to Communism.

This was the same Matthews who wrote back in 1953: "The largest single group supporting the Communist apparatus in the United States today is composed of Protestant clergymen." Virginia's Senator Harry F. Byrd promptly declared that Matthews "should give names and facts to sustain his charge or stand convicted as a cheap demagogue willing to blacken the character of his fellow Americans for his own notoriety and personal gain." Following a statement by President Eisenhower, Matthews resigned as staff director of the McCarthy Committee. It is not a history designed to inspire confidence in later accusations of Communist infiltration. Nevertheless, the committee proceeded with its televised probe featuring the testimony of these two men.

Since the hearings in Arkansas in December and Representative Alford's February speech to the House, Attorney General Bennett has branched out in his activities. In March he helped instigate and guide a legislative probe in the adjoining state of Tennesseee.

This exploration concerned the Highlander Folk School, founded and directed by Myles Horton, a native Tennessean. This school has been controversial since its establishment in 1934 by the very nature of its interests: labor organization and, more recently, racial integration. Endorsed by such national figures as Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, Reinhold Niebuhr, Monsignor John O'Grady, Harry Golden, and former TVA Chairman Gordon Clapp, the school had come under close federal scrutiny when its tax-exempt status was restored over a year ago. But federal clearance did not satisfy Arkansas' Bennett, who flew to Nashville to testify that in his opinion the school is subversive. "Run 'em out! Run 'em out!" he advised the committee members, referring to leaders of the school.

Many Tennesseans resented his advice, recalling a thought-control bill he had introduced in his own state's legislature, making it unlawful "to encourage nonconformance with the established traditions, customs, and usage of the state."

The Chattanooga *Times* commented: "We are neither patrons nor partisans of Highlander Folk School . . . . But unpopularity is not a sufficient reason for official harassment or intimidation. When one man's right to argue an unpopular course is assailed, another's right to advocate the opposite is threatened." Fourteen University of the South professors, who live only five miles from Highlander, in nearby Sewanee, came out in a public statement supporting the school and its "democratic ideals." The Nashville *Tennessean* battled against what it called a "witch hunt," warning that Tennessee did not need or deserve "the distinction of reviving McCarthyism."

Interspersed with the activities of these various official committees have been numerous other investigations, legislative proposals, printed and verbal attacks designed to obscure the black and white problem with the red menace. The NAACP has been under constant fire but other groups gaining increased attention include labor organizations, teachers, the clergy, and interracial councils. (It may be significant for the future that Manning Johnson, one of the favorite "friendly witnesses" of these hearings, wrote an article denouncing the NAACP in a recent issue of the violently anti-Semitic *Common Sense*.)

"The NAACP? Oh, you mean the National Association for the Advancement of the Communist Party." At filling stations and small-town stores in many parts of the South there is ready evidence of the easy acceptance of a scapegoat.

Yet J. Edgar Hoover, in his recent *Masters of Deceit,* a source widely quoted throughout the South on other aspects of Communism, and even praised by Representative Alford in that very speech he made to show red influences in the NAACP, came to the conclusion that NAACP leaders have consistently thwarted the Communist Party's "vigorous efforts" at infiltration. In 1953 Hoover stated: "The American Negro is not hoodwinked by these false messiahs."

Early in 1957 a bill was introduced in the Tennessee legislature providing that a teacher may be fired "if while within the buildings, he shall make pronouncements or engage in or promote discussions for the purpose of influencing students or other persons with reference to the problem of the integration of the races." This particular measure to gag the teachers died, but the spirit behind it did not.

Last year, when 63 Louisiana State University professors signed a Louisiana Civil Liberties Union petition opposing segregation bills which would permit closing of public schools, a legislative inquiry of the professors was launched. Members of the House were reported to feel that "Communism and integration walk hand in hand," and anyone, particularly university faculty members, who opposes legislation aimed at keeping Louisiana schools racially pure "must have subversive tendencies."

In December, 1958, University of Arkansas President J. T. Caldwell felt it necessary to "repudiate unequivocally the imputation that the University of Arkansas has been penetrated by Communists and express the fullest confidence in the members of our faculty." And when the Arkansas Education Association, a statewide organization of white teachers and school administrators, stated as policy a few months ago, "We can never compromise our conviction that the public school system is not expendable," the 21-member Legislative Council was so outraged that it suggested the Education Association members were innocent victims of subversive influence—and ordered an investigation by the Committee on Subversion in Education.

The National Council of Churches has borne much of the brunt of the smear attack on churchmen. One South Carolina editor has said the NCC "will shower respect on anarchists, Communists, and atheists but deny respect to Southerners whose only crime is that they believe in traditional American states rights."

One of the most consistently attacked organizations in the South recently has been the dignified and reasonable Southern Regional Council. This is understandable because it works by, with, and for Southerners of both races in a discussion and research effort to undergird integration with solid fact and lasting effectiveness. Its voice is calm, its work is

constructive, and its effect is cumulative. Unfortunately, much of its energy lately has been diverted in stamping out the leaf fires sparked by irresponsible incendiarists.

The SRC, under its knowledgeable young director, Harold Fleming, is filling a unique need in the region. Pitted against it is the testimony of —again—the ex-Communist, Manning Johnson, whose appearances before the Louisiana Rainach Committee provided the source for the subsequent attacks against SRC. A month after this hearing, in April, 1957, *The Firing Line,* published by the American Legion's National Americanism Commission, reported that Johnson's testimony "reflected the Council was formed by James E. Jackson, a Southern organizer of the Communist Party." The source of Johnson's information, in turn, was a boast in *The Daily Worker* on the many accomplishments of the said Jackson. But even the *Worker's* fantasy had not reached as far as Johnson's, for it claimed only that Jackson had "participated in the formation and building of the Southern Regional Council."

It is, of course, a matter of public record that the Southern Regional Council was founded in 1944; its distinguished incorporators were Bishop Arthur J. Moore of the Methodist Church, Ralph McGill, editor of the Atlanta *Constitution,* Dr. Rufus E. Clement, president of Atlanta University, the late Dr. Charles S. Johnson, president of Fisk University, and the late Dr. Howard W. Odum, professor of sociology at the University of North Carolina.

The SRC was the successor to the Commission on Interracial Cooperation which had been founded in 1919 by leading churchmen. Even so conservative and segregationist a newspaper as the Richmond *Times-Dispatch* felt moved in August of last year to clarify the issues in relation to the SRC: "As to the allegation of the Communist *Daily Worker* that James E. Jackson, chief of the Southern branch of the U.S. Communist Party, was a 'co-founder of the Southern Regional Council,' there is nothing to support this . . . he was not at any time an officer, director, or member of that agency. The *Daily Worker's* statement that he was a 'founder' is as unreliable and inaccurate as nearly everything else in that Communist sheet."

In May, 1957, *The Firing Line* made another allegation which was to be widely circulated in segregation circles and at last repeated by Representative Alford in his recent speech. "Records of the American Legion reveal a definite trend of interrelationship between the SRC and the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, a defunct Communist front organization."

The Southern Conference for Human Welfare is no longer in existence, but it once included in its "interrelationships" many prominent Southerners besides some who were later to be in the SRC. In 1938, at the Southern Conference meeting in Birmingham, Alabama, among those who were part of the proceedings were Governor-elect Burnett Maybank of South Carolina, Alabama's Senator John H. Bankhead, Bishop Robert Lucey of Texas, Governor Bibb Graves of Alabama, and others of equal prominence and reputation. In 1945 the Conference staged a dinner in Washington, D. C., honoring Justice Hugo Black. The toastmaster on this occasion was then Senator, later Vice-President Alben W. Barkley. At the speaker's table was the Honorable James F. Byrnes. Among the sponsors of the dinner were Secretary of State Edward Stettinius, Secretary of Defense James Forrestal, and President Harry S. Truman. Surely guilt by association cannot include all these men.

SRC Director Fleming said not long ago: "The tragedy is that these self-appointed experts on 'subversion' show no understanding whatever of the real Communist movements. It thrives on white supremacy and noisy defiance of desegregation rulings. The Communists wouldn't trade one Governor Faubus for 10,000 new recruits to the Party. By contrast, there are no more effective anti-Communists than those Southerners who are working for orderly compliance with the law of the land. Ironically, these are the very people whom the segregationist vigilantes falsely label 'reds' and 'subversives.' "

Eleven prominent Southern church officials said in a statement in early April: "The time has come for the public to be made aware of the resurgence of McCarthyism in the South. If there is in fact a Communist threat, then Dr. Alford and others like him have a responsibility to report their knowledge to the FBI; if not, they have a duty to check their facts. Otherwise, they themselves are doing the real service to Communism, which battens on confusion, false charges, and the blind defense of racial injustices in our country."

Where inequities exist in our country, it is, indeed, not the Communist Manifesto but the American Constitution that fosters unrest and makes citizens work for change. The McCarthy cry of "Communist" in a time of transition is appealing for two reasons: it is simple and it is emotional. It reduces a complex situation, with many ramifications and subtleties and need for sober logic, to one single outside cause, and stirs a rope-and-fagot reflex.

Most citizens, along with the U.S. Senate, finally came to their senses about the sickness of McCarthyism. Slowly, as Southerners themselves work to replace emotional resistance and bigotry with reason and respect for the law of the land, McCarthyism can be uprooted under the magnolias.

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July 1959

For additional copies write to

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February 1960

Factual REPORTS ARE BETTER

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CONFIDENTIAL

STANDARD CONSUMER REPORT
ACBofA No. 1
compiled by member bureau

1 REPORT ON: Webb, J. Atticus (Ida)
(Surname first) (Mr. or Mrs.) (Given Name) (Spouse's name)

2 RESIDENCE ADDRESS: 728 Cobb St. Athens, Clarke, Georgia
(Street Number) (City) (County) (State)

IDENTITY	3. Number of years covered: A. In file	A. Since 5-6-38
	B. In investigation	B. 27 years
	4. A. Age. (If near 21, confirm)	A. 53 (Born 10-14-06)
	B. Racial extraction (White, Black, Red, Yellow, Brown)	B. Anglo-Saxon
	5. A. Marital status	A. Married
	B. Number of dependents?	B. Wife
HISTORY	6. A. Name of employer	A. Webb Monument Co.
	B. Type of business	B. Monuments
	7. A. How long so employed	A. Off and on for 18 years
	B. Position held	B. Salesman
	8. A. Does applicant have record of steady employment?	A. Fairly so
	B. Any recent employment change? (If yes, explain in remarks)	B. No
	9. Any suits, judgments or bankruptcies? (If yes, explain in remarks)	Yes-See Remarks
Character	10. Is applicant well regarded as to character, habits and morals?	Poor from credit standpoint
	11. Is applicant favorably regarded by employer?	-
	12. Any suspicion of illegal practice past or present?	No-Except for poor credit
RESOURCES	13. A. Estimate monthly income from present employment	A. $300 Month (Estimate)
	B. Estimate other income such as rentals, investments, etc.	B. None
	C. Estimate income of others in household	C. No
	14. Own home, rent or board?	Buying

CREDIT RECORD: (If feasible include whether subject has satisfactory bank checking account.)

Trade Line	How Long Selling	Date of Last Sale	Highest Credit	Terms of Sale	Amount Owing	Amount Past Due	Manner of Payment
SECOND RECORD:-Suits filed against J. Atticus Webb							
12-51	Crawford Coal Co.		$31.00	6-56	Snow Fire Co.		15.31
6-52	City of Athens		12.54	6-56	J.Swanton Ivy		66.63
5-52	Gray Bros.		2.25	12-56	J.E.Williams		54.17
4-52	Trussell Motor Co.		19.58	5-57	State of Ga.		42.58
7-53	Lunsford Serv. Station		27.86	8-57	J.Swanton Ivy		59.40
2-54	Alewine's Garage		20-56	8-58	Farmers Hdwe.		17.02
Following accounts in hands of collection department of Credit Bureau.							
Garage	$14.90	Paid		Lumber Co.		$90.53	Unpaid

REMARKS: A. Give brief word picture of subject's history, explaining any unusual condition.
B. Amplify any incomplete or adverse information in answers above. Use other side also for full details.
C. Include estimate of net worth if possible.

Garage	$13.01	Unpaid	Auto Parts	$10.39	Unpaid
Insurance Agcy	16.65	Unpaid			

We have had a credit file on Mr. J. Atticus Webb for 21 years. He formerly worked for the Seaboard Silk Mill in Elberton, Ga., later was Substitute Mail Carrier in Elberton, Ga. However, he has been in the granite and monument business for about 1[illegible] years, first in Elberton, Ga. then moved to Athens, Ga. about 15 years ago. He has usually been in business for himself, that is, as a broker and salesman of monuments. He takes no interest in social or civic activities, children are grown and on their own. Home they live in is in wife's name. He is contentious in his attitude toward his obligations. There is no criticism of his habits.

Report for Mr. Henry Rosenthal Athens, Ga.

Date 8-27-59 Prepared by Credit Bureau of Athens, Ga.
(Name of member reporting bureau) (City) (State)

The confidential information given on this report is in answer to a request for same. This report is compiled simply as an aid in determining the propriety of extending credit, or the value or condition of an existing credit and is based upon information obtained from sources deemed reliable, the accuracy of which, however, is in no manner guaranteed. The inquirer, in accepting this report, agrees to hold same in STRICT CONFIDENCE for his own exclusive use, never to be communicated, and to be personally responsible for any damage arising from a violation of any of the above provisions.
(Printed in U.S.A.)

Asheville Citizen 9-6-59

OF OUR READERS

SRC Speaks For Sanity, Tolerance

In your issue of Sunday, August 30, you print a letter from Eva L. Sanders which contains some fairly damaging reflections upon Dr. J. M. Dabbs and the Southern Regional Council.

Neither needs any defense at my hands.

The reflections, by implications, involve Dr. Howard Odum, generally regarded as the founder of the Council and its first president, and upon Dr. Guy B. Johnson, for many years its executive director, as well as upon Dr. Paul Green of Chapel Hill, former State Senator Irving Carlyle of Winston-Salem and Mr. John Wheeler, who are at present directors.

Your own attitude toward the Council has been so uniformly fair and generous as to merit and receive a reprint of your editorial commendation upon the cover of NEW SOUTH, the Council's official publication. So we are quite sure that the views expressed by your correspondent are not your own.

The publication of such a letter, which is, of course, your prerogative is detrimental to the Council and its wise program. The Council, with no reward to any of its members, speaks for sanity and tolerance at a time when such spokesmen are sorely needed.

M. A. Wright
Linville Falls.

Helps Traff

ADL

SOUTHEASTERN OFFICE
41 Exchange Pl., S. E., Atlanta 3, Ga.

RECEIVED SEP 10 1959

For your information

9/9

Harold Fleming

Pamphlet returned enclosed as requested. J. Atticus Webb does indeed exist, as every lawyer in Athens seems to have reason to know, according to the attached credit report.

Thanks + regards

Art Levin

ADL

SOUTHEASTERN OFFICE
41 Exchange Pl., S. E., Atlanta 3, Ga.

RE NOV 12 1959

For your information

11/11

Harold Fleming

Questionnaire attached sent to each political candidate in Louisiana. Understand it has been in use for several years.

Regards

Art Levin

File - Attacks

AFTER THIS QUESTIONNAIRE HAS BEEN COMPLETED BY YOU, PLEASE RETURN ONE COPY OF IT, IN THE ENCLOSED ENVELOPE, TO:

CITIZENS' COUNCIL OF GREATER NEW ORLEANS
323 Balter Building
New Orleans 12, La.

1. Your name:

2. The office for which you are a candidate:

3. Are you in favor of continuing the SEGREGATION of the white and negro races in all public schools, libraries, conveyances, parks and places of amusement?

4. Will you support the enactment of additional laws and ordinances that will further assure the segregation of the white and negro races?

5. Are you a member of any organization favoring the continuance of the segregation of the white and colored races?

6. What have YOU done to aid in maintaining segregation of the white and colored races?

7. If elected to the office you seek, will you promise to assist 100% in the enforcement of the existing laws and ordinances of our State, Parish and City Governments, requiring segregation of the races?

8. Are you opposed to the use of the Armed Forces of the United States, or of the National Guard of the State of Louisiana, to enforce racial integration?

9. Are you in favor of electing unpledged electors for the Presidential Election, who will be free to cast their ballot for a candidate of their choice in the interest of the State of Louisiana and its citizens?

10. Do you favor the policies and actions of Paul M. Butler, Chairman of the National Democratic Party, and of Camille F. Gravel, Democratic National Committeeman, particularly relative to "Civil Rights" legislation?

11. Are you opposed to the purging of the registration rolls of voters who are improperly registered or who are not legally qualified to vote?

12. Are you in favor of protecting the States' rights from Federal encroachment?

13. Are you now, or have you ever been, a member of any of the following organizations?

    (a) National Association for the Advancement of Colored People?

    (b) Anti-Defamation League?

    (c) National Lawyers Guild?

    (d) Americans for Democratic Action?

    (e) Urban League?

    (f) Southern Regional Conference?

    (g) American Civil Liberties Union?

    (h) Any other organization advocating the INTEGRATION of the white and negro races in public schools, libraries, conveyances and parks (give names of organizations)?

_____
(Signature)

7.4.d - PA

SOUTHEASTERN OFFICE
ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE of B'NAI B'RITH
41 EXCHANGE PLACE, S. E.
ATLANTA 3, GA.

December 4, 1959

Mrs. Ruby Hurley
Room 107
859½ Hunter St. NW
Atlanta 14, Ga.

Dear Ruby:

Are you familiar with the name of "Archbishop" C. C. Addison and his African Universal Church and Commercial League Corp.? He has just come to my attention through a friend in La Grange, Ga., who received a pamphlet authored by Addison espousing continued segregation, together with a tearsheet from "Common Sense", the vicious segregationist and anti-semitic "newspaper" of Conde McGinley. I was unable to learn the source of this mailing to La Grange.

According to our records, Addison resided in Colquitt, Ga., in 1957. At that time he first came to our attention when he launced a vicious attack against the NAACP, stating that it was headed by white folks and was being utilized to exploit the Negro. He is reported as having said that he was out to destroy the NAACP. In March 1957, the letterhead of West Hooker's Nationalist Party (another hate group) had a "Black Nationalist Headquarters" located at 3802 Third Avenue, New York City, which is the present address of Addison's African Universal Church and Commercial League Corp. Addison himself was listed as a member of the National Committee of Hooker's Nationalist Party.

On August 1st, 1957, "Common Sense" reported on the Convention held by Christian Negroes opposed to the NAACP and integration, in Dutch Town, La., August 6-11, 1957. According to "Common Sense", the African Universal Church and Commercial League Corp. were the sponsors of this particular group. Addison's material has on accasion appeared in "Common Sense".

If you have any information concerning Addison's operation in the South, I would appreciate your letting me have the details.

Kindest regards.

Cordially,

Arthur J. Levin

ajl/bw

CC: Harold Fleming

P.S. Do you know anything about Samuel H. Moore of Birmingham, president of the Southern Negro Improvement Association of Alabama? You may recall that this is the group that wired President Eisenhower back in September that most southern Negroes don't want "enforced integration, and they requested a government-sponsored poll of southern Negros to prove the point. The group was reported to have more than 5,000 members in Alabama. I would appreciate any information you have about them.

Mr. SPARKMAN. The 14th and 15th amendments contain certain provisions. I admit that there were some modifications in these particular amendments.

There is one other thing the Senator said to which I wish to advert at this time. It is not completely relevant to the remarks I was making, but I believe it is relevant to the remarks the Senator made about Jefferson and Franklin and the other Founding Fathers wishing to expand the freedoms and liberties, and so forth.

Yes; that is true. The Senator referred to persons who were of voting age,

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86th Congress

and to a certain other requirement which I do not recall at the moment. But there are certain qualifications which States are recognized as having the right to impose.

I call the Senator's attention to a report made not so long ago by the Southern Regional Council. The Southern Regional Council is a biracial organization. It has been working for a good many years toward bettering race relations in the South, and bettering conditions generally. It has been quite liberal in its views. It made the statement not very long ago—I think in reply to a suggestion which some organization made—to the effect that there should be millions of persons added to the 1960 voting list. The Southern Regional Council said, in effect, that to think anything like that was simply not realistic; that there was involved the matter of people having to be brought up educationally and economically to the level of being able to discharge their responsibilities as voters. That organization is not some southern conservative clique which is advocating that view. That is the Southern Regional Council, which is quite liberal in its views.

I think that is one thing which some of us sometimes forget. That was a thing which Senator Palmer, I believe it was, from whose remarks I was reading a few minutes ago, said that people forget. They become impatient. I think that is one trouble with a great many advocates of so-called civil rights legislation. The people become impatient. They do not realize the progress which has been made.

The Governor of Alabama, Hon. John Patterson, testified not long ago on the so-called registrar bill, the one which was being pushed at that time before the Senate Committee on Rules and Administration. The attorney general of Alabama, Mr. MacDonald Gallion, also testified. Both of them pointed out that over the past several years remarkable progress had been made in Alabama in the number of Negroes who were brought in as eligible voters. Most of those who speak about this subject would not lead one to believe that that was true at all. Yet it is true. They overlooked this fact.

I am sorry the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. SCOTT] has left the Chamber. I should like to read something which would be of interest to him. He made a statement as to some of the things which Mr. Jefferson might advocate. I do not happen to have a direct quotation from Mr. Jefferson on this subject, but Mr. Jefferson's thinking was usually in line with that of his neighbor and friend, Mr. James Madison. Mr. Madison is usually referred to as the Father of the Constitution. Here is a quotation from James Madison in the Virginia Convention. We all know that later Madison became one of the very able Presidents of the United States. In the Virginia Convention, when he was asked his opinion about the section relating to elections, Mr. Madison said:

> It was found necessary to leave the regulation of these—
>
> That is, times, places, and manner—in the first place to the State governments as being best acquainted with the situation of the people, subject to the control of the General Government, in order to enable it to produce uniformity and to prevent its own dissolution. * * * Were they exclusively under the control of the State governments, the General Government might easily be dissolved. But if they be regulated properly by the State legislatures, congressional control will very probably never be exercised.

In other words, Mr. Madison, while recognizing the right of Congress to step in if the dissolution of the General Government was threatened, if a breakdown of the republican form of government was threatened, said, at the same time, that in the absence of that, Congress would never act, and that it was a matter which ought to be left up to the State and the people living in the localities where these things were taking place. I do not see how anyone can differ with that line of reasoning so well stated by Mr. Madison, later President Madison, and generally known as the Father of the Constitution of the United States.

Mr. President, I was quoting from Senator Allen, of Nebraska, who spoke on the repeal of the obnoxious Reconstruction Act of 1871, which is being reconstructed or resurrected and brought before us in the form of a proposal which we are told ought to be enacted.

I may say to the able majority leader [Mr. JOHNSON of Texas], who is with us in the Chamber, that I am speaking now on one phase, the one relating to the so-called referees. I have dealt with a little history. The Senator from Texas, of course, knows quite well that this proposal is pulled out, almost bodily, from the law books of 1871, when it was enacted as one of the vicious Reconstruction acts. It became so bad, so impractical, so unworkable, so fraudulent in its application, that the people of the United States simply would not have anything more to do with it and insisted upon its repeal.

So in 1894, with almost solid Democratic support from the North and the South, and certainly with no grief on the part of the Republicans themselves, that law was wiped off the statute books, and the New York Times said, in effect: Let us hope that it may be a long, long time before any effort is made again by the Federal Government to encroach on the rights of the States in the field of elections.

I have been quoting from some of the Senators who took part in the debate of 1894. The Senator from Texas, I am certain, knows that the act of 1871 was aimed at the South. It was a Reconstruction Act. It was aimed at the control of elections in the South, but it was turned against the North. The Republican Party used it as a means of perpetuating itself in power. They raided New York City and other areas of the North. I do not know whether some of them believe that this may be their only means of retaining power during another quadrennium or not. Be that as it may, that is the history of the act.

I have been quoting from Senator Allen, of Nebraska. I quote further:

> The General Government should never reach its hand into any State or Territory to control its elections, unless there be a controlling necessity for it, unless the people of that State or Territory have shown themselves manifestly incapable of having a fair election. In my judgment, the experience of this Nation under the law now under consideration has been that the elections are infinitely worse, as a rule, in the hands of Federal supervisors than those in the hands of the local authorities.

What a truth he spoke, Mr. President.

Mr. George G. Vest, Senator from Missouri, gave an example of the effect of the Reconstruction Act of 1871 in the State of Missouri. Senator Vest, I suppose, is best known because of the speech he made in paying tribute to the dog. I think perhaps he is known better for that than for any other one thing. But he participated in the debate on the Reconstruction Act of 1871 and had some words of good advice to say. This is what he said:

> I understand matters better in regard to the State of Missouri than any Senator here possibly can except my colleague. I know with absolute certainty what has occurred in Missouri.
>
> In 1876 the necessities of the Republican Party (and I will prove this from the sworn testimony of their own witnesses) demanded that three congressional districts in Missouri should be carried for the Republican ticket. A determined effort was agreed upon here in Washington to carry the U.S. House of Representatives for the Republicans. Mr. W. D. W. Bernard was the confidential friend of General Grant and the chosen instrument of the administration to do that thing. He was the national bank examiner of the State of Missouri, appointed by Grant. The U.S. marshal in the St. Louis district was H. W. Leffingwell, whom I know very well, a real estate man of high character and a very old citizen. Leffingwell was an honest man, conservative and patriotic.
>
> Bernard carried the instruction of Mr. Taft, the Attorney General of the United States, to the Republicans of St. Louis that those three districts must be carried for the Republican Party by the use of the instrumentalities provided in the Federal election law. He carried the instructions of the Attorney General to Leffingwell, the U.S. marshal, and they both swear to it. Leffingwell said, "Why, there is profound peace in Missouri; there is no danger of any tumult or riot here in the city of St. Louis. The calm is profound politically, socially, and otherwise." Bernard said to him, "Here are your orders. Who made you marshal?" "Well," said Leffingwell, "you had a good deal to do with it. You are very near the President." "Well, sir," he said, "the man who made can unmake; and if you do not carry out these orders, I will put you out of this office." (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 26–PA1, Jan. 18, 1894, p. 981.)

Mr. President, I call attention to the fact that Senator Vest, who made that speech, was not just talking. He said he could show affidavits to that effect. He did not say so, but I presume that what he quoted then was contained in the affidavits, and was not hearsay.

Then Senator Vest said:

> It is hardly necessary for me to remark that the conspiracy was carried out and that the three districts were carried by the Republican Party. R. Graham Frost was beaten by a Republican named Metcalf on the return, though he was elected at the polls. Frost contested the election, and here is the testimony taken in that contest.

There was a recitation of part of the testimony; and then, later, Mr. Vest continued.

Mr. President, I have been quoting from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for January 18, 1894. That part of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD contains the debate had at that time in this very Chamber, the Chamber of the greatest legislative body in the world. The CONGRESSIONAL RECORD includes all that debate; and in the course of it, Senator Vest further said:

Mr. Bernard goes on to state that he himself took the authority away from the Chief Marshal and appointed 1,028 deputies—

I take it that was in that one congressional election district. Nothing in Senator Vest's speech states that; but the contest related only to that one congressional district—

organized them into regiments, battalions, and companies; the captains reported to the majors, the majors to the colonels, and the colonels to him—

I suppose he was the generalissimo—

and he reported to the Attorney General of the United States. They put the city of St. Louis under a military organization under this law. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, supra, p. 982.)

Later, Mr. Vest pointed out:

Now, Mr. Bernard under this authority from the Attorney General, * * * proceeded to carry those elections. Mr. Bernard testifies that he disfranchised 5,700 voters.

Mr. President, I am sorry that my friend the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. SCOTT], who is so anxious to guard the voting rights of all citizens of the country, is not now in the Chamber to listen to my reading of this part of the debate in this very Chamber in 1894. I would that he were here now to listen to my reading of that part of the debate, which was had on that occasion in this very Chamber.

Mr. President, I am delighted to see that my friend the Senator from Pennsylvania has returned to the Chamber. Let me state, for his benefit, that I have been referring to the referees proposed to be appointed under the provisions of the pending amendments to the bill now before the Senate. Previously, the Senator from Pennsylvania spoke of those provisions as a means of assuring that some citizens have the right to vote. I have been reading part of the history of this subject.

I am sorry the Senator from Pennsylvania was called out of the Chamber for a few minutes. I hope that tomorrow he will read the part of today's CONGRESSIONAL RECORD in which I have quoted from the debates which occurred in this very Chamber, the Chamber of the greatest deliberative body in the world, back in 1894, when the vicious anti-southern Reconstruction Act, which was directed against the Senator's forefathers and mine, back in 1871, was under debate, prior to its repeal. That vicious act is the original from which the proposal now before us has been copied.

In 1894 that vicious act was stricken off the statute books; and I have been quoting from the debate which occurred in the Senate Chamber at that time. I shall read again a portion of that debate, inasmuch as the Senator from Pennsylvania has now returned to the Chamber.

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President——

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, if the Senator from Pennsylvania will promise me faithfully that tomorrow morning he will read in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the remarks I have recently been making, I shall not repeat what I said a few minutes ago.

Mr. SCOTT. To the best of my capacity, I shall devour what the Senator from Alabama may have said.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I know the Senator from Pennsylvania can do it.

Mr. SCOTT. I think there may have been some misunderstanding in regard to the use of the word "expanded." My concern is that every man and woman who is qualified to vote shall be protected in the exercise of that right; but I believe the exercise of that right is denied in many parts of the country. So the question is one of the protection of the right to vote.

I do not believe that a play on the word "expand" fully represents what I was trying to say.

I apologize to the distinguished Senator from Alabama for leaving the Chamber. However, in this world there are demands for other kinds of nourishment, aside from intellectual nourishment, which is best to be had on the floor of the Senate. I am sure that under those circumstances the Senator from Alabama will forgive me.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I was not being at all critical of the Senator from Pennsylvania. I really want him to hear me read this part of the historical account. I am very glad that he has returned to the Chamber at the right time.

The pending amendment is a resurrection of the vicious Reconstruction Act which was on the statute books from 1871 until approximately February 9, 1894, when it was repealed by Congress. Even the Republicans were glad to have it repealed, because the Democrats had then come into power; and after the Republicans had used the Reconstruction Act to take away the voting right of many citizens and to run the elections in the way the Republicans wanted them run, they naturally were afraid of what the Democrats were going to do with that Act. So the Republicans themselves were really glad to see the vicious Reconstruction Act taken off the statute books. There was no weeping or gnashing of teeth or wailing when that statute was removed from the books.

In the debate in this very Chamber in 1894, Senator Vest, of Missouri, referred to a case which had arisen in Missouri.

I know the Senator from Pennsylvania is familiar with Senator Vest's remarkable tribute to a dog; and a few minutes ago I said that Senator Vest probably is better remembered for that tribute than for anything else he said.

Senator Vest then made a very fine, clear, and lucid speech on the floor of the Senate—in this greatest deliberative body in the world—in urging the repeal of the vicious Reconstruction Act; and in the course of that speech he related some actual experiences. I suppose we could dig up the records of them, although I have not done so, inasmuch as Senator Vest then presented the matter in a very clear way, as shown by the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for that date.

In short, there was an election contest in Missouri; and the evidence showed that instructions went from the Attorney General of the United States to the State of Missouri. Remember, the man who got the orders swore to this. He swore that three congressional districts there were to go Republican—regardless. The orders were that they had to go Republican. Those who received the orders started to move to make certain they went Republican, and they went Republican—that is, they were counted Republican. They did not go Republican; they were counted Republican. They did it by carrying out the instructions of the Attorney General, and the testimony was that this man appointed 1,028 deputies.

Let me repeat what Senator Vest said:

Mr. Bernard goes on to state that he himself took the authority away from the chief marshal—

Mr. Bernard was acting under the directions of the Attorney General of the United States—

and appointed 1,028 deputies.

Suppose in the congressional district which is so ably served by the now distinguished Senator from Pennsylvania there had been turned loose 1,028 deputies to watch over, supervise, control, regulate, and carry out the elections in the district. What chance would the Senator have had, if they had not been on his side? In this instance they were there for a certain purpose, and the purpose was to see to it that the district went Republican.

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. SPARKMAN. I yield. Remember where I left off, because I want to start there when I get back to my statement.

Mr. SCOTT. First, it is not necessary to turn 1,028 people loose in my district, because the Democratic political forces of the party bosses up there turn loose a great many more than 1,028 in every election, and they do the job, I am sure, with better results than those to which the Senator referred.

I never thought that this opportunity would come to me. The Senator has given me an opportunity to tell a little bit of untold history that, so far as I know, has never been told about the 1928 election. The Senator will recall, I am sure, in that election the official vote, in connection with the candidate of the Democratic Party, Mr. Alfred E. Smith, showed that he had carried the State of Alabama and had defeated the candidate of the Republican Party, Mr. Herbert Hoover.

Some few weeks ago a political scientist from a university not far from here, making a study of voting habits and trends in various parts of the country, secured permission to go to the Cap-

United States Department of Justice
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington 25, D. C.

April 1, 1961

TO ALL LAW ENFORCEMENT OFFICIALS:

America, historically an impregnable fortress against tyranny, is engaged in a mortal struggle with world communism. It is time for both citizens and governmental authorities to confront this threat in a calm, realistic, rational, law-abiding manner.

The ingredients for communist coups in nations which have fallen under its spell always include a populace shaken with fear, hysteria, and confusion. Above all, however, is the danger of irresponsible counteraction by citizens who lend impetus to communism through inept attempts to fight this insidious menace.

The leaders of worldwide communism proclaim that even America can succumb to the "rules of revolution" conceived by Karl Marx and galvanized into the first successful communist revolution by V. I. Lenin.

Lenin said, "The more powerful enemy can be conquered only by exerting the utmost effort, and by necessarily, thoroughly, carefully, attentively and skillfully taking advantage of every, even the smallest, 'rift' among the enemies...."

There exists today in our land a vital "rift" which the communists are exploiting. Unfortunately, this involves certain people across the country who engage in reckless charges against one another. The label of "communist" is too often indiscriminately attached to those whose views differ from the majority. Those whose lives are not led according to what one segment of society might decree to be the "norm" are too frequently challenged as "Reds."

Attributing every adversity to communism is not only irrational, but contributes to hysteria and fosters groundless fears. Communism is, indeed, our paramount adversary, and it leans on its credo of invincibility and a concept of historical inevitability to accomplish its ends. The way to fight it is to study it, understand it, and discover what can be done about it. This cannot be achieved by dawdling at the spring of knowledge; it can only be accomplished by dipping deeply into thoughtful, reliable, and authoritative sources of information.

The job of curtailing and containing communism is one for legally constituted authorities with the steadfast cooperation of every loyal citizen. This is neither the time for inaction nor vigilante action. We must unite as a people, we must understand our basic American heritage under law, and we must face the communist menace with deliberation, quiet courage, and knowledge. These are the qualities which communism shrinks from--these are the qualities against which communism can never succeed.

Very truly yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover
Director

(Reprinted from the FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin, April, 1961)

CLASS OF SERVICE
This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

SF-1201 (4-60)

SYMBOLS
DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LT = International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is LOCAL TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is LOCAL TIME at point of destination

342P EST OCT 6 61 AF419 BC407
B VDB109 PD VD NEW YORK NY 6 350P EDT
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
5 FORSYTH ST NORTHWEST ATLA
KINDLY SHIP ME C.O.D., TWO COPIES, COUNCIL SURVEY SITINS;
THREE COPIES, JULY-AUGUST 1961 ISSUE NEW SOUTH; THREE COPIES,
LATEST MARGARET PRICE SURVEY NEGRO BALLOT IN SOUTH
ERIK BERT MGR EDITOR WORKER.

File: Criticisms - (Defense material)

The Worker
Box 28, Madison Square Station
New York 10, N.Y.

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943A EST NOV 22 61 AE030 BB026
B VDA019 PD VD NEW YORK NY 22 934A EST
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
5 FORSYTH ST NORTHWEST ATLA
KINDLY SEND 5 COPIES REPORT ON UTILIZATION NEGRO JOB SKILL
IN HOUSTON TEXAS COD
ERIK BERT.

Derek Bell NAACP

Ja 1-2 100

Sent 5 Copies
12/1/61 RHA

Time
Wall St Journal
Newsweek

Defense Mat'l

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X-Ref

Mr. Dabney Sees "Trouble"

Norfolk Journal & Guide 4/7/62

VIRGINIUS DABNEY, Pulitzer Prize-winning editor of the Richmond *Times-Dispatch* appeared in Portsmouth last week as first speaker for the Frederick College Lecture Series on "Current Issues in American Public Life, 1962," and expressed great concern over the planned voter registration movement among Negroes in the Southside section of Virginia.

Mr. DABNEY was kind enough to admit that it is not unreasonable for colored people to aspire to full citizenship or even to hold elective office, but he cautioned that pushing too fast would bring about "trouble."

We wonder what form this "trouble" will take in Virginia. Mr. DABNEY apparently did not say, but he certainly should have. After all, he was talking to young white college students who had every right to know all about this expected happening and particularly what part they would be expected to play. More importantly, Mr. DABNEY owes it to his State and fellow-citizens to reveal any secret information he may have relating to "trouble planning" in Virginia.

We think this to be far more reasonable and honorable than to ask certain citizens in the Commonwealth to deny themselves the full exercise of their citizenship in order to prevent "trouble."

With reference to the possibility of a Negro being sent to Congress from Virginia, Mr. DABNEY advised against pushing "too hard" and trying to get there "too fast." We would expect the learned lecturer to define his terms. How hard is "too hard," and how fast is "too fast"—here in Space Age, 1962?

JOHN M. LANGSTON, Negro, born in Louisa, Virginia, and graduate of Oberlin College, Ohio, represented the Fourth Virginia District in Congress during the late 1890s. Then came the Constitutional Convention of 1901-02, the poll tax, educational tests and disfranchisement.

The Years

past taken from our files
er and The Durant News.

B. Flower

DAVID L. HEARN

RS AGO

Carol Holloman and Pat Slack; preacher, Don Barrett; best man, Wyche Hooker; ring bearer, Kirkham Povall; father of the bride, Jerry Fite; mother of the bride, Clara Sue Minyard; mother of the groom Janet Horseman; ushers, Tommy Taylor and Edward Lewis Schur; maid of honor, Amanda Povall; matron of honor, Ann Flowers; flower girls, Renee Gilliland and Virginia Hawkins.

Patsy Smith, soloist, sang, "I Love You Truly" and "At Dawning" with Mrs. Doty Porter at the piano.

A large and appreciative crowd witnessed the ceremony.

EARS AGO

mention a marriage license, dog license, hunting license and fishing license.

I am also required to contribute to women's relief, unemployment relief, golddiggers relief, also Red Cross, Blue Cross and Double Cross.

I am required to carry life insurance, property insurance, liability insurance, tornado insurance, fire insurance, crop insurance and burial insurance. I am inspected, expec-

Sovereignty Commission PR Chief Asks For Racial Cooperation

Only Way To Keep Segregation In Schools, Johnston

Grenada — (UPI) — Erle Johnston, Jr., public relations director of the State Sovereignty Commission, said Friday night Mississippi's only hope of maintaining school segregation rests in the cooperation of its Negroes. He said extremists on both sides are preventing that cooperation.

"We already have many allies among the colored school teachers, bus drivers and other employers who want to preserve their employment. We can earn the cooperation of others with consideration and recognition and an honest attempt to provide colored citizens with facilities to which they are entitled."

Johnston, who edits the Scott County (weekly) Times at Forest, addressed graduates of Grenada high. He described himself as neither "an extremist, liberal or moderate" but a "practical segregationist."

"Mississippi needs more white people who will publicly speak out for recognition without being branded as liberal leftists and more colored people willing to cooperate without being branded as Uncle Toms," he said. "We can be practical without being radical. We can be realistic without being ridiculous."

"I have often thought that if the extremists at both ends of this racial situation would quit wildly wagging their tongues and suspiciously pointing their fingers we could restore some racial harmony in Mississippi and make better progress."

* * * *

Johnston, without mentioning either group by name, had harsh words for the NAACP and the Citizens Councils.

The Negro group, he said, has clamored for special privileges rather than better treatment and has thrived "on "strained relations to strengthen their appeals for more funds from the North."

The white organization, he said, "believes in threat and intimidation." He said its able to take that mile whenever they please.

"It would seem far better to offer an inch of consideration across a table of harmony than to be forced to retreat further in an atmosphere of friction and bitterness."

Johnston, who was president of the Grenada Class of 1935, told the graduates:

"My generation, which is past the halfway mark, has been dedicated to educating the colored people and raising their standards of living. Many thousands have improved themselves educationally, morally and hygienically. As this number increases, it will become your decision as to how they should be treated in the future.

"Our colored people know about the hypocricies of the north. They know there is discrimination. They know attitudes cannot be legislated.

"Our separate school system of the future depends on our ability to earn and retain the cooperation, trust and confidence of the colored race in Mississippi. There are militant hot heads in both races. They must restrain theirs and we must restrain ours.

"As you contemplate the decisions you graduates may be called on to make, let me suggest that courtesy is better than coercion, interest is better than intimidation, recognition is better than retribution and friendship is better than force."

Johnston has been public relations director of the Sovereignty Commission since 1960. As part of his job with the official state agency he travels to the North speaking in defense of Mississippi views.

The trips have been effective, he said, but "we can expect no national movement of any strength which would support the Southern tradition of segregated societies."

Through Hazel Eyes—

(Continued from Page One)

to report "an out and out falsehood." The report was that a visiting segregationist minister, the Rev. Robert Ingram of Houston, Texas, had been "threatened and intimidated" if he appeared in Jack-

Mississippi Woman—

(continued from page one)

president in the 22-year old organization.

Before joining Westinghouse Broadcasting Company in 1958 as assistant chief of its Washington News Bureau, she was producer of the NBC radio and television programs "American Forum of the Air" and "Youth Wants To Know." As Washington correspondent for station WDCU-TV, she produced and moderated her own program, "Dateline Washington," which won a Sylvania citation for public service.

In addition to her daily spot news broadcasts, she produces and moderates a half-hour weekly radio interview program which frequently develops front page stories. She has reported every Democratic and Republican national convention since 1944.

Miss Corrick is a journalism graduate of the University of Texas, where she was president of Theta Sigma Phi student chapter.

Mrs. Hazel Brannon Smith

Hazel Brannon Smith, Lexington, Mississippi, has been campaigning the past 25 years for the equal rights of all men under the constitution and for freedom and responsibility of newspapers to publish the truth.

She purchased her first paper, The Durant News, in 1936. With her purchase of The Lexington Advertiser in 1943, she stepped up her fight against slot machine operators, liquor racketeers, gamblers and corrupt officials who were finding easy money and little opposition in her county. In 1946, principally due to her persistence, a grand jury voted 64 indictments after investigating organized crime in Holmes County.

Later, she was found guilty of contempt of court for interviewing a witness — the widow of a Negro murder victim — and was fined $50.00 and sentenced to 15 days in jail. The sentence was suspended and she was put on probation for a year. The Mississippi Supreme Court reversed the decision on appeal.

In 1954 she criticized the Holmes County Sheriff in a front-page editorial and was promptly faced with a $57,500 libel suit. The trial jury awarded him $10,000 but this

I are also required to contribute to women's relief, unployment relief, golddiggers relief, also Red Cross, Blue Cross and Double Cross.

I am required to carry life insurance, property insurance, liability insurance, tornado insurance, fire insurance, crop insurance and burial insurance. I am inspected, expected, suspected, disrespected, examined, reexamined, informed, required, summoned fined, commanded and compelled.

If I refuse to donate to something I am boycotted, talked about, lied about, held up, held down, and robbed until I am almost ruined. I can tell you honestly that except for the miracle that happened this morning, I could not enclose this check.

The wolf that comes to everybody's door these days just had pups in my kitchen. I sold them and here is the money.

YEARS AGO

ed the twin beds, put the old bed back up as it requires only one pair of sheets. My wife has replaced the hot water bottle. I like the depression.

My digestion is better. Instead of breast of guinea hen, we have sow bosom with buttons. I like the depression."

Editor's Letter Box

Jackson, Miss.
364 Lee Circle
May 31, 1962

Dear Editor:

A few days ago one of the Jackson papers published a news story from Houma, Louisiana to the effect that a young science teacher of that town had been arrested and placed under bond for criticizing Governor Jimmie Davis and the Louisiana Legislature for building a million dollar mansion for the Governor of that state and his family to live in and refusing to give the poorly paid teachers a small raise. The 23 year old teacher's name was one Prof. Motto.

When I read of the arrest of that teacher I sat up and rubbed my eyes in utter astonishment. I wondered if there had been a misprint and the article had really referred to some incident in Communist Russia. Perhaps some correspondent had lost his sanity and had written the truth about some happening in Castro's Cuba. Surely a neighboring state of a citizen arrested for daring to criticizing the governor. No, the offending teacher, as the news story shows, was not a colored man or a member of the NAACP. Here we have been criticizing the President and the United States Supreme Court whenever and wherever we pleased and I haven't heard of any white man being jailed for it. Why we have even said some pretty mean things about our governor's $10,000.00 bath room and a few other things and so far as I know no-

NAACP and the Citizens Councils.

The Negro group, he said, has clamored for special privileges rather than better treatment and has thrived "on "strained relations to strengthen their appeals for more funds from the North."

The white organization, he said, "believes in threat and intimidation.." He said its members "mean well. They are dedicated to their cause. But they have agitated the friction and bitterness and there is some question as to whether this attitude is a help, a hindrance, or merely creates hysteria."

Persons who want to keep segregation by "organizing and fighting" have only four courses to take, he said.

"They can fight through the courts, with weapons, with violence, or with boycott.

"Our attorney general and his staff are already doing an excellent job in the courts, but all litigation eventually reaches the dark corridors of the Supreme Court.

"Mississippians are courageous but not foolish. I don't believe we will open fire on U. S. marshals or soldiers in uniform.

"Mississippians are not barbarians. We will not don the sheets of an ancient era and inflict harm on colored people or destroy their property.

* * * *

"Boycotts would be ineffective because white employers are not going to fire colored workers from certain jobs and I don't believe retailers are going to refuse to sell merchandise to colored customers."

Some segregationists heatedly argue that to give up an inch is to give up a mile, Johnston said. "Yet they conveniently disregard the fact that the colored people of Mississippi, with the federal government and courts ready to support them, soon may be

Through Hazel Eyes—

(Continued from Page One)

to report "an out and out falsehood." The report was that a visiting segregationist minister, the Rev. Robert Ingram of Houston, Texas, had been "threatened and intimidated" if he appeared in Jackson to speak at the Citizens' Council annual meeting on May 17 and that the telegram threatening him was sent by a Jackson Episcopal minister, the Rev. Edward H. Harrison.

It turned out that the telegram was not sent by Rev. Harrison — and that even if it had been — it could not have been construed as a threat or attempted intimidation wording.

Despite the fact that a vestryman of St. Andrews Episcopal Church told John Wright, president of the Jackson Citizens' Council, before the CC meeting started that Rev. Harrison had said he did not send the telegram, Mr. Wright permitted the telegram to be read and photostatic copies of it distributed to those attending. Mr. Wright also promised to permit the Vestryman to speak at the meeting but did not, later saying he "changed his mind."

The next day copies of the telegram were distributed to members of the Legislature in a further effort designed to smear the Rev. Harrison and intimidate the Legislature, possibly to keep it from selling a plot of land to the Episcopal Church for a day school. Fortunately the truth was learned and the Legislature was not intimidated.

But the whole truth has either not yet been learned or told.

Responsible officials of the Citizens' Council should not stop until the person who sent the faked telegram is found and exposed.

jail. The sentence was suspended and she was put on probation for a year. The Mississippi Supreme Court reversed the decision on appeal.

In 1954 she criticized the Holmes County Sheriff in a front-page editorial and was promptly faced with a $57,500 libel suit. The trial jury awarded him $10,000 but this decision, too, was reversed by the state's Supreme Court.

Her fight against injustice and crime has been costly. Her husband lost his job as administrator of the county hospital in 1956 solely because Mrs. Smith had become "a controversial figure." Her opponents organized a concerted advertising boycott and in 1958 founded and subsidized a competing weekly newspaper in Lexington.

Among her honors are the National Editorial Association's Herrick Award for "editorial writing, embracing the highest type of American principles and ideals" in 1956; a citation from the Fund for the Republic to "an American whose actions have made an unusual contribution to advancing the principles of freedom and justice and the Bill of Rights" in 1957; a commendation from the Mississippi Press Association for "her epochal fight in the interest of freedom of the press" in 1957 and the 1960 Elijah Parish Lovejoy Award for Courage in Journalism from the University of Southern Illinois for "demonstrating the ability to perform under great stress — her role as editor of the community's newspaper so effectively as to win the approval and support in growing numbers of the right-thinking people of her town and county."

Return From Wedding Trip

Dr. and Mrs. Johnny Yarborough returned today from a southern wedding trip.

MEDITATION

June 7th

Read Ephesians 3:14-21

We are his workmanship, created in Christ Jesus unto good works. (Ephesians 2:10.)

After the early worship service in a chapel one morning, I remained in the pew and meditated for some time. At first lost in thought, I did not notice the man who was placing hymnals in the racks and collecting copies of the order of worship left in the pews. As he approached I saw a pro

God when we put ourselves into our work with willing hearts, pleasant attitudes, and thoughts — with a spirit like Christ's.

Yes, such stewardship not only becomes a privilege but also a beacon to all and sundry to Christian action, dedication, and service.

PRAYER: Let Christ shine in us, O Lord. May whatever we do, think, and say this day help those around

MJ
file abstracts

See p. 14

file Criticisms - general

Insight Broward

10c

with JIM CORYELL

VOL. 2 ❀ NO. 5 • DISTRIBUTED THROUGHOUT BROWARD COUNTY, FLORIDA • APRIL, 1966

PROFESSIONAL HATE HUCKSTER

For the past several weeks the **Miami Herald** and the **Ft. Lauderdale News** have been publishing a regular series of so-called **"Crime Exposes". The artices are dedicated to creating the impression the "Vigilant Guardians" of the newspapers have discovered the entire South Florida area is a cesspool of crime and corruption.** Not just runofthemill crime, but real bigtime **"Organized Crime"** — including prostitution, gambling, murder, etc. — **all directed by some vague "Syndicate"**

In my opinion these so-called "Crime Expose" articles are politically motivated garbage that has deliberately established a fake and damaging image of the entire community with cheap sensationalism that has cast doubt and suspicion on every law enforcement officer in South Florida.

"FEARLESS CHAMPION"

The area-degrading **"Exposes"** were started by the **Miami Herald.** The **"Sensational Revelations"** were written by a self-styled **"Gang Buster"** named **Hank Messick**

Messick, sometimes known as **"Hogwash Hank"** and **"Fearless Fats"** (because he tried to intimidate a woman in an attempt to reincarnate a fake and vicious rumor) launched a fanatic attack on the law enforcement agencies throughout the South Florida area . . .

BLADE CUTS BOTHWAYS

I hear **"Fearless Fats"** has made quite a few "unpleasant" remarks about me since I published the first "IB" article identifying Messick for what he was, a troublemaking phony . . . **Messick reportedly sneered and attempted to laugh-off the "IB" articles, saying he wasn't bothered by "amateurs."**

Messick seems to pride himself on his ability to research and report a person's well guarded past . . . **Messick has painted himself as a "Mystery Man," so I made my "amateur" try at checking "Mysterious Messick's" well guarded background.** Let's see him try this on for size.

"Fearless Fats" should learn the old axiom about pegging rocks from a glass house — **the "exposure" bit is a double-edged shiv that can slice in both directions . . .** Since the rollypoly rot writer likes to digup things, **let's take a fast look at HIS scoreboard. — Here are a few reported high spots from Messick's rather checkered past:**

"RED STAR" HATE HUSTLER

Messick, born Aug. 14, 1922, is married to the former **Faye Elisabeth Hancock.** (They met at the Univ. of North Carolina) . . . The Messick's now reside at **915 S.E. 10th St. in Ft. Lauderdale,** (supposedly a "secret location") . . . Messick drives a new

STICK WITH IT — ON PAGE TWELVE

THE DOUBLE EDGE

Hollywood city commissioner **David Keating** has proposed the city adopt an **"Anti-Hate" Ordinance".** Keating's ordinance would create a law banning the display of what he describes as **"Hate Signs & Symbols"** — such as **KKK** cross burning, or painting and displaying the **Swastika.** — Commissioner Keating said his proposed law would not **"ban"** the Klan or similar organizations, but it would give the City the legal machinery to **control** the activities of the Klan, the American Nazi Party, etc. . . . I'm sure Commissioner Keating is acting in what he considers to be the best interests of his community **— but in my opinion, the proposed "Anti-Hate" Ordinance would be a direct violation of the Constitution** . . . I am **diametrically opposed** to any and all extermist groups like the Klan, the Communist Party, the Nazis, the NAACP, etc., etc. — **but unless or until they are declared illegal, these groups are subject to the same rules and regulations used to govern any and all groups** . . . I agree

KEATING

with Comm. Keating's belief that various signs and symbols can and do insight unrest, trouble and violence — But if Hollywood creates a law to **"control the activities"** of one group, say the Klan — **then what's to stop future Commissioners from using the same ordinance to "control" the activities" of the Knights of Columbus, the B'nai Brith or the Masons?** Comm. Keating's proposal is sincere, but misguided. **I wonder if Keating realizes that in trying to "control" these hate-mongers, he is guilty of the same unsavory "We Are Superior" pitch used by the same groups he opposes?**

MORE MESSICK

FROM PAGE THIRTEEN

The "stolen property" was several official police records. Messick was accused of paying police Sgt. Myron Marrs to steal the records from the desk of Chief Walter Layman. (Messick is continually screaming about police taking "pay-off" from hodlums).

The **"Champion of Justice"** was brought before the **Jefferson County Grand Jury** directed by a State's Atty. named **Kenneth Grantz.** Messick was reportedly ordered to explain his actions. Messick talked fast, but apparently not very convincingly.

The Grand Jury indicted Messick on the "Receiving Stolen Property" charge on Oct. 2, 1957. — Indictment #108757, filed in the office of **Elmer N. Carrell,** Clerk of the Jefferson Circuit Court . . . **Both Sgt. Marrs and Chief Layman lost their jobs.**

COP HATER KEEPS COMING

Messick still maintained his efforts to deliberately cause trouble for the Louisville police by writing countless "expose" articles that maligned the officers by insinuating they indulged in various illegal activities . . . **This is proved by the report of another Jefferson County Grand Jury,** sworn in on December 7, 1959, and signed by the foreman **Graham B. McDonald**—states **Judge L. R. Curtis** instructed the jury to —: **"Investigate the insinuation by Courier Journal reporter H. Messick in his article of November 22, 1959, that the Louisville Police Force is not exerting all possible efforts to curb and control handbook operation."** . . . In short, "Hogwash Hank's" article **"insinuated"** the police were allowing the bookies to operate — **Sound familiar?**

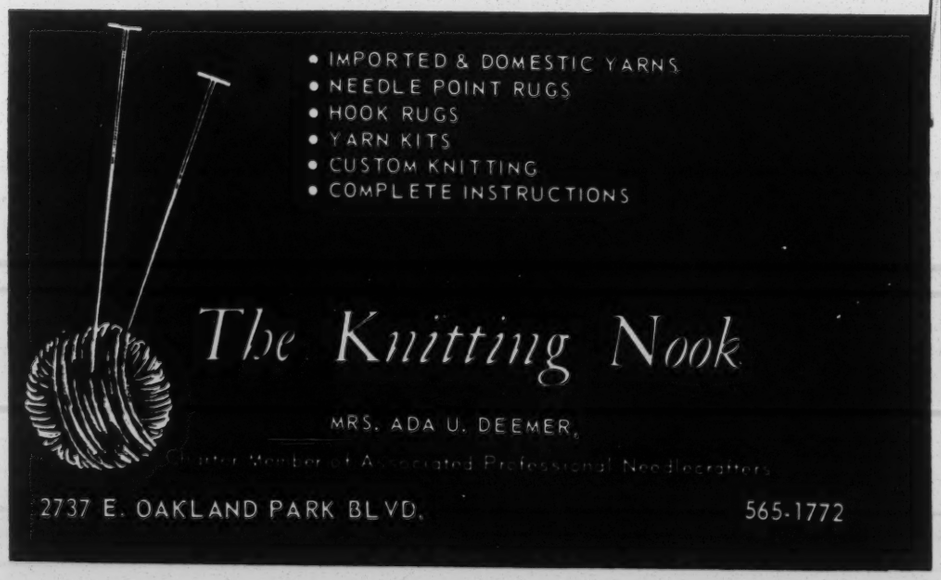
JURY VERDICT — "BALONEY"

The Grand Jury's investigation produced the following verdict —: **"No evidence was given to sustain H. Messick's insinuation that the Louisville Police Force is not exerting all possible efforts to curb handbook operation"** . . . In other words their investigation proved **"Hogwash Hank's anti-police articles were pure BALONEY!**

MESSICK WINS "RED STAR"

Messick's second attempt to foul the Louisville police was a dismal failure, but he had attracted the attention of a large and controversial outfit, the **Ford Foundation** . . . The well-heeled Ford Foundation has (and is) spending **millions** of dollars financing, among other things, **some of the most notorious "Left Wing" organizations in the country** . . . For example —: In 1954, the Ford Foundation presented a **$240,000 "grant"** to the **"Southern Regional Council,"** a rabble-rousing extreme Left Wing group — headed by **Dr. George S. Mitchell,** an active member in the notorious **"Civil Rights Congress" and two other organizations declared to be subversive Communist-front groups by the U.S. House Un-American Activities Comm.,** also listed as **"Subversive"** by the United States Attorney General.

According to reports from **Norman Isaacs,** Exec. Editor of the **Louisville Courier Journal, "Hogwash Hank" received a multi-thousand dollar**



file
defense file - orig to PA

2908 Noble Avenue
Richmond Virginia 23222
Sixteenth of February
Nineteen Sixty-Seven

Dr Paul Anthony Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Five Forsyth Street NW
Atlanta Georgia

Dear Paul Anthony:

It was interesting to have the memo on the Knoxville Journal incident and I was pretty well satisfied with the outcome. I was especially happy to read that because things moved too slowly the leadership of the North moved, when they failed to hee my opening statement made at the Collaboration Meeting held in Richmond. My statement was burdened with the thought that full support of the Southern Regional Council was the only hope that we could work an amicable understanding in the South. One Reverend Jones an Atlanta white minister cold-watered my speech and onlt the heroic stand of Dr Odum saved the day; but I was right. They failed the Council and the tragic results of the hour became inevitable.

Furthermore I am convinced that if the Old South had spent as much time cooperating with the Southern Regional Council as they spent trying to connect the Council with communism, we would have been much farther along with the work of working out programs for a workable democracy in the South and nation. As concerning James Jackson! He was a student in more than one of my classes in Virginia Union. He was always of an aberrant type of student, and his course in general has been no surprise to me. In one of my courses I discussed all the socialistic "isms" including communism. I made the first part of the course mostly a build up for the socialistic "isms" and took a poll of the class which numbered about forty. Three fourths of the class were socialistically inclined-with only half the evidence in. Then I proceeded to tear down the socialistic isms and build up the democratic ideals, and at the end of the course we had only one of socialistic devotees left.

Many years ago when communism had not been fully revealed in its ultimate designs to destroy human freedom and install human slavery instead, I was quite open-minded on the subject and so when the communists held one of their national or regional meetings here they had trouble finding a suitable auditorium so as pastor of Moore Street Baptist church I had our doors opened to them as a gesture of bignes of democracy and therefore unafraid of communism. My noble intention was misconstrued both by the communists and by the community as a leaning toward communism. I was flooded with communist literature. The FBI began calling on me under pretext of getting aline on certain others. I finally decided that they were checking on me. Several white students registered for my courses in Virginia Union, but they found nothing so the watch finally was called off so I imagine. But whereas once I had an open mind on communism my mind in no longer open. It is closed to communism and everything pertaining thereto. I am for freedom! I am against slavery! I am against all those who oppose our stand in Viet Nam! I am for all who favor our stand in Viet Nam! How Jackson came to be in the Durham meeting is a mystery to me, for I was Director and issued every invitation and one was not issued to James Jackson Jr.. Two or three others came in "mysteriously" as spies I have imagined.

Kindly always Gordon B Hancock Sr

From the clippings you sent I noted that Leslie Dunbar was referred to as "a former director of the Reed Foundation". Is he not there still? Drop me a line on his whereabouts.

— A —

I am tremendously proud of our Fr. et S. R.C. Are you?

If you care to share this letter with Mrs Wilkins I would be happy since my letters to her go unanswered. — A —

SOUTHERN OFFICE
ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH
41 EXCHANGE PLACE, S. E., ATLANTA, GA. 30303
523-3391

Paul Anthony

I thought the attached might be helpful if the situation ever requires it.

Regards,
Irwin

Irwin Schulman

file
SMC Attacks
Defense Materials

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
OF B'NAI B'RITH
315 Lexington Avenue
New York, N. Y. 10016

MEMORANDUM

To: ADL Regional Offices

From: Arnold Forster

Date: July 27, 1967

Subject: Personal Attacks on ADL Over Radio and TV.

As you know, there has been an increase in use of radio by extremist groups for attack on ADL and other like-minded organizations and individuals. It is essential, therefore, that each regional director and area civil rights coordinator be fully acquainted with various machinery for counteraction of such attacks.

This memorandum is intended to acquaint you with such machinery. It will discuss invocation of the FCC's fairness doctrine. It will advise you as to how to invoke this aspect of the fairness doctrine.

But before dealing with the specifics of the application of the personal attack principle of the fairness doctrine, let us first call your attention to certain preliminary factors. Traditionally when there are unfair attacks on ADL or its leaders in any of the mass media, we have given consideration to getting directly in touch with the persons responsible for the management of the particular mass medium involved such as the local newspaper or radio station and discussing with the management the impropriety and unfairness of the attack. Sometimes local ADL leaders who are prominent figures in the local community join in these discussions. Sometimes even non-Jewish local leaders in the community discuss the problem of such unfair attacks with the management of the mass medium disseminating the attack.

Thus, in the case of KTYM, we first got in touch with the station management and pointed out the unfairness of the attacks made by Cotten on ADL and also stressed the great unfairness of a radio station permitting its facilities to be used for dissemination of blatant anti-Semitism. The management of KTYM met with ADL staff and leaders. On this occasion, ADL's record and status were explained to the station management. Only after the direct approaches and efforts to reason with the station management proved fruitless, did ADL resort to complaint to the FCC.

In this connection, it must also be pointed out that there is a difference between a "personal attack" on ADL and the dissemination of blatant anti-Semitism. This distinction must always be kept in mind. Blatant anti-Semitism cannot be handled under the fairness doctrine. The equal time to answer formula cannot be applied to blatant anti-Semitism.

In determining whether to invoke the personal attack principle of the fairness doctirne, consideration should also be given to the general nature of the operation

of the radio station in question. If the station is generally one which operates fairly and carries programs which do promote better inter-group relations and has not, in the past, broadcast personal attacks on ADL, it may be sufficient to raise the question of the propriety of permitting such a personal attack with the licensee. If it appears, after such discussion, that the licensee will in the future be sensitive to its responsibility to avoid the dissemination of such personal attacks, your local leaders may decide to let the matter rest there without insistence on the allocation of free time in which to answer the personal attack.

The foregoing considerations should be kept in mind in connection with a determination of a course of action involving attacks on the ADL by radio broadcasters.

Under the "personal attack" principle of the FCC fairness doctrine, a station which broadcasts a personal attack on an individual or organization has an obligation to send the person or organization so attacked, within a reasonable time and in no event later than one week after the attack, a tape or transcript of the broadcast (or an accurate summary of the broadcast if a script or tape is not available) along with an offer of reasonable opportunity to respond to the attack.

The mere fact that a person or a group is named in a broadcast or disagreement is voiced with the views of that person or organization does not mean that there has been a personal attack. According to the FCC, a broadcast which falls within the category of a personal attack, is one which attacks an individual's or group's "integrity, character, honesty or like personal qualities." There may be some cases in which a legitimate question may exist as to whether a personal attack has occurred, but in most instances the evidence will be clear.

Where such an attack has occurred, the regional director, if his office is located in the station's listening area, or otherwise a layman residing in the area of the station involved should write a letter to the station along the following lines:

> It has been called to our attention that (name of) program broadcast over your station (give date and time) contained a personal attack on the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. To date we have not been notified by you of the attack nor have we been furnished with a tape or transcript of the broadcast or even a summary of the attack as you are required to do under the Commission's fairness doctrine. It will be appreciated if you will send us without delay the required transcript or tape and also make comparable time available to us, as you are obligated to do, so that we may respond to the attack.

Such a letter should be sent to the station, certified, return receipt requested, as soon as possible after you learn of the attack. Even though you may have taped the program yourself and have the text of the attack, nonetheless write to the station and request the tape or transcript. A copy of this letter to the station should <u>not</u> be sent to the FCC. Only where a station refuses time to reply or imposes unreasonable requirements as a condition precedent to the broadcast of a reply should a complaint be made to the FCC. But, no such complaint should be filed with the Commission without first obtaining the prior approval of the national office.

Where a personal attack has occurred, the individual or organization attacked has a right to free time to answer even though the attack was made on a sponsored program. While the station may ask whether the person or individual attacked is willing to pay to appear or even seek a sponsor of the program on which the reply is to be broadcast, the person or group attacked has a right to reply which cannot be denied simply because paid sponsorship of the program is not forthcoming.

The national office has a series of taped broadcasts which it will make available to you for use in replying to the personal attack.

Finally, if in the process of monitoring a program for possible attacks on ADL you find that other persons or groups are attacked, notify the person or groups so attacked and tell them to follow the same procedure outlined in this memo.

AF/gy

See Defense Materials
Cr. ref.
Southern Conf. Educational Fund.

THE LOUISVILLE TIMES SATURDAY, AUGUST 12, 1967

3 Poverty Workers in Pike County Arrested, Charged With Sedition

PIKEVILLE (AP)—Pike County officials raided the homes of three mountain poverty workers last night, confiscated some literature, and charged the trio with sedition, Commonwealth's Atty. Thomas Ratliff said today.

The accused are Allen McSurely, 31, and his wife, Margaret, 28, both field workers with the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF), and Joseph Mulloy, 23, a staff member of Appalachian Volunteers, Inc.

Mulloy is the son of Mr. and Mrs. Joseph P. Mulloy, 229 N. 37th, Louisville.

Appalachian Volunteers is a poverty program supported by the U.S. Office of Economic Opportunity. The SCEF is a private Louisville-based civil-rights action group.

SCEF records indicate that McSurely is a former staff member of the United Planning Organization in Washington, D.C., a federally supported poverty program. Mrs. McSurely was said to be a former project worker for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

Ratliff, who described the arrests, is Republican candidate for lieutenant governor.

Carl Braden, executive secretary of SCEF in Louisville, said that SCEF lawyers take the position that the sedition statute is "unconsitutional, invalid and void."

Braden recalled that he, himself, was convicted under the sedition statute in 1954, but that the state Court of Appeals threw out the conviction on the strength of a Supreme Court decision.

Ratliff asserted that later decisions assure the statute is usable in this case.

The McSurelys were arrested by Pike County Sheriff Perry A. Justice at their home in the Pleasant Valley community near Pikeville. Mrs. McSurely is expecting a baby in January. Mulloy was arrested separately at his home later.

The sedition statute carries a penalty of up to 21 years in prison or a $10,000 fine or both. A preliminary hearing was set for today.

If you wish to protest this injustice,
please wire, write, or call:

Gov. Edward Breathitt
State Capitol
Frankfort, Ky.

Reprinted as a public service by:

SOUTHERN CONFERENCE EDUCATIONAL FUND (SCEF)
3210 W. Broadway, Louisville, Ky. 40211

(Over)

V. A. B. A.

file - Defense fee

3 Pike Poverty Workers Charged With Sedition

The Courier-Journal

SUNDAY, AUGUST 13, 1967.

By KYLE VANCE
Courier-Journal Staff Writer

PIKEVILLE, Ky. — A midnight raid on the rural mountain homes of three antipoverty workers resulted yesterday in sedition charges against the three and confiscation of a truckload of books and papers.

Commonwealth's Attorney Thomas Ratliff said the seized material included what he called a "communistic library out of this world."

Arrested and held for examining trial were Al McSurely and his wife, Margaret, both staff representatives of the Southern Conference Education Fund (SCEF), and Joe Mulloy, field representative for the Appalachian Volunteers.

Mulloy was released after posting $5,000 bail. Mr. and Mrs. McSurely were held in jail in lieu of $5,000 and $2,000 bond respectively.

Carl Braden of Louisville, head of SCEF, said the McSurelys chose to remain in jail to test the law on habeas corpus motions.

Mulloy also posted $250 bond on a charge of flourishing a dangerous weapon. He said he had carried a pistol when he answered a knock at his door because he did not know who was there. When the callers identified themselves as officers, he handed the gun to them, he said.

Dan Jack Combs, attorney for the three, said he will go either to a state

See PIKE RAID
Col. 1, back page, this section

Continued From Page One

or federal court tomorrow with habeas corpus motions to free the McSurelys.

SCEF, whose headquarters are in Louisville, has been active in civil rights movements in the South and recently has turned its attention to organizing both Negro and white poor.

Appalachian Volunteers works with the poor of the mountains to inform them of their rights and to organize them into community action groups. They also train VISTA volunteers, the domestic version of the Peace Corps.

Landlord Complained

Ratliff and Sheriff Perry A. Justice led the raids on the complaint of James M. Compton, of Collins, former landlord of the McSurelys.

Ratliff said Compton evicted the McSurelys after examining their collection of books and papers and seeing "a parade of strange looking visitors at their house."

He said the material taken from McSurely included a "white paper" on how to "take over Pike County from the power structure and put in the hands of the poor."

"The paper also included a narrative on ways to get into the government's antipoverty programs and take advantage of the money available through the programs," Ratliff said.

"Every piece of evidence we have points to just one objective, to stir up dissension and create turmoil among our poor."

He said the confiscated material will be made available to Washington, including congressional investigators, and that it will be used to try and convince the Office of Economic Opportunity that federal funds should be withdrawn from the Appalachian Volunteers and VISTA.

"We have good evidence that government funds are being used to promote causes aimed at downgrading and maybe overthrowing the government," Ratliff said.

He said his investigation will continue and that it will include interviews with local young people who have been "indoctrinated" by McSurely and Mulloy.

Works by and about Lenin, Marx, Mao Tse-tung, Castro and other Communist leaders were among the books seized, Ratliff said. Others dealt with Russian short stories, Socialist thought and the so-called Berkeley student revolt at the University of California. These were paperbacks and are available at some bookstores.

Ratliff said he also found instructions on how to use weapons and how to fight guerrilla wars. Correspondence taken included letters in which certain teachers were favored for the Pike County school system.

"They have been getting real close to our young people," Ratliff said. "They have what they call the Marrowbone Folk School out in the county which I understand is an indoctrination school."

"They have helped get boys into the Neighborhood Youth Corps and they have taken some young people to civil rights meetings in Chicago and other places."

Convicted in 1954 Case

The habeas corpus motions to free the McSurelys will attack the validity of the sedition charges in view of decisions holding that states cannot enforce sedition laws. One such decision dealt with a sedition conviction in Kentucky against Braden, head of SCEF, who called the state sedition statute "unconstitutional, invalid and void."

Braden was convicted in 1954 on charges of advocating sedition after the bombing of a Negro home in a previously all-white neighborhood in Louisville. Braden had sold the home to the Negro. The conviction was later set aside by the state Court of Appeals after the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in a Pennsylvania case that the states do not have the authority to bring such charges.

The SCEF headquarters was moved to Louisville in 1966 from New Orleans. In 1963, police raided the New Orleans headquarters and claimed to have found subversive literature. The U.S. Supreme Court overturned prosecution arising from the Louisiana raid.

Ratliff said the prosecution may base its case on the theory that states can punish violators of state sedition laws.

'Exaggeration,' Braden Says

Ratliff said the Smith Act, which pre-empted states from enforcing state sedition laws, was found unconstitutional by the Supreme Court and, because of this, the state can now enforce state sedition statutes.

"That is an exaggeration," Braden said. "The Smith Act is still on the books, in case Mr. Ratliff is not up on his law."

Mulloy made a statement on his release deploring "this travesty of justice." He said Ratliff, the Republican nominee for lieutenant-governor, was trying to gain politically on the issue.

Tom Bethel, information officer for the Appalachian Volunteers, said the organization is dedicated to building, not overthrowing, the government.

"We are interested in working with local, county, state and federal officials to improve living conditions in Appalacia," he said.

"We do not always agree with the elected officials in the area, but we do respect the fact that they are elected. In return, we hope they will respect our constitutional right of dissent. Dissent and sedition are two very different things, and we hope this will be recognized in Pike County."

(Over)

Per PA:
file: Defense Materials
Attacks
Cr/ref - ~~"Courtney Siceloff Color or Pen"~~
Penn Community Services
re: Siceloff Card transmitting
Criticism of SCC in article released
by Grass Roots League - 8
Dec. 20, 1967

January 5, 1968

Mrs. Courtney Siceloff
Penn Community Services
St. Helena Island
Frogmore, South Carolina 29920

Dear Elizabeth:

Thanks for the inside information from the Grass Roots League. It is warming and reassuring to know we aren't forgotten.

It has been a hundred years, and while I doubt seriously I have a book in me I wish I had started writing it about two years ago.

Every good wish to the Siceloffs for 1968!

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES - ST. HELENA ISLAND
FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA 29920

1/2/68

Dear Paul:

Courtney and I thought the enclosed might be cheerful New Year's reading for you. Just in case you think nobody's been Noticing you lately.

I haven't seen you in a hundred years. Isn't it book-writing time for you? The blue fireplace was glowing over the weekend when we were out at the beach, and we scarcely noticed the wild weather outside. It was hard to come back. — The cottage awaits you —

Love - Elizabeth

IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Grass Roots League, Inc., Box 551, Charleston, South Carolina

Charleston, December 20 - "Michael (called Martin) Luther King (exposed as a fraud by an editorial in the Columbia, S. C. STATE, July 13, 1966), apostle of violent non-violence, may be a traitor as well as a fraud", reports the Research Department of the Grass Roots League, Inc. "King apparently was influenced in his law-defying activities by such Communist-fronters as Benjamin E. Mays, negro, president of Morehouse College; Allan Knight Chalmers (formerly treasurer of the NAACP); and Rev. Howard Thurman, negro, dean of Boston University Chapel. Also, FBI Director, J. Edgar Hoover, called King 'the most notorious liar in the country' at a press conference in August, 1964 (NEWS & COURIER, August 19, 1964). Also, King had as aides one Hunter Pitts O'Dell, a negro member of the National Committee of the Communist Party, USA, and Red-affiliated Bayard Rustin, negro rabble-rouser.

"Moreover, THE AUGUSTA COURIER, October 30, 1967, reports that the Lynchburg, Va., NEWS of October 6, 1967, published an editorial revealing that the FBI has compiled a secret report that its agents '...secured evidence that King was receiving large sums of money from a well-known American Communist agent, who gives King instructions which he implicitly obeys'. Also, '...when the FBI agents had King under surveillance they observed him meet a well-identified Soviet espionage agent at the Kennedy Airport in New York'. This editorial states that the NATIONAL OBSERVER, February 15, 1966, declared that the Justice Department at first refused to turn this file over to the House Committee on Un-American Activities, but now this shocking report is in the Committee's hands.

"In spite of these disclosures, King continues his defiance of law and order, and has recently held a meeting of some 80 leaders of his Southern Christian Leadership Conference at the notorious bi-racial Penn School at Frogmore, Beaufort County, South Carolina. Why did King select Penn School as a meeting place for his Southern Christian Leadership Conference leaders

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

to plot anti-American activities (civil disobedience) against the U. S. A.? Courtney Siceloff, head of Penn Center, also has been chairman of the South Carolina Council on Human Relations which is one of the 12 Councils on Human Relations in 12 Southern states established by the Southern Regional Council of Atlanta, Georgia.

"The Southern Regional Council (SRC), a bi-racial, pro-integration organization, according to the Communist DAILY WORKER of December 1, 1954, had as one of its founders James E. Jackson, Jr., negro, a top official of the Communist Party USA. In 1944, the SRC was incorporated and has been financed mainly by the Fund for the Republic, which received $15,000,000.00 from the Ford Foundation. The Southern Regional Council had two known Communists on its Board of Directors and, at least, 38 officers, members of the executive staff or directors of the SRC have known records of association with organizations cited as Communist fronts by either the Attorney General or the HCUA, it was reported in THE AUGUSTA COURIER of September 26, 1955. Hence, the SRC's branch, South Carolina Council on Human Relations, which has been located at 1330 Laurel Street, Columbia, S. C., must be a Red suspect, presumably implicating Courtney Siceloff, who has been chairman.

"Another connecting link between Southern Regional Council and the Penn School is the fact that James McBride Dabbs, after serving as president of the SRC (elected 1957) was named chairman of the Penn Trustees in April, 1964.

"A raid on the Southern Conference Educational Fund New Orleans headquarters by Louisiana authorities in 1963 yielded a number of important documents revealing the inter-locking connections of Communist and other subversive leaders.

"Both the Southern Regional Council and the SCEF have been disclosed as subversive organizations, successors of the defunct Communist-front Southern Conference for Human Welfare. Also, James McBride Dabbs, before serving as president of the SRC was listed in the 1955 'call for a general meeting of the SCEF' as a member of its Advisory Committee. Documents seized from the

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

SCEF show that M. L. King has been working closely with this subversive organization, even accepting its money for travelling expenses. At the same time, King has held his SCLC Conferences in 1965 and 1967 at the SRC-allied Penn School.

"One of King's principal aides, Rev. Fred L. Shuttlesworth, negro, in 1963 was named president of the SCEF. Three years later, the Red character of the SCEF was firmly established by the appointment of an identified Communist, Carl Braden, as its executive director. A letter written by King in October, 1959, invites Carl and Anne Braden, both Communists, to join the SCLC.

"That M. L. King, who was a protegé of Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, president of Morehouse College where King studied, is believed under the control of Mays is revealed by two letters written by Aubrey Williams, known Communist and president-emeritus of the SCEF. Benjamin E. Mays ('Benny Mays'), negro, has a public record of affiliation with some 25 fronts of which 'seven were Communist Party fronts operating amongst the negroes'.

"Do the Communist-inspired, 'black power' negroes following King's leadership realize that their revolutionary activities against the American Republic constitute TREASON by 'giving aid and comfort' to the Soviet Union, the enemy of the United States of America? The punishment for treason is death.

"J. Edgar Hoover, FBI Director, in a report to the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee January 22, 1960, stated '...the Communist Party is not interested in the welfare of the negro, but only in using him as a tool to advance Party interests'."

MEMO

TO: PAUL

FROM:

MGS

SUBJECT:

	for routing
	circulate
	answer
	return
	destroy
	to files

Marjorie asked me to bring this to you

Moreland

MORELAND GRIFFITH SMITH
F. A. I. A.
MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA 36106

The Birchers Expose Another Plot

THE STAR of the John Birch Society seems to be dimming. One rarely hears from the organization any more these days, and that's a pity, because we need a bit of comic relief as we assess the gloomy political landscape, both foreign and domestic.

In keeping with the season, however, the Society has delivered us a handsome gift in its assessment of the Nixon Administration. A recent piece in the Society's monthly publication, American Opinion, is entitled "A Worried Look At the Nixon Administration." The piece concludes the President, once an anti-communist with impeccable credentials, is in fact being controlled by "leftist insiders." These include not only those professors who are suspect by their very occupation — Henry Kissinger and Daniel P. Moynihan — but such Cabinet officers as Secretary of State Rogers, Secretary of Housing Romney, Secretary of Treasury Kennedy, Chief Justice Burger, and Atty. Gen. Mitchell (!). Doubtless some local citizens will find comfort that our PMG Blount was omitted from the Birch Society's rogues gallery.

In yet another Birch publication the Society's guru, the former candy manufacturer Robert Welch, makes the startling disclosure that the nomination of Barry Goldwater in 1964 "fitted very neatly into the Communist strategy." This he deduced from the fact that a West Coast communist-oriented newspapers had published a picture of Goldwater giving a clenched-fist salute. This, in Welch's view, was "a direct message to the faithful . . . that despite any public appearance to the contrary, the communist high command was NOT opposing Goldwater's nomination, and neither should those in the ranks below."

We once suggested that the Birch Society's ultimate conspiratorial conclusion might be that false teeth are a communist trick to get the people to eat. It appears they have even topped that one.

To Paul
Ala Journal
12/31/69

* * *

In 1914 They Called Foundations Reactionary

The current controversial investigation of philanthropic foundations has brought the cry of unfairness by the foundations themselves and echoes in Congress. The Reece inquiry panel, it is charged, has heard only the critics of foundations' work.

Rep. Wayne L. Hays (D-O), likens the probe to "an Alice in Wonderland investigation in which a verdict against foundations was entered before the evidence was heard."

Whatever conclusions the committee reaches, the last inquiry, headed by Georgia's late Rep. Eugene Cox, was only two years ago. After hearing more than 40 witnesses, the panel reported favorably on the work of the foundations. In its conclusions was the following interesting commentary:

"It seems paradoxical that in previous congressional investigations in 1914, the fear most frequently expressed was that the foundations would prove the instruments of vested wealth, privilege and reaction, while today the fear most frequently expressed is that they have become the enemy of the capitalistic system. In our opinion, neither of these fears is justified."

The Reece committee report, according to the foundations and the panel members themselves, would have to be adverse. Most of the witnesses were against their work.

Financed by the most conservative interests in America, most of whom supported Eisenhower, the foundations have been guilty of furthering the health, education and living standards of millions of Americans. Their few mistakes are far outweighed by the good they've accomplished.

906 LULLWATER ROAD, N. E.
ATLANTA 6, GEORGIA

HCF

Dr. Mackay will need, well before Conference, some analysis of the ruckus. Such as

who, now, are the people presently on the Board and under attack

who are some of their own Boards, etc.

your statistics

what else might be useful

Thanks

40000 20/60 120000

Georgia Methodist Information

IRENE LONG, Director
Wesley Memorial Building
63 Auburn Ave., N. E., Atlanta 3, Georgia
PHONE: LAMAR 0315

IN COOPERATION WITH THE COMMISSION ON PUBLIC INFORMATION OF THE METHODIST CHURCH

Return to HCF

The Rev. L. Blake Craft, Clayton, Ga., was given a year's suspension from the Methodist ministry July 8 by a 13-member jury of ministers of the North Georgia Annual Conference of the Methodist Church. The suspension lasts until the opening session of the 1955 Annual Conference session next June.

The church court found Mr. Craft, editor of "One Methodist Voice," guilty of "unchristian tempers, words or actions" and "imprudent and unministerial conduct." The trial lasted six days. A total of 62 witnesses were heard.

Mr. Craft and his counsel, the Rev. J. Ed Fain of Moultrie, Ga., said they will take the case to the Committee on Appeals of the Southeastern Jurisdictional Conference of the Methodist Church. Mr. Craft said, "We have good grounds for an appeal to the appelate court of the conference...My conscience is clear..."

Mr. Craft was given a sabbatical leave at the 1953 annual conference. At that time the conference condemned his publication and expressed "complete confidence in the Christian integrity and patriotic loyalty of our brethren who have been attacked by 'One Methodist Voice'."

The matter was placed before the Annual Conference again last month when a group of ministers presented charges against Mr. Craft. These were studied by the conference committee of investigation which reported that Mr. Craft was liable to trial under the Discipline of the Church for "unchristian tempers, words or actions; disobedience to the order and discipline of the church; and imprudent or unministerial conduct."

The committee of investigation gave the following specifications to the charges: (1) The Rev. L. Blake Craft publishes a paper, "One Methodist Voice." (2) It is not a parish paper, nor a paper to aid ministers in the conduct of their work. It injures the effectiveness of the work of his ministry, hampers the work of his fellow ministers and damages the good name of the Methodist Church. (3) The paper is not distributed to subscribers only, but is sent out by subsidy as propaganda to both ministers and laymen. The effect has been and is to create confusion among laymen. (4) There is evidence to the effect that the accused has violated the vows of his ordination.

The trial was held at First Methodist Church in Atlanta, with the Rev. Dr. Claud M. Haynes, Atlanta, presiding. The Rev. Dr. Waights G. Henry, LaGrange, was counsel for the church and the Rev. Dr. Harvey C. Holland, Atlanta, was assistant counsel for the church. The trial was behind closed doors, a traditional Methodist court procedure.

MORE

The following verdict of the trial court was read by the Rev. Frank Q. Echols, Augusta, secretary of the jury.

"PREAMBLE; We, the Trial Court, recognize the right of the individual as an American citizen and minister in the Methodist Church. We are not in opposition to Rev. L. Blake Craft publishing a paper, nor his personal fight against Communism, for which he is not charged.

"We point out, also, that the Methodist Church is definitely against Communism.

"VERDICT: Under the charges set forth by the Committee on Investigations of the North Georgia Conference, under paragraph 921, Section (a) (b) and (c) Discipline 1952, we find the defendant, Rev. L. Blake Craft, guilty of the following charges:

"1. Section (a) paragraph 921, "unchristian tempers, words or actions.

"2. Section (c) paragraph 921 "imprudent and unministerial conduct.

"We specify his use of 'One Methodist Voice' as a means to personally attack his brother ministers to discredit the leadership of his conference and to confuse the laymen of the church, creating doubt in their minds by the dissemination of inflamatory writings.

"We point out that the guilt is substantiated by various and sundry evidence given during the trial.

"PENALTY: We specify the penalty to be suspension from the exercise of the functions of his office, effective from this date to continue until the opening date of the Annual Conference of the North Georgia Conference in the year 1955."

The document was signed by the Rev. J. Foster Young, Atlanta, foreman of the jury, and Mr. Echols.

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Sec - Criticism

ANNOUNCER: Ladies and Gentlemen, Station W.I.L.D. calls your attention to the fact that the following program is purchased by the American States Rights Association. The views andopinions expressed are not necessarily those of this radio station.

*****

This is Ace Carter, speaking for the American States Rights Association with the history you and I are making. The growing activity in the South From the extreme racist groups has reached stepped-up activity and new organizations are appearing almost daily apparently well-financed. They seemingly never lack for funds. Many of them attracting attention to their product of propaganda, while others are working quietly to promote from various angles the integration of the races. Much of these supplied funds for the propaganda work is forthcoming from foundations of one sort or another, tax exempt usually. Some money in the operation, mongrelization, is being passed through (to) the organization of so-called political action groups, who receive their (funds) from indistinct sources. Some national labor bosses are investing in the integration scheme apparently on the theory that the colored bloc will afford them added personal power, great power. As it has to some politicians in Washington, D. C. and no questions asked.

Across the Southland, the great social fixer, the dowdy race expert, the men with hot hand, eager for personal power through the colored bloc, the pompous ones, who step aboard the power wagon for social and publicity reasons and the wet eyed hysteric who wants every Negro and white integrated in to a cauldron of what he thinks is the end to life's problems; and behing them in the center of the widening ring as described by Senator Jenner is the master of the show, the communists, whipping up the fools and the lackeys, steering the line of communist race relations, meaning integration, pointing out every flaw in America, the inequities of racial separatists, urging the dupes that the house of Americans be burned down and that the races must be destroyed and the barriers

broken in order to correct the flaws.

The clue to the mast of the show is the affiliations of these people who are working in (for) the great experiment of race integration, for they have in the past blinded themselves to everything else and worked so closely with the communists that their organizations and their work has been so flavored with the communists line that they have been duly listed as communist fronts, fronts ! for the Communist Party machinations to destroy America and yet they move on to other organizations, to still others, always carrying on the line, propaganda, developing techniques to c nvince you and me that race integration must be -- that mongrelization is ideal, is demanded of conscience and morals.

They are investigated, their label is (colored) for the communists and they move into another organization or form a new one and the attack upon the white people of the South does dnot cease. They make great due to the transmission belt of propaganda by which the communist line is passed through them and parceled out to the wire services to the so-called liberal newspapers, to schools, discussion groups, clubs, working to make the communists line of integration the pppular thought of the people. Every (city) of size and many smaller towns of the South are now carrying groups and organizations of the race integrationists on its back.

Birmingham, Alabama is no exception, it is beleaguered of several such groups of racists. They form under almost every conceivable name-- object, integration. Polite social name-- race relations. If one would just think back race relations were doing just fine in America until the communists became active in America in the thirties, and the race relations groups began to operate just a short time later.

The most recent group to form in Birmingham is a group which calls itself, the local chapter of ALABAMA COUNCIL on HUMAN RELATIONS, listed under the temporary leadership of Rev. Alfred W. Hobart of the Unitarian Church. The first meeting's discussion? Why, the Supreme court's decision, naturally, and its effect on race relations.

This organization, reportedly, is to affilia- affiliated with the Southern Regional Council, Incorpoarted. Yes, they are incorporated, now. The Southern Regional Council, Incorporated operates out of Atlanta and described in the Birmingham News as, quote-an organization of southerners of both races working in interest of all people in the South, Unquote. We would remind that many of the leaders of the Southern Regional Council's pedigree is hardly of theSouth. Working in the interest of southerners, a nice bed-time story. George Mitchell is director of the Southern Regional Council, Incorporated. George Mitchell has been affiliated with a notorious communist organization, the Civil Rights Congress. George Mitchell was a sponsor of that urgent summons to a meeting of the Civil Rights Congress held in Detroit when communists were being tried for advocating the overthrow of the United States Government. The House Committee on Unamerican Activities subpoenaed the records of the Political Action Committee and those records showed that George S. Mitchell was head of a region eight which includes Alabama. To quote a Georgia paper, one Methodist Voice, edited by Rev. Craft of Georgia- quote-- at a meeting held at the Atlanta Y.W.C.A September 9, 1952 under the sponsorship of the Friends Service Committee, another such group, a Negro man, when speaking to the group said in effect, that it was a shame that one could not present an effective program on peace in his community without being called a communist. The person presiding,according to a reliable source, said, we have a member of the Communist Party here, let's see what he has to say to that. George S. Mitchell arose and said: "I'm not talking to day but I will say that we will never get anywhere by moral force alone". I am still quoting. according to my source, George S. Mitchell did not deny that he was a member of the Communist Party. Unquote, You know, Rev. Craft hasn't been sued, yet, by Mitchell or anybody else.

George Mitchell belonged to (as) sponsor various vicious front organizations. Oh yes, they are interested in the people of the South, all right, very interested. Mitchell has been pictured and quoted quite fluently (frequently) in the

Birmingham News with his admonitions to the white people to integrate with the Negores, stating that southerners are going to have to learn all about human dignity, and must be wretched (wrenched) into position. We understand that communists once they've mongrelized the mass into slavery by government has very very definite ideas on human dignity. The Southern RegionalCouncil, of course, is a typical race mixing propaganda group dominated by at least twenty (20) and perhaps more peoplewho have records ef (as) communist fronts and as vicious an array of communist front names you'll probably mot find anywhere ~~o~~ outside of Moscow and New York city.

There is the Negro, Rufus Clement, president of Atlanta University, having belonged to several communist front organizations and one of them, let's have a look at his fellow associates and members. Paul Robeson, Negro communist, John Gates, editor of the communist Daily Worker, and one of the eleven convicted communists, Alexander Tractenberg, who when convicted in New York, preferred to go to jail in the mean old capitalistic, prejudiced United States than to return to the good old integrated Soviet Russia, of which he wrote so glowingly about. Clement is on the Board of Education of Atlanta, helping to shape the thought of the children there, Negro and white children, both. A position of influence, he was aided mightily by leftist newspapers and magazines. There is Negro Benjamin Mays having belonged to communist fronts and so on, also a member of the Southern Regional Council.

All of this makes a nice affiliate, we suppose, for the Alabama Council on Human Relations in Birmingham. After all, it isn't too difficult to understand that the race mixing ideal is a communist ideal, Who else is there to work with, besides (aside) from those of the left and the communist fronts? So again, after these many years, the Southland is under definite attack. It has been for quite some time. That attack is being stepped up-- the minds (lives) of the people, their children and their future is under attack, quite different from the days of Reconstruction-- or we should say the days of destruction, - when

the vultures descended to pick over the remains of a starved and outwardly helpless people. The vultures of a carpet bag and the racists found that the people of the South would never be defeated in their purpose and aim and now, again, the South is the object of the racist. The white people of the South are again faced with a desperate situation and invaded on every turn by the avowers of race integration. This time with the world power of the communists working for the mass integrationist. Still, the commie fronters come, they set up shop and the gullible and the weak join in and others become convinced they must integrate their children with the Negro. If ever a land deserved the tears and the devotion, it is the South. And through the years and in the past, it received that devotion and few tears from men and women of an era now dead but forever living and the proudest moments of any land and any people. We are again a trial geief of the South and it surely shall and then again and a hundred times if necessary-- its people could meet trial and write their moment in history and leave behind a Southland and an America for their children.

This is Ace Carter, and that is the history we are making. I thank you for your company.

ANNOUNCER: The American States Rights Association has presented Ace Carter. Active membership in the American States Rights Association is for the minimum fee of $1.00 (one dollar) up, dependent upon your financial ability and inclination. Remember, the American States Rights Association is non-profit add non-political, Simply address your letter to American States Rights Association, Box 92, Birmingham, Alabama.

File: Criticisms: Defense Materials

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I N T R O D U C T I O N

COMMUNIST, NEGROES, AND INTEGRATION

The Communist Party has long been expert at the business of fishing in troubled waters - - the more troubled, the more to its liking.

The Communist Party is at it again today; and, unfortunately, the "Keep Off" signs have been taken down by order of the U.S. Supreme Court, in its decisions of June 17, 1957, affecting the Communist conspiracy.

If any of our society today may be properly characterized as troubled waters, it is unquestionably the issue raised by the Supreme Court's desegregation order of May 17, 1954. And there is no hazard in predicting that these waters will be troubled for a long time to come.

The situation is one which the Communists have welcomed eagerly. It offers them an almost unparalleled opportunity to exploit, for their own ulterior and revolutionary purposes, the inevitable social turbulence resulting from the Supreme Court's order for public school integration. Violent agitation is the meat on which Communism feeds.

THE BAIT: NEGRO LIBERATION

The bait on the Communist hook is "Negro liberation", a phrase which has been reiterated by Communist leaders with such frequency over the years that it has become a cliche. It matters not that liberation at the hands of Communists is demonstrably a cruel euphemism for a slavery worse than that from which Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation freed Negroes. The Communists still approach the Negro people of the United States with the premise of liberation dangling from their hook.

As long ago as 1928, the Communist Party of the United States published a pamphlet written by John Pepper, the representative of the Communist International in the United States, in which Pepper said: - - "The Communists must participate in all national liberation movements of the Negroes which have a real mass character". (American Negro Problems, Page 14)

In a Communist pamphlet entitled "The Road to Negro Liberation", published in 1934, Harry Haywood writes about "Party leadership in the Negro liberation movement". (Page 62)

In 1937, the Communist Party issued a pamphlet entitled "The Road to Liberation for the Negro People", by Abrew W. Berry and others.

Ten years later, in 1947, Negro Communist leader Benjamin J. Davis, published his pamphlet entitled "The Path of Negro Liberation", in which he wrote:

"Consequently the Negro people are moving in the direction of some form of statehood in the Black Belt. This would mean an adjustment or rectification of the lines demarking 12 states through which runs the Black Belt area where the Negro people are in a majority.(Pages 19 and 20)

In 1948, Negro Communist leader Harry Haywood published a book entitled "Negro Liberation".

That "Negro Liberation" has priority on the Communist Party's agenda today is confirmed by the foremost Negro Communist leader in the United States. Writing in "Political Affairs", the theoretical magazine of the Communist Party, U.S.A., which lays down the Party line, Benjamin J. Davis declares:

"The struggle for Negro rights - - particularly in the deep South - - is the single most crucial and decisive issue in the United States today . . . . . The massive significance of the national liberation struggles of the Negro and colonial people, here and abroad, envelopes this work with additional importance.(Page 13)

NEGRO REPUBLIC IN THE BLACK BELT

The Communist slogan of "Negro Liberation" is simply a watered-down version of the Party's original slogan of "A Negro Republic in the Black Belt". The propaganda which the Communist Party conducted on thebasis of the latter slogan fell flat in its appeal to Negroes and only served to show how far the Kremlin's agents are removed from the realities of the American scene.

In October, 1930, the Communist International adopted a resolution "on the Negro Question in the United States". It was published in the United States by Workers Library Publishers, the publishing adjunct of the Communist Party, in a pamphlet entitled "The Communist Position on the Negro Question".

On the subject of an independent Negro republic in the Black Belt, the Comintern took the position that "as long as capitalism rules in the United States the Communists cannot come out against governmental separation of the Negro zone from the United States". (Page 51) But, in the event of the establishment of a Soviet Government in the whole United States, Communist Negroes would come out against "separation of the Negro Republic from federation with the United States", while unconditionally giving "the Negro population of the Black Belt freedom of choice even on this question".(Pages 50-51)

The Comintern's resolution held that there was a "prospective sharpening of the national conflicts in the South, with the advance of the national revolutionary Negro movement", and that in such a situation the Communist Party must "stand up with all strength and courage for the struggle to win independence and for the establishment of a Negro republic in the Black Belt.(Pages 51-52).

William Z. Foster points out that the "Program of the Communist International" declares for:

"The recognition of the right of all nations, irrespective of race, to complete self-determination, that is, self-determination inclusive of the right to State separation".(Toward Soviet America, Page 304)

Foster then applies this principle of self-determination and State separation (or secession from the United States) to the Negro population in the Black Belt, in the following statement:

"Accordingly, the right of self-determination will apply to Negroes in the American Soviet System. In the so-called Black Belt of the South, where the Negroes are in the majority, they will have the fullest right to govern themselves and also such white minorities as may live in the section".(ibid Page 304)

CONFISCATION

The program of the Communist Party calls for the confiscation of the property of the white people in the so-called Black Belt. According to William Z. Foster, writing in his book entitled "Toward Soviet America":

"In a Soviet system, the Negro will have the most complete equality - - economically, politically, socially . . . He will have ample land, confiscated from the great white landlords . . . Socialism will mean the first real freedom for the Negro. He is beginning to realize this, hence his mass turning to the Communist Party for leadership, and the consequent deep alarm of the capitalists and big landowners at this growing unity of white and black toilers" (Page 303)

There is no doubt about the Communist program of confiscation. But after 40 years of Communist agitation, there is no evidence of the "mass turning" of Negroes to the Communist Party - - a fact which William Z. Foster knows very well now, and which he knew very well when he wrote about it.

COMMUNIST AIM: RACIAL AMALGAMATION

In their franker moments, Communist leaders in the United States have stated bluntly that one of their aims is to bring about racial amalgamation. Thus, William Z. Foster, present head of the Communist Party in America declared in his book "Toward Soviet America".

"The American Soviet will, of course, abolish all restrictions upon racial intermarriage . . . The revolution will only hasten this process of integration, already proceeding throughout the world with increasing tempo."(Pages 305-306)

PENETRATING NON-COMMUNIST ORGANIZATIONS

In addition to building their own Party-controlled organizations, the Communist Party has from the beginning pursued a policy of sending its members into non-Communist organizations. Their own word for this type of activity is "penetration".

The Communist objectives in penetrating other groups are varied.

In some instances, the goal is outright control. In other instances, the objective is to disseminate and gain support for the views of the Party apparatus outside the immediate circle of Communists or, in other words, to win fellow travelers on specific issues. In yet other and rarer cases, the aim of penetration is to destroy the organization which is penetrated.

For more than 20 years, the Communist Party has pursued this tactic of penetration of non-Communist organizations and groups. With the current dwindling of its membership, the Party is pursuing the tactic more assiduously than ever. Recently, it has applied the tactic on a broad scale among scientists on the issue of radioactive fall-out.

It hopes to reap vast gains on the issue of integration in the public schools of the South. Communists measure their gains in terms of social turbulence, wherever they are permitted, they will penetrate non-Communist groups which favor federal intervention by force in the field of integration, hoping thereby to increase turmoil and incite to violence. The indispensable pre-conditions of Communist revolutionary sentiment are chaos and violence.

The Communist Party cared little or nothing about racial discrimination in the Queen's Hospital, about the fate of the Scottsboro boys or Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, about the Italian War against Ethiopia, or about the unemployed; it cares much about fishing in troubled waters. Only so can it serve its Kremlin master.

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, SUB-COMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

Tuesday, July 29, 1958 Atlanta, Georgia

A sub-committee of the Committee on Un-American Activities met, pursuant to call, at 10:07 A.M., in the Courtroom Old Post Office Building, Atlanta, Georgia, Honorable Francis E. Walter (chairman) presiding.

Committee members present; Representatives Francis E. Walter of Pennsylvania; Edwin E. Willis of Louisiana; William M. Luck of Virginia; and Donald L. Jackson, of California.

Staff members present: Richard Arens, Staff Director, and George Williams and Frank Bonora, investigators.

Mr. Armando Penha, 22 Dover Street, Fairhaven, Massachusetts, an investigator of veteran's services for the City of New Bedford in the state of Massachusetts.

After being duly sworn to tell the truth, Mr. Penha answered in the following manner:

Mr. Arens: At the outset, Mr. Penha, may I ask you if you have ever been a member of the Communist Party and, if so, over what period of time?

Mr. Penha: I have been a member of the Communist Party from the very beginning of 1950 to March 1958.

Mr. Arens: Is it a fact, Mr. Penha, that during this period of time from 1950 until March of this year, you have served in the Communist Party at the behest of the Federal Bureau of Investigation?

Mr. Penha: That is correct, sir.

Mr. Arens: Why would the Communist Party covet the South in this colonization program.

Mr. Penha: The South, as far as the party is concerned, is a virgin territory. Insofar as that the party sees the potentials that exist here, the potentials are those that the party will exploit for their own gains. They will agitate and use every means within their command to raise political and economic issues of the Negro people in order to create mass agitation and foment discord at the same time.

Mr. Penha stated in a previous answer that Mr. Eugene Feldman, a member of the Industrial Commission was sent down to Alabama. As a result the following questioning ensued:

Mr. Chairman: You say he was sent. By whom was he sent?

Mr. Penha: He was sent by the national leadership of the Communist Party, sir. He was very instrumental in his own synagogue, teaching Sunday School to children, which is another party technique.

Note: Mr. Feldman was the editor of the Southern News letter and National Guardian, publications cited as being under Communist control July 9, 1956. Mr. Feldman took the first and fifth amendment on all pertinent questions.

Wednesday July 30, 1958, Atlanta,Ga.

Testimony of Carl Braden, accompanied by Counsel E. Eubank Tucker and John M. Coe.

Mr. Arens: Kindly identify yourself by name, residence and occupation.

Mr. Braden: My name is Carl Braden. I live at 4403 Virginia Avenue in Louisville, Kentucky. I am a worker in the integration movement in the South, having been employed by the Southern Conference Educational Fund,Inc. which is southwide interracial organization working to bring about integration, justice, and decency in the South.

Mr. Arens: In what capacity are you employed, Mr. Braden, with the Southern Conference Educational Fund?

Mr. Braden: I am employed as field secretary, and I am also associate editor of their newspaper, the Southern Patroit, which is a paper that disseminates information on integration in the South and about the people who are working for integration.

Mr. Arens: What was your last principal occupation?

Mr. Braden: I was a newspaper man, employed as a copy editor by the Louisville Courier-Journal.

Mr. Arens: How long did that employment endure?

Mr. Braden: I was employed on two different occasions. You mean my entire newspaper career?

Mr. Arens: Just the highlights, please, sir.

Mr. Braden: All right, I was a reporter and rewrite man for the Louisville Herald-Post from 1930 to 1936; a reporter for the Cincinnati Inquirer; city editor of the Hazon, Kentucky, Daily Enterprise; labor reporter for the Louisville Times; and then editor of the Courier Journal, in addition to being editor of several labor papers.

Mr. Arens: Would you give us now please just a word about your education?

Mr. Braden: I studied from 1928 to 1930 for the Catholic priesthood. I might add that I am now a member of the Episcopal Church.

Carl Braden and Frank Wilkerson surrendered to the U.S. Marshall in Atlanta, Georgia, May 1, 1961 to begin serving one-year sentences for contempt of Congress,(see photostat).

SOUTHERN CONFERENCE FOR HUMAN WELFARE

The first big penetration of the Communist Party into the South came with the launching of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare in November 1938. The launching took place in Birmingham, Alabama, with the blessings of the White House, Eleanor Roosevelt was the principal speaker.

On November 22, 1938, Mrs. Roosevelt, addressing the conference said: "The eyes of the world are upon us . . .The future of democracy rests with the nation's youth. Face the question with open minds and above all make sure a thing is true before accepting it as true. On this alone can we stake our hopes for democracy."

Franklin D. Roosevelt sent a letter to the Birmingham Conference, in which he said: " . . . if you steer a true course and keep everlastingly at it, the South will long be thankful for this day". (Report of Proceedings of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, p. 29)

Paul Crouch, John Donovan, James Jackson, Robert F. Hall, and Don West - - all Communist Party members - - manipulated the conference from behind the scenes. William Z. Foster writes with unusual modesty: "Communist influence was strong in the Southern Conference for Human Welfare from the start and this was reflected in the advanced program it adopted". (The Negro People in American History, p. 487)

The first president of the Southern Council for Human Welfare was Frank P. Graham, then president of the University of North Carolina. Later presidents were John B. Thompson (of the Highlander Folk School Seminar) and Clark Forman (now director of the Communist-controlled Emergency Civil Liberties Committee). Throughout its existence, James A. Dombrowski has been an administrator of S.C.H.W.

The House Committee on Un-American Activities had something to do with the liquidation of the S.C.H.W., but the decisive factor in its demise was the switch from the wartime honeymoon of the Washington-Moscow axis to the Cold War.

Under date of March 29, 1944 the Dies Committee dubbed the S.C.H.W. a Communist front, and in a special report of the Committee on Un-American Activities, dated June 12, 1947, the following indictment of S.C.H.W. was made:

"Careful examination of its official publication and its activities will disclose that the conference is being used in devious ways to further basic Soviet and Communist policy. Decisive and key posts are in most instances controlled by persons whose record is faithful to the Soviet Union."(P. 1)

In a 1954 report, the Senate Internal Security Sub-Committee reached the following unanimous conclusion: "The Southern Conference for Human Welfare was conceived, financed, and set up by the Communist Party in 1938 as a mass organization to promote communism throughout the Southern States". (P.V)

Earl Browder, former general secretary of the Communist Party in the United States, in a public hearing, identified the Southern Conference for Human Welfare as one of the Communist Party's "transmission belts".

Under date of March 29, 1944, the Southern Conference for Human Welfare was cited by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities as a Communist front and, on June 12, 1947, by the Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities as a Communist-front organization", which seeks to attract southern liberals on the basis of its seeming interest in the problems of the South", although its professed interest in southern welfare is simply an expedient for larger aims serving the Soviet Union and its subservient Communist Party in the United States.

The Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc., was initially an adjunct of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. After the exposure of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare as a Communist front, it began to wither and was finally dissolved, but the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc., continued. The official paper The Southern Patroit, which was published by the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, was taken over by the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc., which professes the same ostensible purpose. (Senate hearings New Orleans, March 19,19 & 20)

The below-named persons were identified in the hearings as former officials of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, who are or have been officials of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc.:

NAME	SOU.CONF.FOR HUMAN WELFARE	SOU.CONF.EDUCATL.FUND.INC.
Aubrey Williams	Board Member	President
Modjeska M. Simkins	" "	Vice President
Dr. Alva W. Taylor	Secretary-Treasurer	Secretary
Mary McLeod Bethune	Board Member	Director
Dr. James A. Dombrowski	Administrator	Executive Director
Dr. Charlotte Hawkins Brown	Board Member	Director
Roscoe Dunjee	" "	"
Myles Horton	" "	"

NAME	SOU.CONF.FOR HUMAN WELFARE	SOU.CONF.EDUCTL.FUND., INC.
Virginia Durr	Vice President	Director
Clark Forman	President	President
Leo Sheiner	"Head of the SCHW for the 4th Congressional District at Miami, Florida	"Connected"

SOUTHERN CONFERENCE EDUCATIONAL FUND

The Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc.; hereafter referred to as SCEF, with home offices at 822 Perdido Street, New Orleans, Louisiana, is a Communist-controlled-front organization. It took the place of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, which was formed in November, 1938 (in Birmingham, Alabama) at the direct instigation of the Communist Party in New York City. The original organizers were John Donovan, James E. Jackson, and Paul Crouch, all well-known Communist Party members. Jackson is still the Communist Party's main representative in the South. James Dombrowski was installed as its Executive Director and The Southern Patroit was established as its official propaganda and news organ.

Following a Federal investigation, which labelled the Southern Conference for Human Welfare as Communist organized and controlled, this organization was transformed in the twinkling of an eye into the SCEF. When this transformation occurred, nothing changed except the name. The SCEF retained the same office address, the same telephone number, the same publication, to wit; The Southern Patroit, with the same name, the same Executive Director, to wit; Dombrowski, the same officers generally. Thereafter, in 1954, following an extensive investigation of the SCEF, the Sub-committee on Internal Security of the United States Senate, in a unanimous report stated that the SCEF retained the same objective as the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, to wit; The Promotion of Communism in the South.

Subsequently Carl Braden and his wife, Anne, became field secretaries for the SCEF and editors of its publication, The Southern Patroit.

The following people are shown to be members of the Board of Directors or members of the Advisory Board of the SCEF:

PRESIDENT	AUBREY W. WILLIAMS
VICE PRESIDENTS	DR. HERMAN H. LONG
	BISHOP EDGAR A. LOVE
	MODJECKA M. SIMKINS
SECRETARY	DR. JAMES L. HUPP
ASSISTANT SECRETARY	MRS. FRED ZENGEL
TREASURER	BENJAMIN E. SMITH
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR	JAMES A. DOMBROWSKI
FIELD SECRETARIES	ANNE BRADEN
	CARL BRADEN
BOARD OF DIRECTORS	L. E. AUSTIN
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	DR. LINCOLN BARKER
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	DR. G. MURRAY BRANCH

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C. HERBERT MARSHALL II, M.D.
HERMAN L. MIDLE
RUDOLPH MOSES
E.D. NIXON
NAOMI PARNELL
DR. M.M.B. PERDUE
DR. RICHARD H. POWERS
LOUIS L. REDDING
FREDERICK RHODES, M.D.
ELLEN FETTER ROBERTS
BISHOP HERBERT BELL SHAW
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THE REV. CHARLES A. SNELLING, JR.
THE REV. STEPHEN P. SPOTTSWOOD
THE REV. C. K. STEELE
DONALD STEPHENS
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DR. LELAND H. TAYLOR
O.B. TAYLOR, M.D.
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DR. CHARLES H. THOMPSON
BISHOP C. EUBANK TUCKER
DR. WILLIAM J. L. WALLACE
WILSON WHITMAN
AUBREY W. WILLIAMS
ARTHUR WRIGHT
THE REV. BEN F. WYLAND
MRS. FRED ZENGEL

In 1959, the SCEF made an extensive survey of the State of Florida. Its representatives travelled 1,900 miles and visited 12 cities within the state. On this original survey trip, the SCEF's agents proposed the establishment of a co-ordinating committee set up by the SCEF to coordinate the efforts of the SCEF and other organizations in agitating the race issue. On November 19, 1959, the SCEF, through its official statement, announced the result of this survey and called for the organizational meeting to occur March 12, 1960 in Orlando, Florida. This meeting occurred on the date and at the place originally scheduled by the SCEF. The Committee, having enrolled a fictitious name, as a member of the SCEF, was of course

aware that the meeting had been called and arranged for cooperative witnesses to attend.

Among the organizations which sent representatives to the meeting in Orlando on March 12, 1960, were the Florida Civil Liberties Union, Council on Human Relations, The NAACP, The Congress on Racial Equality, The Fellowship of Reconcilliation, The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee and the Committee to Secure Amnesty for Morton Sobel. Braden and Dombrowski were present and took personal charge of the meeting. (Florida Legislative Investigation Committee to the 1961 Session of the Legislature)

Much has already been said about Aubrey Williams, president and James A.Dombrowski, executive director of the Southern Conference Educational Fund. It may be added that the names of both Williams and Dombrowski were attached to the brief amici curiae which was submitted to the United States Supreme Court, October 1955, Term, on behalf of the Communist Party, U.S.A. Their support of this brief amici curiae, written with a typical Communist flair, sufficiently reveals the idealogical position of these two principal officials of the SCEF.

As has already been indicated, the Southern Conference Educational Fund exerts a commanding influence in the South today, and is in the vanguard of the pro-Communist integration forces. The principal function of the Southern Conference Educational Fund is to serve as a bridge between the Communist Party on the one hand and misguided Southern Liberals on the other hand. In this fuction, it has been remarkably successful.

The below-named persons were identified in the hearings, held in New Orleans, March 18, 19 and 20 by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, as former officials of the Southern Conference on Human Welfare, who are or have been officials of the Southern Educational Fund, Inc.

NAME	SOU.CONF.ON HUMAN WELFARE	SOU.CONF.EDCATL.FUND
Aubrey Williams	Board Member	President
Modjeska M. Simkins	" "	Vice President
Dr. Alva W. Taylor	Secretary Treasurer	Secretary
Dr. Jas. A. Dombrowski	Administrator	Executive Director
Mary McLeod Bethune	Board Member	Director
Dr. Charlotte Hawkins Brown	" "	"
Roscoe Dunjee	" "	"
Myles Horton	" "	"
Virginia Durr	Vice President	"
Clark Forman	President	President
Leo Schiener	"Head of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare for the 4th Congressional Dist.	"Connected"

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

On October 4, 1940, the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Inc., instructed its Executive Committee " to take whatever steps are necessary to carry out the plans for the development of a council on southern regional development," which would include in its program the work of the Commission and other activities connected with the economic, educational, and social development of the South.

On January 6, 1944, after many months of work, and following the developments and instruction growing out of the conference of Southern Negroes, held in Durham, North Carolina October 20, 1942, the conference of Southern whites held in Atlanta, Georgia, April 8, 1943, and the conference of Negroes and whites held in Richmond, Virginia, June 16, 1943, the Southern Regional Council was incorporated. At the meeting of the incorporators of the Southern Regional Council held in Atlanta, Georgia, February 11, 1944, charter members of the SRC were designated: all members of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation and all active participants in one or more of the conferences leading to the formation of the Southern Regional Council.

On February 16, 1944, the Commission on Interracial Cooperation met in Atlanta at a special meeting and took the following action:

> It being made to appear to the meeting that all of the Commissions obligations and liabilities have been fully discharged, and further that the Southern Regional Council, having been duly incorporated to carry on the work with ideals and program similar to those of this corporation: It was, upon motion duly made and seconded - Resolved that the corporation transfer and convey to the Southern Regional Council, Inc. a corporation of Fulton County, Georgia, all of its property of every nature whatsoever and wherever situated, absolutely and in fee simple.
>
> On the same date charter members of the Southern Regional Council met in Atlanta, adopted by-laws, elected officers, and formulated the initial policy of the organization.

ITS PROGRAM AND METHODS

The Southern Regional Council will operate in all of the states of the South in an effort to improve the regions economic, civic, social and racial conditions.

It proposes to promote greater unity among people and agencies in all efforts for regional and racial adjustment; to attain, through research and action, progress and equal opportunity for all people; to reduce race tensions, misunderstanding, distrust; to develop and integrate leadership in the South on new levels of national, regional and racial development. These are its long time goals.

For its immediate objectives the SRC proposes to perfect its organization, to conserve and enlarge the scope of work now being done by the local and state interracial bodies; to take the preliminary steps necessary to bring about a realization of the long-time goals mentioned above, and to give immediate attention to war and postwar problems in the South.

The SRC plans to operate through several commissions in the fields of human relations, economic affairs, community welfare, public affairs, and cultural development.

The programs under these commissions will be sponsored with the aid of approximately 100 elected Fellows of the SRC, selected from the several states, and with the cooperation of local and regional religious, social and economic groups.

One of the chief purposes of the SRC will be the development of new techniques and strategies for meeting constructively the problems of the region. To achieve this end the SRC will encourage the development of action groups at local, state and regional levels; recruit and develop leadership; develop necessary research through the universities and colleges of the region; seek to remold and articulate public opinion through the radio, press, speakers and publications; cooperate with and stimulate action in the region from Federal, state and local governments; conduct special experiments and programs in an effort to effect desirable changes in the South; render such specialized services as may be necessary in this connection; render such emergency services as may be necessary; hold technical conferences, promote fuller participation in democratic processes in the South.

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	*CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON, TEXAS
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ASSOC. EXEC.DIRECTOR	*IRA DEA. REID, ATLANTA, GEORGIA
SECRETARY-TREASURER	EMILY H. CLAY, ATLANTA, GEORGIA
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	*A.W. DENT, NEW ORLEANS, LA.
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*MRS. M. E. TILLY, ATLANTA, GEORGIA
HAROLD L. TRIGG, ELIZABETH CITY, N.C.
FORRESTER B. WASHINGTON, ATLANTA, GA.
JOHN H. WHEELER, DURHAM, N.C.
GOODRICH C. WHITE, EMORY UNIVERSITY, GA.
*MISS JOSEPHONE WILKINS, ATLANTA, GEORGIA

The Southern Regional Council is the recipient of the largest single grant ever awarded by the Ford Foundation's, "Fund for the Republic", having received as of 1956, a total of $445,000.00 "in support of the studies and activities to promote interracial improvements in the South", (See Fund for the Republic's Three Year Report, May 1956, Page 22) An additional $200,000.00 was awarded according to American Legion's "Firing Line", February 1, 1958, and Florida Legislative Investigation.

Records of the American Legion's Americanism Commission, Florida Legislative Investigation Committee reports of 1959 and 1961 discloses that directors of the Southern Regional Council have, in the past, supported the subversive Southern Conference for Human Welfare and the SouthernConference Educational Fund.

From 1947 through 1957, Director of the Southern Regional Council was Dr. George S. Mitchell, former Southeastern Regional Director of the C.I.O. Political Action Committee.

The Southern Regional Council issues a monthly magazine, New South, which has featured articles by Stetson Kennedy, writer for the Communist Daily Worker, and Federated Press Communist news service.

Today the Southern Regional Council has expanded its activities into twelve (12) States. Virtually supported by the grants from the "Fund for the Republic", it has organized "Councils on Human Relations", with interracial boards and staffs in the following states: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky,

Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia

The Ford Foundations, Fund for the Republic, Inc., Two Year Report issued May 31, 1958, reveals the following facts relative to the Southern Regional Council's source of funds, and its affiliation with Councils on Human Relations in the Southern States:

September 1956 - $110,000.00 "To support the expansion of the educational work of the Council in twelve Southern States, and to assist the central office in Atlanta for the fiscal year ending Sept. 30, 1957." (Quote, Fund for Republic, May 31, 1958)

May 1957 - $200,000.00 "To support the Council's educational program in the South for the three year period beginning October 1,1957 or such longer period as Council may determine".(Quote, Fund for Republic, May 31, 1958)

September 1957 $1,500.00 "To help defray the cost of the staff work of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations in its work in Western Arkansas". (Quote, Fund for Republic May 31, 1958)

Sept.&Nov.1957 $1,000.00 "For work in the Little Rock Area by the Arkansas Council on Human Relations". (Quote, Fund for Republic, May 31,1958

May 1958 $1,250.00 "For the purchase of the booklet "South Carolinians Speak" by the Southern Regional Council to be distributed by the State Councils associated with the Council". (Quote, Fund for Republic, May 31, 1958)

The Alabama Organ of the Southern Regional Council is the "Alabama Council on Human Relations", offices in the Comer Building, Birmingham, Alabama. Rev. Robert Hughes, Methodist Minister, formerly residing on 3209 Ridgley Drive, Cahaba Heights, was the Executive Director through 1960. (See Alabama Council on Human Relations for further details)

The Southern Regional Council was represented at the Highlander Folk School Seminar, Labor Day week-end, August 30 - Sept. 7, 1957 at Monteagle, Tennessee by Fred B. Routh. Mr. Routh bears the title of Assistant Director of the Southern Regional Council. Notorious Communists, veteran Communist fellow travelers, and Negro leaders in all the recent major incidents attending integration were present at the Highlander Folk School, 25 anniversary on "the human aspects of the integration struggle."

The Highlander Folk School at Monteagle, Tennessee, was organized around 1932 by Myles Horton and Don West. (See testimony of Paul Crouch, May 6,1949, Sub-committee of the Committee on Un-American Activities, Page 193). In his testimony, Mr. Crouch said: "I would like to mention in this connection that the Highlander Folk School at Monteagle, Tennessee, was a school organized by Myles Horton and Don West, and which Mr. James Dombrowski shortly thereafter joined".

Paul Crouch, who gave the foregoing testimony concerning the Highlander Folk School, was the top Communist functionary in the South. His Communist record given to the Senate Committee by Crouch himself attests his importance.

In the early period of the Highlander Folk School, Alton Lawrence was a member of its faculty. On August 13, 1938, Mr. John P. Frey, president of the Metal Trades Department of the A.F.L., testified before the Dies Committee on Un-American Activities, and named Elizabeth Hawes, Alton Lawrence and Myles Horton as persons who "attended a secret convention in North Carolina, at which time plans were made for spreading the revolutionary theories throughout the South". Mr. Frey further testified: "In connection with this I might mention that the Highlander Folk School at Monteagle, Tennessee, was mixed up in this secret convention, in which three C.I.O. organizations took a very prominent part". (See Dies Committee Hearings, Volume 1, Page 126)

Myles Horton was ejected by the United States Marshall from the witness stand and the hearing room, for disorderly conduct at the New Orleans hearings of the Senate Committee, on March 20, 1954.

Don West, who has already been mentioned as connected with the Highlander Folk School, was district director of the Communist Party of North Carolina. (See House Committee Hearing, May 6, 1949, Page 191)

In March 1954, the Senate Sub-committee on Internal Security held hearings in New Orleans on the subject of Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc., of which James Dombrowski was and is Executive Director. Among the witnesses who testified before the Senate Sub-committee on Internal Security in New Orleans was one John Butler who had formerly been a functionary of the Communist Party in Alabama.

In the course of his testimony, Mr. Butler stated that he attended a meeting of Communist Party Leaders in July of 1942, in the Thomas Jefferson Hotel in Birmingham, Alabama. Mr. Butler stated that Alton Lawrence introduced James

Dombrowski on that occasion as a Communist Party member. (See Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security Hearings, March 18, 1954, Page 45) According to Mr. Butler, this meeting of the Communist Party leaders was held in Dombrowski's own hotel room. In November, 1956 Alton Lawrence was indicted on a charge of conspiring to file a false non-Communist affidavit with the National Labor Relations Board, which non-Communist affidavit is required of trade union officials by the Taft-Hartley Act. (New York Times November 17, 1956) James Dombrowski along with Aubrey Williams, were signers of the brief amici curiae submitted to the United States Supreme Court, 1955 Term, on behalf of the Communist Party, U.S.A.

The presence of a prominent Communist Party Negro leader at the Highlander Folk School Seminar is of major significance. Through Abner W. Berry, the Communist Party established personal contacts with the Southern Leaders of the Fight for Integration. The Party, in its present-day strategy, sets the highest value on such personal contacts. It is the current strategy of penetration. Abner W. Berry is a veteran Communist Party leader with over 25 years service.

Another individual who has a long record of Communist affiliations and activity was also a prominent participant in the Labor Day week-end Conference at the Highlander Folk School, namely Pete Seeger. Pete Seeger has been prominently identified with the Communist Movement for many years.

The Reverend John B. Thompson was billed as a Seminar Director at the Highlander Folk School Labor Day week-end affair. Thompson is Dean of the Rockefeller Memorial Chapel at the University of Chicago.

From 1940 to 1942, John B. Thompson was head of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, a Communist Organization.

Aubrey Williams, Montgomery, Alabama, and the Rev. Martin Luther King were the two featured speakers at the closing session of the Highlander Folk School Seminar.

According to Abner W. Berry's account of the Highlander Folk School Seminar in the Daily Worker (Sept. 10, 1957, Page 5) Aubrey Williams spoke "prophetically" when he declared that the present situation in the South "is only a short step to general violence" and that the "stuff out of which rebellions are made is definitely being planted".

The Rev. Martin Luther King, President of the Montgomery, Alabama Improvement Association and Pastor of the Dexter Avenue Baptist Church, delivered the closing address at the Highlander Folk School Seminar.

King is the nationally acclaimed Negro leader of the integration forces in the South. Leading Communists have been writing enthusiastically about King's movement. Writing in Political Affairs, James E. Jackson (one of the top Negro leaders of the Communist Party) says:

> "It has for decades been the honorable (sic) task of Communists to set a high standard of devotion to and energetic leadership in the fight for Negro rights. Recognizing the special national character of this question, we have raised our voices among the workers when others stood mute." (Resolution presented to the 16th National Convention of the Convention of the CPUSA by James E. Jackson, chairman, Sub-committee on Negro Rights, Political Affairs, March 1957, Page 34)

Mrs. Rosa Parks was in attendance at the Highlander Folk School. It was Mrs. Parks who started the Montgomery bus boycott. Shortly prior to her dramatic defiance of the segregation ordinance, Mrs. Parks had taken a course at Highlander Folk School. Mrs. Parks promptly became a heroine to the Communists. The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, a Communist front, arranged meetings for her in New York City, including one at the home of Mr. & Mrs. Corliss Lamont.

Charles G. Gomillion, Dean of Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee, Alabama and Director Southern Regional Conference, was one of the prominent participants in the Labor Day Conference at the Highlander Folk School.

As president of the Tuskegee Civic Association, Gomillion received a considerable amount of publicity in the nations press and the summer of 1957, in connection with his leadership of a Negro boycott against the white merchants of the town of Tuskegee.

Dean Gomillion's pro-Communist connections have been significant. In testimony before the House Committee on Un-American Activities on July 21, 1947, he was identified as a current member and Secretary of the Advisory Board of the Southern Negro Youth Congress, an outright Communist organization. (See biographical data for further associations)

Others present, included Rev. David A. Brooks, Protestant Episcopal high church clergyman (Negro), speaker at the Highlander Folk School Seminar. He was a leader of the Tallahassee bus boycott which occurred during the last seven months of 1956.

Allen McSwain (Negro) was a speaker who represented the Clinton, Tennessee school incident.

Bernice Robinson, also a speaker at the Highlander Folk School Seminar, discussed the Johns Island, South Carolina, integration incident.

Conrad Browne (white) who addressed the Birmingham Council on Human Relations, October 8, 1957, was present representing Koinonia Farm, an interracial colony near Americus, Georgia. This interracial community has been an incitement to prolong violence.

Ralph Helstein, President of the United Packing House Workers of America, AFL-CIO, was also a speaker. This union has been heavily infiltrated by known Communist.

OFFICERS & DIRECTORS OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL ASSOCIATED WITH SCHW AND/OR SCEF

NAME	SOU.CONF.FOR HUMAN WELFARE	SOU.CONF. EDUCATIONAL FUND, INC.	SOU.REGIONAL COUNCIL
Albert W. Dent	Director	Director	V.Pres.Director
Rufus E. Clement	"	"	Chm.Exec.Com.
Marion A. Wright	"	"	Vfce Pres.
Horace M. Bond	"	---	Director
Dr.Charlotte H.Brown	"	Director	"
Louis E. Burnham	---	"	"
Clark Foreman	Past President	"	"
Chas. S. Johnson	Director	"	"
J.R.E. Lee	"	---	"
Benjamin E. Mays	"	Director	"
F. D. Patterson	"	"	"
Mrs. M. E. Tilly	"	"	"
Rufus B. Atwood	"	"	"
John M. Ellison	"	"	"
H.C. Trenholm	"	---	"
Miss Josephine Wilkins	"	---	"
C. C. Peters	"	Director	"
C.G. Gomillion	"	"	"
Paul R. Christopher	"	---	"
Aubrey Williams	Past President	Past.Pres.&Director	"

DIRECTORS OF SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

CARTER WESLEY, Publisher, Houston Informer, Houston, Texas and Vice President Southern Regional Council, member of the Committee, National Citizen's Political Action Committee.

DR. IRA DEA. REID, Associate Director, Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Ga., Member of the Committee, National Citizens Political Action Committee, Advisrory Committee CORE.

MARION A. WRIGHT, Director and Vice President Southern Regional Council, Director Southern Conference for Human Welfare.

A.W. DENT, New Orleans, Louisiana, President Dillard University, Vice Pres. and Board of Directors, Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Georgia, Director Southern Conference for Human Welfare, Southern Conference Educational Fund.

Rufus E. Clement, President, Atlanta University and clergyman, Atlanta, Ga. Chairman of Executive Committee and Director Southern Regional Council, Director Southern Conference for Human Welfare, Southern Conference Educational Fund, N.A.A.C.P. Committee of 100, Southern Negro Youth Congress, National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, National Committee to abolish the Poll Tax, Civil Rights Congress, American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born. 27 Communist citations.

C. G. GOMILLION, Dean of Students, Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee, Alabama, Director Southern Regional Council, Vice Chairman, Alabama Council on Human Relations,Director Southern Conference for Human Welfare, Southern Conference Educational Fund, Participant in Labor Day Conference at Highlander Folk School, President Tuskegee Civic Association, Leader of Tuskegee boycott, Secretary of the Advisory Board, Southern Negro Youth Congress, Sponsored testimonial dinner for W.E.B. DuBois, February 23, 1951, Essex House, New York City. Prominent Communist who co-sponsored this DuBois testimonial dinner included: Herbert Apthiker, Mrs. Louise Berman, Howard Fast, Frederick V. Field, Ben Gold, W. A. Hunton, Albert E. Kahn, William L. Patterson, Malba Phillips, Joseph Selly, Howard Selsam, Mr. & Mrs. Alfred K. Stern (who recently fled behind the Iron Curtain to escape indictments for espionage), and Gene Wettfish.

BENJAMIN E. MAYS, President Morehouse College, Atlanta, Georgia, Board of Directors Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Georgia, Director Southern Conference Director Southern Conference Educational Fund, African Aid Committee, American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, American Crusade to End Lynching, Civil Rights Congress, International Labor Defense, National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, United Negro and Allied Veterans of America, W.E.B. DuBois, Testimonial Sponsoring Committee, N.A.A.C.P. Committee of 100, Recipient of 31 Communist citations.

FRED B. ROUTH, Assistant Director of Southern Regional Council 1957, represented the Southern Regional Council at the Highlander Folk School Seminar over the Labor Day week-end (August 30 - Sept. 2, 1957). Highlander Folk School, at Monteagle, Tennessee, staged its 25th anniversary seminar on "the human aspects of the integration struggle".

The Highlander Folk School at Monteagle, Tennessee, was organized around 1932 by Myles Horton and Don West. (See Testimony of Paul Crouch, May 6, 1949. Sub-committee of the Committee on Un-American Activities, Page 193)

MRS. M. E. TILLY, Jurisdictional Secretary of Christian Social Relations of the Southeastern Jurisdiction, of the Women's Society for Christian Service Methodist Church, Georgia, Director Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Ga. Member of Committee, National Citizens Political Action Committee.

CLARK FORMAN, Black Mountain, North Carolina, Board of Directors Southern Regional Council, Past President Southern Conference for Human Welfare, Director Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, Director Southern Conference Educational Fund, Member of the Committee, National Citizen's Political Action Committee.

DR. WILL W. ALEXANDER, Chapel Hill, N. C., Vice President, Julius Rosenwald Fund, North Carolina, Board of Directors Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Ga. Member of the Committee, National Citizens Political Action Committee.

HORACE M. BOND, Lincoln University, Pennsylvania, Board of Directors Southern Regional Council, Director Southern Conference for Human Welfare, National Negro Congress.

DR. CHARLOTTE HEWKINS BROWN, Sedalia, N. C., Board of Directors, Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Georgia, Board Member, Southern Conference for Human Welfare, Director Southern Conference Educational Fund.

JOHN M. ELLISON, President Virginia Union University, Richmond, Virginia, Director Southern Regional Council, Director Southern Conference for Human Welfare, Southern Conference Educational Fund, National Negro Congress.

DR. GEORGE S. MITCHELL, Director Southern Regional Council from 1947 to 1958, Former Southwestern Regional Director of C.I.O. Political Action Committee.

H.C. TRENHOLM, President Alabama State College for Negroes, Montgomery, Director Southern Regional Council, Director Southern Conference for Human Welfare.

*MISS JOSEPHINE WILKINS, Atlanta, Georgia, Director Southern Regional Council, Director Southern Conference for Human Welfare.

C.C. PETERS , President Paine College, Augusta, Georgia, Director Southern Regional Council, Director Southern Conference for Human Welfare, Director Southedn Conference Educational Fund.

FREDERICK D. PATTERSON, President Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee, Alabama, Director Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Georgia, Director National Negro Congress, Director Southern Conference for Human Welfare, Director Southern Conference Education Fund.

RUFUS B. ATWOOD, President Kentucky State College, Frankfort, Kentucky, Director Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Georgia, Director Southern Conference for Human Welfare, Southern Conference Educational Fund, National Negro Congress.

LOUIS E. BURNHAM, Birmingham, Alabama, Director Southern Regional Council, Leader in Southern Negro Youth Congress, Secretary of the Association of Young Writers and Artists. Instructor in the Jefferson School of Social Science, Board of Directors Southern Conference Educational Fund.

CHARLES S. JOHNSON, President Fist University, Nashville, Tennessee, Director The Southern Regional Council, Director Southern Conference for Human Welfare, Director Southern Conference Educational Fund.

J.R.E. LEE, President Florida A & M University, Director Southern Regional Council, Director Southern Conference for Human Welfare.

LESLIE W. DUNBAR replaced Harold C. Fleming as Executive Director, Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Georgia, May, 1961.

Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council was the principal speaker at a meeting held at Miles College, Birmingham, May 9, 1961

Reverend C. H. Oliver, Chairman of the Alabama Council on Human Relations, was in charge of the meeting. The meeting was titled "Second Annual Cultural Meeting for Elementary Teachers". The theme for discussion being "Educating Children in an Anxious World".

Reverend Oliver is regular in attendance at the meetings of the Shuttlesworth and Martin Luther King groups of which Shuttlesworth is President, Eddie Gardner, Mt. Olive Baptist Church, First Vice President, and Reverend Abraham Woods, Pastor of the First Metropolitan Baptist Church, second Vice President.

At a meeting, May 1, 1961 at the Bethel Church in Ensley, Rev. Oliver reported:

"The Southern Regional Council, in Atlanta sends word that:

Mary Frances Early, a music teacher, had been approved for graduate study in music this summer - - she will be the first Negro to attend summer school at said university.

William D. Jones, an instructor at Abram's High School in Bessemer had received a Federal scholarship to study French. He is the first Negro from this area to receive one of these scholarships.

Three Negroes were accepted for the fall term at Georgia Tech."

Each Communist affiliation above referred to is properly shown by sworn testimony to be an act or association on the part of the individuals referred to that furthered the Communist aims in this country. This is not to infer, and there is no assumption that any of the individuals or organizations listed is a Communist because of his or their Communist affiliations, unless the Communist Party itself is listed as one of his affiliations. It is, however, absolute proof that the various individuals listed have knowingly aided the Communist cause in this country in the total number of times and ways listed as his Communist affiliations.

There seems to be little excuse for any reasonably well-informed citizen to continue association with these organizations, unless said association is knowingly intended.

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

The Alabama Organ of the Southern Regional Council is the Alabama Council on Human Relations, with offices in the Comer Building, Birmingham, Alabama. The Birmingham Chapter of the Alabama Council on Human Relations was organized in 1956.

Since its inception meetings have been held in various places including the Chamber of Comm. Building, Negro Miles College and prior to November 4, 1957, meetings were held at the Negro Y.M.C.A., 326 South 18th Street, Birmingham, Ala.

Executive Director of the Alabama Council on Human Relations was Reverend Robert E. Hughes. Hughes is a Methodist Minister in the North American Conference. Hughes formerly lived at 3209 Ridgley Drive, Cahaba Heights, Birmingham, Alabama. Hughes was born in Gadsden, Alabama - educated in Gadsden Public Schools, University of Alabama and Emory University, Atlanta, Georgia.

Rev. Hughes lived in Birmingham before he left to study languages necessary for his assignment in Africa. Rev. Hughes was assigned this post after the publicity received from his having been jailed in Bessemer, Alabama for contempt by the Grand Jury investigating his activities, September 2, 1960. Hughes refused to answer questions pertaining to the Council on Human Relations.

Mr. John Hall Jones, former professor at Howard College was President of the Alabama Council on Human Relations during 1956.

The Birmingham News of January 17, 1957 quotes Reverend Alfred W. Hobart, Minister of the Unitarian Church, Birmingham, Alabama, as President.

The Birmingham News of January 17, 1957, Page 2 lists the following directors: (Quote) "The Greater Birmingham Council is a part of a statewide organization. Its Board of Directors is composed of Perry Daugherty, Dr. Roger Hanson, Robert Johnson, Dr. Beryl McClasky, William Mitch, Rev. J. L. Ware, Rev. [illegible]llson, Mrs. H. C. Bryant, Peter Cowin, Justine Barker, Dr. Fredrick Kraus, [illegible]e White, Mrs. James Battle, Dr. John Hall Jones, John Martin, Mrs. R. M. Ho[illegible], Emory Jackson and Arthur Shores.

The Alabama Council on HumanRelations met February 14, 1957 [illegible] Stillman College, a Negro Presbyterian Institution in Tuscaloosa, Alabama and elected the following officers:

Chairman:	Dr. Duncan Hunter, Pastor of the First Methodi[illegible]rch, Alexander City, Alabama.
Vice Chrmn:	C.G. Gomillion, Dean of Students, Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee, Alabama (See Bibliography Southern Regional Council for affiliations)
Secretary:	William Irby, Sylacauga, Alabama
Treasurer:	J. E. Brooks, Alabama State Teachers College, Montgomery, Alabama.

On October 8, 1957 at a meeting held at the Negro Y.M.C.A., 328 South 18th Street, Birmingham, Alabama, Conrad Browne, Head of the infamous and illegally operated interracial Kiononia Farms located in Americus, Georgia, was the principal speaker. During the speech he made in part the following statement; "Some people accuse us of being Communist . . . Well, I guess we are - ".

On April 5, 1957, A Grand Jury in Sumter County, Georgia charged in a 20 page presentment that Koionia Farm "May be a front for the Communist Party". Summarizing its 7 day inquiry, the Grand Jury uncovered evidence the 1,100 acre interracial establishment had "close friends among known Communists and has entertained known Communists."

Mr. Conrad Browne, Director of Kiononia Farms attended the Highlander Folk School Seminar, Labor Day week-end, August 20 - Sept. 2, 1957 along with Aubrey Williams, Montgomery, Alabama publisher, Rev. Martin Luther King, Montgomery, Ala. minister, Mr. Fred B. Routh Assistant Director of the Southern Regional Council, Abner W. Berry, prominent Communist Party Negro, Pete Seeger, who has a long record of Communist affiliations and Rev. John B. Thompson, Seminar Director. Few clergymen have better claims to qualifications as veteran Communist fellow travelers than Rev. John B. Thompson, Dean of the Rockefeller Memorial Chapel at the University of Chicago.

Aubrey Williams, editor and publisher of the "Southern Farm and Home", Montgomery, Alabama which has a circulation of 800,000. Aubrey Williams with Martin Luther King were principal speakers at the Highland Folk School Seminar.

Aubrey Williams is a Past President of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, President Southern Conference Educational Fund and signer of the amici curiae on behalf of the Communist Party, at the October 1955 Term of the U.S. Supreme Court.

Reverend Martin Luther King, former President of the Montgomery Alabama Improvement Association and former pastor of the Dexter Avenue Baptist Church, delivered the closing address at the Highlander Folk School Seminar. Leading Communists, Benjamin J. Davis, Herbert Apthiker and James E. Jackson write enthusiastically about King's movement.

Charles G. Gomillion, Director Southern Regional Conference, Vice Chairman Alabama Council on Human Relations, Dean of Tuskegee Institute, leader of the Tuskegee boycott, was one of the prominent participants in the Labor Day Conference at Highlander Folk School.(See Bibliography Southern Regional Council)

Another interesting member of the Council on Human Relations is:

Claude Williams, R.F.D. Helena, Alabama. The American Mercury magazine, issue of February, 1954 features an article by Dr. J. B. Matthews, "Reverend Claude Williams, a Communist Party member under the name "John Galey".

Williams record on file before the U.S. House of Representatives Committee on Un-American Activities is composed of seven single space type-written pages. His record places him as one of the most radical and revolutionary figures in the history of the Communist Party, U.S.A.

Claude Williams record - From the House Un-American Activities Committee - - Claude Williams left-wing radical record dates back to the early 1930's. In the early 30's he was minister of the First Presbyterian Church of Paris, Arkansas. During his ministry at this church, he carried a continuous campaign of agitation among farmers and workmen urging them to militant action by revolutionary means against our system of free enterprise. Finally, his congregation could no longer stomach his radicalism, particularly his advocacy of violent overthrow of our social, economic, and political systems, and expelled him from the Church.

In 1947 the Rev. Williams in company with six other American clergymen, visited Communist Russia-dominated Yugoslavia. Members of this group included Dr. Guy Emery Shiperland, Dr. William Howard Melish, individuals who like Rev. Williams have long records of support of Communist-front organizations. After returning from this trip, these despicable supposedly "Men of God" issued a report containing high praise of conditions in that Russian satellite, stating among other things, "that religious freedom exists in Yugoslavia". This in spite of the fact that irrefutable evidence from highly authoritative sources gives the lie to this report in toto.

Rev. Williams has been prominently connected with the Peoples Institute of Applied Religion, Inc., and organization cited by the United State's Attorney General as subversive and Communist, and identified in testimony before the U.S. House of Representatives Committee on Un-American Activities as one of the most vicious Communist groups in the United States. In this testimony Williams was named as Director of the Institute and its location was given as 4105½ - 3rd Avenue South, Birmingham, Alabama.

The Peoples Institute of Applied Religion has for its avowed objective the destruction of Catholic and Protestant religions. In a speech in New York on December 29, 1945 at the National Convention of the Institute, Rev. Williams said:

"Catholic church religion came into being to buttress the decaying Roman Empire. It proclaimed the divine rights of kings. It prospered and protected lords and ladies. It oppressed and persecuted serfs and chattels. Today this church religion is controlled by a closely-knit politico economic leadership. This heirarchy has economic investments in virtually every country".

"Protestant church religion came into being to enhance the rise of capitalism. It proclaimed the divine right of property. It defied (sic) the kings of finance, the lords of commerce and the captains of industry. Today this church religion is directed by remote control from the Chamber of Commerce, the National Association of Manufacturers and the offices of cartel imperialists. With these it has economic investments in the capitalist exploits of the whole world".

"The Peoples Institute of Applied Religion, therefore, goes beyond church religion of all kinds, it goes back to the class struggle basis of true religion, It defines, reclaims, and acts upon the democratic dynamic of our Judaeo-Christian Heritage".

In addition to the foregoing, the following are more of Williams "left-wing Red" activities:

1. According to the Daily Worker of March 5, 1941, he was one of the signers of a statement sent to the President in defense of the Communist Party.

2. Former Director of Commonwealth College, Mena, Arkansas, an institute cited by the Attorney General as Communist.

3. Editorial advisor of "The Protestant's" publication cited by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities as "a magazine which has faithfully propagated the Communist Party line under guise of a religious journal".

4. In 1950 Williams was one of the sponsors of Mid-Century Conference for Peace, a conference cited by the House-Un-American Activities Committee as a sounding board for Communist propaganda.

5. Signed letter to U.S. Attorney General Biddle defending Harry Bridges, notorious West Coast Communist.

6. Member of Civil Rights Congress and National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, both of which are on the subversive list of the U.S. Attorney General.

7. Has participated in meetings of the National Negro Congress, an organization cited as subversive by the U.S. Attorney General.

Numerous other examples of the Communist tinge of Claude Williams could be cited but space does not permit. Need we say that this man presently living in our midst, and active in the Birmingham Chapter of Alabama Council on Human Relations is a dangerous, dedicated agent of Moscow, Russia.

Mrs. Clifford Durr, Montgomery, Alabama, member Alabama Council on Human Relations, Vice President Southern Conference for Human Welfare, Director Southern Conference Educational Fund, member and vice chairman, National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax, Virginia, Member of the Committee, National Citizen's Political Action Committee, major Communist-front organizations in the U.S.A., (House Un-American Activities Report.)

Reverend C. Herbert Oliver, Co-Chairman, Alabama Council on Human Relations, Dr. Albert C. Wynne, profess or Stillman College, Tuscaloosa, Alabama, and Earl Andrews are in regular attendance at the meetings.

The Alabama Council on Human Relations is divided into five (5) districts throughout the State of Alabama with two co-chairmen for each district, one white and one Negro.

The Council distributes the New South, a small magazine published (eleven issues annually) by the Southern Regional Council, 5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Atlanta, Georgia. The New South features articles on integration with special emphasis on areas hit by racial strife such as, Little Rock, Tallahassee, Birmingham and Montgomery.

Typical of thesw writings are:

"Birmingham Blues" from New Republic, May 30, 1960. "Jacksonville Experience is another Costly Lesson" by William K. Williams, Executive Director Florida Council on Human Relations.

"The South Says it Will Come" - Editorial May, 1960.

"Band Together for Genuine Unity" - Colbert S. Cartwright.

The basic theme of the publication is integration of the races. Graphic accounts of the freedom-rides, sit-ins, kneel-ins, and other racial disburbances are featured articles.

The Alabama Council on Human Relations, is a clandestine organization. The meetings are held in secret and membership lists are not available to anyone.

The Birmingham Police Department investigated a meeting held at the Negro Y.M.C.A., 326 South 18th Street, Birmingham, Alabama. There were approximately thirty persons present, equally divided between whites and Negroes.

Due to the hurried exit of some of the members present, it was difficult to identify everyone present. A partial list is available, however.

The Alabama Council on Human Relations is a Tax Exempt Organization, having qualified with the Internal Revenue Service, United States Treasury Department. The Alabama Council on Human Relations will not divulge its source of income, however, photostatic copies of their financial report indicates the main source of revenue to be the Southern Regional Council.

Reverend C. H. Oliver, Co-chairman of the Alabama Council on Human Relations is also active in Reverend Shuttlesworth and Martin Luther King's groups, who hold regular meetings throughout Birmingham.

Reverend Oliver was chairman and in charge of a meeting held, May 9, 1961 at Miles College, Birm ingham, Alabama. The principal speaker being, Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar of the Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Georgia.

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar was appointed Executive Director of the Southern Regional Conference, Atlanta, Georgia May 1961, replacing Mr. Harold C. Fleming.

The meeting was titled "Second Annual Cultural Meeting for Elementary Teachers". The theme for discussion was "Educating Children in an Anxious World."

The Alabama Council on Human Relations, Comer, Building, Birmingham, Alabama, has a new Executive Director. The Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Georgia employed the new director to replace the notorious Reverend Robert E. Hughes; and, to direct the activities of the Alabama Council on Human Relations, commencing August 1, 1961.

Reverend Norman C. Jimerson, Baptist Minister, who resides at 1905 Saulter Road, Homewood, Alabama, is the new Executive Director of the Alabama Council on Human Relations.

Reverend Jimerson was formerly employed as a chaplain, Hopewell Prison, Hopewell, Virginia.

This report makes no accusation that every member of any of the aforementioned organizations is a Communist, nor is any assusation made that every such person is a deliberate subversive. However, every such person is either knowingly or unknowingly lending aid to the subversive thrust of the Communist Party.

An analysis of the entire list of members affiliated with these organizations shows several things:

(1) It follows the usual pattern of personnel in Communist-front organizations - - so many trusted Communist Party lieutenants, so many veteran fellow travelers, so many gullibles picked up for the first time and used for a front for purposes which they do not fully comprehend.

(2) It serves as an excellent illustration of the well-known principle of the interlocking directorate which is common in the party's front organizations.

On May 28, 1942 the Attorney General issued an order for the deportation of Harry Bridges. Two things stand out in the text of the Attorney General's order:

(1) A finding of fact concerning the subversive character of the Communist Party.

(2) An observation concerning the nature and purpose of Communist front organizations.

Concerning the Communist Party, the Attorney General found the following:

"That the Communist Party of the U.S.A., from the time of its inception in 1919 to the present time, is an organization that believes in, advises, advocates and teaches the overthrow by force and violence of the Government of the United States."

Concerning Communist-front organizations, the Attorney General made the following observation:

"Testimony on "front organizations" showed that they were represented to the public for some legitimate objective, but actually used by the Communist Party to carry on its activities, pending the time when the Communist believe they can sieze power through revolution".

The foregoing statements of the Attorney General are amply substantiated by the overwhelming mass of evidence which bears upon them. These statements say categorically that the Communist Party is a subversive organization which aims at the violent overthrow of the United States Government, and that Communist-front organizations are one of the instrumentalities used by the Communist Party for this ultimate purpose.

Each Communist affiliation above referred to is properly shown by sworn testimon to be an act or association on the part of the individuals referred to that furthered the Communist aims in this country. This is not to infer, and there is no assumption that any of the individuals listed, is a Communist because of his Communist affiliations, unless a Communist Party itself is listed as one of his affiliations. It is, however, absolute proof that the various individuals listed have knowingly or unknowingly aided the Communist cause in this, in the total number of times and ways listed as his Communist affiliations.

There seems to be little excuse for any reasonably well-informed citizen to continue association with these organizations, unless said association is knowingly intended.

Return to SRC - File - hate stuff

Note anti-Semitic & anti-Catholic statements on pp 3, 7, 8

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A Yankee's Ignorance of the Southland Is Refreshing

Return Publicity 728 Cobb St. Athens Ga.

By
J. ATTICUS WEBB
Athens, Georgia
Copyright Pending

A YANKEE'S IGNORANCE OF THE SOUTHLAND IS REFRESHING

It has been said there is not anything so detrimental to human behavior as a little knowledge; it seems,, however, a greater and more constant danger lies in man's weak tendency to accept unsubstantiated information as proven facts.

Premier U Nu of Burma was asked his opinion of America after his tour. He wisely refrained from commenting because a lack of time had not permitted him a proper perspective; he had covered only part of the vast area and activities of America too hurriedly.

Some egotistical reporter was quoted as saying he could pass through a section of country and tell, in a few hours, all anyone wanted to know about that section. That is attaining the height of brazen effrontery to the intelligence of the reader or listener.

Of course, the Hollywood and TV version of our reporters and Columnists portrays them as being super-sleuths who would pale Sherlock Holmes into juvenile insignificance by comparison. There are several infamous murders on the Atlanta records that have been unsolved, whereby the Detective Bureau could avail themselves of these untrained master minds' superb services.

While in one of the Northern States a Yankee acquaintance of a traveling lady, who had travelled over 44 states and Canada with her husband, and who had lived temporarily in most of these states, tried to draw her into an inflammatory conversation about the South and what she had heard or read about the South generally, consisting of propaganda, critical, biased, and prejudiced, tending to inflame and incite anti-Southern opinion. This lady, bearing familiarity with all sections of our country and no partiality toward any area, refused to discuss the subject, avoiding the issue simply by stating that if her inquisitor would go South and live one year then she would be happy to talk with her about the South.

We are not foolish to the point of thinking we could convince some Yankees there is anything good about the South, that we do not have a diet consisting of anything other than turnip greens, cornbread, sow belly, chitlins, grits, blackberries, and other Yankee fictional Southern delicacies. Neither would I try to convince some Yankees that we have everything which makes for full, good, wholesome and highly varied livelihood over and above that which is to be found in the refrigerator

of this continent. We have a coast line from the great State of Texas, via the gulf, alongside Louisiana, Mississippi and Alabama—each a great individual state—to the tip of Florida; up the coast along the Golden Isle of Georgia, the Carolinas, Virginia and Maryland. Nowhere in the world can you find a more varied and historical coastline: Houston, New Orleans, Mobile, Tampa, Key West, Savannah, Charleston, Norfolk, and Baltimore.

We would not attempt convincing some new Yankee Americans that within the boundaries of our great domain there live the greatest people on Earth, homo-geneous, loyal, honest, straightforward, softspoken, confident but not cocky, proud but not boastful, kind and tolerant, well-tempered and mannreed, respectful of women and children, demanding same respect from others. Poor and the rich, privileged and under-privileged, ignorant and the educated, fools and the wise, slums and mansions (both black and white), criminals and saints, righteous and the unrighteous; all in all we are just a cross section of God's "chillun".

Neither would I try to convince even one Yankee that we in the South do not use "you-all" in our speech to indicate the singular as some comic jokers in their ignorance and shallow thinking would believe. If these same jokers are so gol-durned smart, why do they not appoint themselves to invent an English plural for y-o-u, which our founding Fathers of the King's English failed to take into consideration. The mountaineers invented their own word to suffice—"you-ense"; we lowlanders adopted you-all for the plural. I still maintain this is preferable to Brooklyn's "youse".

We dare not hope to influence the opinions of the city dwelling Yankees who have not been outside the confines of their city, and have not the knowledge to identify as common a farm and rural animal as a cow, and who believes that a hen gives birth to a chicken. Anybody with that degree of stupidity can certainly not be calculated to expostulate on anything outside their immediate environs.

I would also hesitate with fortitude in thinking of convincing some, possibly the majority of Yankess, that the Negro and the Whites get along smoothly, evenly, and with the least friction, discord, or trouble, until some no-account white man starts meddling and gets out of his sphere, and in an improper status with usually an ulterior motive in view to accomplish some snaky result. In time of trouble, as has always been the case

since the Negroes were imported from Africa and sold as slaves to the cotton picking Southland, the Negro will search and seek out his foremost White man friend; he is rescued from his trouble even to the point of the White friend jeopardizing his life at gun point in a duel. Records reveal one incident where a sheriff was murdered by a white man who defended the Negro. That has been duplicated time and time again. We failed to have read or heard of any like experience in our holier-than-thou complexed, Negro-thumping neighbors to the North.

It would be foolish to try convincing our Yankee "Saviors" that the Negroes in the South have risen and will continue to rise just so fast and not faster than his neighbors, the white man, rises. There are poor white souls in the South who are in far worse condition due to ignorance and poverty than his colored brother. In the larger cities of the South, where the fish grow larger than in the shallow waters of the small towns and the country, the negroes grow larger in proportion. Atlanta has been tabbed by our ex-Governor Talmadge as the Negro capitol of the world; it is doubtful that any other proportionate city has a greater number of negro citizens, both population and prominent-wise. They have access to the field of business, trade, services and commerce, combined with the professions; apart and separate from the White World about them, yet mysteriously and majestically harmonious.

Where else in the white man's world will you find such great opportunity for the Negro to develop into great leaders of their race. There are some minority groups from outside the South who will bring the house down on the Negroes' heads if they have their way. America may need not worry about our enemies abroad, as we will be alert to their actions; however, we need to be alert for infiltration within our borders of these heterogeneous peoples of the minority races who stratigically are getting and have gotten their members into the key offices and positions of influence and power, even into the lofty offices of our country. They are using the Northern negroes of power within their district as spearheads to torpedo southern segregation and tradition through our schools.

This same race has not only maneuvered its members into key spots in our government but has a strangle-hold on Hollywood and finance, together with a complete new army of new TV faces that are putting out cheap, quick, shallow productions to make a fast, quick, easy buck. Very characteristic of cutting

down on quality and fullness in order to capitalize and profit. They have hit a bonanza in this field. It matters not whether their production in the movies or TV is morally clean and acceptable to home audiences or to bobby-soxers at the theatre, or will pass censorship, as their money will buy their way around such minor obstacles and they can display in front of their marguess sexually suggestive pictures of depravity normally reserved for the intimacy of one's private sanctum. To entice and lure the unwary into their folds they will sell sex in the open market to the detriment of all youth.

Our country, by the Grace of God, has and will, we hope and trust, continue to throw off the minority groups' influence which would shackle us with chains of oppression and terror, that would eventually rain down on these promoters themselves, who realize not what they teach or preach.

The vast majority of all Americans of every race and color realize that God being the Creator of all did not endow the Southland with creating the Negro, or the Northern Negro problem; nor did our Creator place on the South the monopoly of ignorance, poverty, evil, crime, and other negative qualities the misinformed minority of Yankees would have the world believe by shouting from the roof-tops.

No section can claim a monopoly on goodness, that is to be found all over; likewise evil is not confined to any one particular region or section.

No amount of legislation can eliminate the so-called second-class citizen which we hear prated about by the apostles of Eisenhower. If this were possible then we could also have legislated moral and social laws for the elimination of sin and all its stain. Only by his continued good, clean, moral example can he lead the people of our country out of graft, greed, sin and corruption. Legislation and compulsion won't do. Good leadership is followed voluntarily. There lies its proven power. There are more than two classes of people. Mr. Eisenhower knows this from personal military experiences. How many ranks, classes, and categories are there in the armed services, and who, may I ask, is more clannish, jealous, outspoken, forward, and active in defending, promoting, and making an ass and nuisance of pulling their rank on a subordinate, even to the lowly Corporal? If these apostles of generosity and brotherly love are conscientious and earnest, why not let them start with our clannish armed services as an example. No, they don't

believe it, they want no part of it and do not have any idea of practicing what is being preached.

They do know from experience that familiarity breeds contempt and that the armed services must maintain the same autocratic system with as much democracy as possible and yet maintain a fighting unit. I am, as stated before, not out to convince anyone against their will, be he a dam Yankee, plain Yankee, or whatever other specimen he may be. The Yankee in general has an open invitation to Dixie and I think we, in our entirety, will be delighted to have the independent, middle of the road, good people to our North come down and stay with us long enough to form an opinion of our section, its people, habits, customs, and general human behavior in a true light through a mind and eye that is open and broad to assimilate all that is seen and heard.

Their stay should be most pleasant and enjoyable as they will experience a hospitality which comes as natural as breathing. Their northern accent will not be criticized, as we are too gentle to reveal our difficulty of understanding. At times, however, we must have them repeat themselves, much to our embarrassment.

Their accent will not draw side remarks by any means; it is only neighborly to question their origin, as we are interested in them, their presence and happiness while visiting within our borders.

They will discover a natural wanting to be helpful and readiness to accommodate them in case of difficulty or need, without thought of compensation.

This trait is ingrained, and inherited through our ancestors', fighting an economic war for survival, thanks to John C. Calhoun and other hot headed, fool hearted, stubborn, bullish Southerners, along with the Yankees of like ills. The South would have sold out to the Yankees then and there. Our economy was ruptured. Slavery was wrong and evil. There was only one wise recourse and that was to sell the slaves back to the Yankees. There was very little money and neighbors had to pitch in and help out a neighbor who had sickness, death, or misfortune, with no thought of payment. The only requirement being that the neighbor who received help would do likewise when the time came to someone else. Their motto being, "Do unto others as you would have them do unto you". There was mutuality in their love, courtship, marriage, frolics, labors, worship, grief, happiness, trials and tribulations, births and

deaths. A brotherhood that did, and does now exist in the rural areas, and without doubt is to be found today in our industrialized areas and largely populated cities.

It has been a blessing to have known individuals from Yankeeland, both White and Negro, who were the last word of being ladies and gentlemen and solid in character, apparently, as Stone Mountain. I treasure their memory and place a high value on having benefited from the association and fellowship.

Southerners have difficulty understanding the Yankee attitude of noticing and remarking about our Southern accent, whereas Southerners would no more remark or poke fun at a Yankee about his accent than he would take wings and fly. We do not know whether or not the Yankees are doing it to be cute, whether they really enjoy the soft sounding phrases, which are unique and different from harsher, gutteral, rapid fire, crackling, rasping, wheezing noises emitting from some people of the other regions.

An acquaintance of mine visited some friends in Texas and one of his friends, who was not a native Georgian, as he was, quipped about his Georgia brogue, whereupon he stated, "I can't tell any difference in our speech except you Texans talk with your teeth clamped together." The accompaning Buddy retorted, "That's right, give it to him; he has been giving me the old rib, too." This is illustrative of differences even among homogenious peoples.

The kind of scrambled, exortic, racial, provincial, strange, and idiotic accents emitting through TV, and which draws no fire, makes me appreciate and be proud of our average Southern dialect. (Not the Hollywood exagerated and synthetic version). Some of our panel members talk as though they had a mouthful of hot mush and were trying to cool it off rather than spit it out, and attempting to talk at the same time.

We will not try to convince those Yankees of the opinion that the South is a push-up and over for the **Union of Un-Americans, regardless of what alphabetical letters they use.** As one over-optimistic Negro stated, "The South is halted at the red traffic light, waiting for the Supreme Court's unquestionable negative opinion toward segragation will spontaneously after the Supreme Court flicks the signal to green, automatically rush forward to heed the go signal." Perhaps that was what they merely hoped for with little anticipation of its becoming a reality. Just pious wishing.

The Supreme Court with all of its packing from the Roosevelt days and with its cheap political trappings has replaced the highly respected, and honored body of men of profound understanding and wisdom, whom the people held in utmost awe and respect as the ultimate human judgeship of our land, and whose opinion when handed down was unquestioned and accepted as final if backed by the crystalized opinion of the majority of the people.

How can the masses of people have any respect, confidence or faith in a politically appointed body of men through party patronage and party politics and the removal of one into a high office to destroy his threat as a political competitor in future races for the Presidency? Governor Warren of California, a highly esteemed man in the Nation's eye, sold out to the Republicans, thereby lowering himself in the eyes of the nation as an individual rugged statesman. The Supreme Court has lost its savor and like salt is not fit for anything but to be cast aside, as is, to be replanted with sturdy acorns from which mighty oaks again may grow.

We have a good sample of California quality of Statesmanship in Nixon and Warren.

It seems as if the Senate and Congress would remove the fangs of an hostile group that has ceased to serve the vast majority of our people in favor of the small minority of classes and races that are greedily and selfishly promoting their special interests to the detriment of our nation as a whole.

One particular group would like to do as they do in Italy, Argentina, Belgium and other nations where their church is dominant. The leader or ruler is found to play second fiddle to their Hierarchy and synthetic religion which caters to whatever force is in power, preferably the church's power over state. Their pious pratings of tolerance is a oneway avenue for use by their enemies; however, when they get the upperhand, justice and tolerance jumps out the window and flees.

This is why the churches, schools and social life of the individual or groups should be sheared and shorn from any political influence of nine old men who, due to politics and influence of small minorities, are swayed to take unwise steps and make unpopular decisions.

There is no law under the stars and skies that can be legislated to enforce any obedience to that which is contrary to the crystalized opinion of the masses of the people. Prohibitoin, the grand experiment, minus the undercurrents of sectionalism or racial undertows, or color barriers, turned out to be a miserable flop: therefore, how much chance has the very unpopular anti-segregation measure of succeeding? Georgia alone, the largest state east of the Mississippi, together with her sister states and the largest state of Texas, comprising a vast land area with a great population of Whites and Negroes will never submit to this ramrod measure of pushing un-American idealogy and brain child of border Whites through to a conclusion, however utopian it may seem in their pipe dreams.

We are not out to convince any Jewish Yankees, Italian Yankees, Exotic Yankees, Catholic Yankees, McCarthy Yankees, Communist or any other heterogeneous peoples, who are attempting to remake our country or rewrite the Constitution of the United States to conform to their selfish or greedy and clannish purpose, and who would split this Nation asunder to foster and promote a mongrel race of peoples with no nationality. You may bet your last dollar the Jewish race has no idea of intermixing or intermarriage with their colored brethern except to use the Negro for special purposes and to succor all possible out of them, in patriotism to their flag, the green currency of Uncle Sam.

The only true and tried friends through the history of the American Negro is the Southerner, the only ones who understands them and has a heart for them. The Northern agitators are not out for any benevolence or God sent to lead the Negro into the land of Utopia, as they profess. The democratic way would be to put an end to all future contentions by having each state vote on the issue and forever after keep Washington politics out.

There are those level-headed Negroes of the North who have the foresight to see the repercussions and the disaster that would befall their people if the South is unduly tried, prodded and provoked with continued thorns in the flesh as the N.A.A.C.P. entertains ideas of so doing, with the solace and succor of Supreme Court sanction. It is time for all good men to come to the aid of their Nation. We do not think we have convinced any man against his will as "A fool convinced against his will is of the same opinion still".

"Dixie Land"

I wish I was in de land ob cotton,
Old times dar am not forgotten,
Look away, look away, look away, Dixie Land.
In Dixie land whar I was born in,
Early on one frosty mornin',
Look away, look away, look away, Dixie Land.

Old Missus Mary "Will-de-wea-ber"
Willium was a gay de-cea-ber;
Look away, look away, look away, Dixie Land.
But when he put his arms around-er,
He smiled as fierce as a forty pound-er,
Look away, look away, look away, Dixie Land.

His face was sharp as a butcher's cleaver,
But soon after he did leave 'er;
Look away, look away, look away, Dixie Land.
Old Missus acted de foolish part
And died for a man dat broke her heart,
Look away, look away, look away, Dixie Land.

Now here's a health to the next old Missus,
And all de gals dat want to kiss us,
Look away, look away, look away, Dixie Land.
But if you want to drive 'way sorrow,
Come and hear dis song to-morrow,
Look away, look away, look away, Dixie Land.

Dar's buckwheat cakes an' Ingen batter,
Makes you fat or a little fatter,
Look away, look away, look away, Dixie Land.
Den hoe it down an' scratch you grabble,
To Dixie land I'm bound to trabble,
Look away, look away, look away, Dixie Land.

File "Criticisms - defense & Material"

ground and previous activities of candidates and to what other organizations they belong.

AVOID BEING ENTICED INTO FRONTS

It is stated on good authority that there are 215 front organizations spending a total weekly budget of $150,000 in our country. Use care in joining new organizations. Do not be misled by names that imply that the group is "progressive," or is interested in needed social reforms, protection against injustices and discrimination; or the development of a higher form of democracy. Who started the organization? Who belongs? Who are its leaders? What is its history?

"Too often I have seen cases where loyal and patriotic but misguided Americans have thought they were 'fighting communism' by slapping the label of 'Red' or 'Communist' on anybody who happened to be different from them or to have ideas with which they did not agree.

"Smears, character assassination, and the scattering of irresponsible charges have no place in this nation. They create division, suspicion and distrust among loyal Americans—just what the Communists want—and hinder rather than aid the fight against communism."

—*J. Edgar Hoover*

In assessing the purposes of a new organization, it should be remembered that freedom of thought and support for minority opinion is an American right.

TEACH THE FACTS ABOUT THE AMERICAN WAY OF LIFE

Communists are busy spreading calumnies about our country. They call it imperialistic. They picture it as poised and eager for a nuclear war. They magnify isolated cases of discrimination and injustice and represent them as typical of American life. They seldom point to great American achievements, but exult in American failures.

The United States Government is maintaining a great effort to tell the world the truth. The United States Information Agency broadcasts radio and television programs, distributes films, issues publications, maintains libraries in foreign countries, sends speakers around the world to interpret American aims and estimates the degree to which they have been actually attained.

The official student exchange programs and the students who choose on their own to seek some of their education abroad, in 1961-62, totaled 58,086 foreign students from 149 countries in 1798 institutions of higher learning in the United States. In 1960-61 there were 19,836 students from the United States in 66 foreign coun-

Defense file

Thought you would be interested in this

Attn: Harold Fleming

Nat Griswold

Arkansas
COUNCIL on HUMAN RELATIONS
1220 W. Capitol, Little Rock

LR Chamber Manager Does Flip on Integration

JACKSON, Miss. -- Mississippi's Capitol reporters have chuckled more than once at a strange sidelight of the continuing racial crisis in Little Rock.

News reports from the Arkansas capital now picture Boyd Ridgway, manager of the pro-integration Little Rock Chamber of Commerce, as a leading disciple of order-at-any-cost.

It hasn't always been this way.

They recall, with considerable amusement, a rather one-sided Congressional race held in Hinds (Jackson) County in 1952.

It pitted Rep. John Bell Williams against a stuffy young Jackson press agent name of Boyd Ridgway.

If John Bell Williams has ever been called a left-winger, the term hasn't stuck. But that was Mr. Ridgway's chief charge against Mr. Williams.

"Boyd just didn't think John Bell was doing enough for segregation," a veteran of the Mississippi political wars said this week. "God knows what he could have done. Remember, this was two years BEFORE THE Supreme Court's de segregation decision."

Actually, Ridgway's strange race against Williams was believed by some to have been a tantrum against former Mississippi Gov. Hugh White.

Ridgway was allowed to take care of minor publicity chores in Governor White's successful 1951 race for governor. When the new administration passed out the top jobs, Boyd Ridgeway was passed over.

"Boyd wanted to be director

RIDGEWAY, Page 3

tember 28, 1956, by Governor Faubus. Members are J. H. Crain of Wilson, J. Gordon Love, Hughes; Tom Faulkner, Helena; F.N. Carnahan, Eudora;

amite Cache nty Property

Rock on Labor Day.

The first cache of dynamite was found under a piece of rusted tin and it was without moisture content despite a series of heavy rains, indicating it had been placed there only a few hours prior to discovery.

County Judge Arch Campbell explained the second cache of explosives. He said a county road crew was doing work in the vicinity of area where the explosives were found. He said the work required rock blasting.

Utility Rate Hike

Gov. Orval Faubus is opposed to any futher rate increases in utilities. He said utility rates in Arkansas are high enough right now.

The governor's comment came after he revealed that he had been asked by Southwestern Bell Telephone officials to intervene in the current rate squabble before the Arkansas Public Service Commission. The telephone company is seeking a rate increase. The PSC ordered the company to file a show cause order as to why their rates should not be reduced.

Governor Faubus added that a six percent earning on utility holdings is ample for the protection of the company's investors. The six percent limit is the maximum allowed under the Arkansas constitution.

Highlander Padlocked

MONTEAGLE, Tenn. --- State officials padlocked the Highlander Folk School near here pending a State Court hearing set for Nov. 3.

The Highlander school has been a target of Tennessee officials for a number of years. It has been criticized for its inter-racial characteristic and "questionable activity" which went on there.

Circuit Judge Chester Chattin ordered the school padlocked until his court can determine whether the tax-exempt charter of the inter-racial adult school should be revoked.

RIDGEWAY,

from Page 1

of the Mississippi Agricultural and Industrial Board," a newsman here recalled. "But Mr. Hugh, who was elected largly on the basis on his flair for obtaining industry, had no intention of trusting that sort of job to a Boyd Ridgway.

"But Boyd insisted that the job be his. Finally he was told firmly that if he didn't shut up and behave himself he wouldn't get anything."

The next summer he announced against Williams, "just to show Governor White what a fine politician he was."

But his campaign never quite got off the ground.

He devoted most of his time to mimeographing lengthy statements contradicting points in Williams speeches. These he dutifully passed out every Saturday during the campaign, catching the unwary reporters as they left their weekly press club luncheons.

The morning Clarion-Ledger largely ignored Ridgway, although the afternoon Daily News allowed its political pundits "to let him sound off. It livens up the classified pages."

"We sort of looked on Boyd as a white man's Prophet Willett," said this informant. Soon after the campaign, Ridgway drifted downstate to a radio station, where he sold advertising, and finally was hired at Greenville in his first Chamber of Commerce job. The Little Rock chamber hired him away from Greenville.

LAW SUIT

from Page 1

serious bruises on her face caused by a blow from a billy club.

The first civil rights suit filed by the white people was brought by E. A. Lauderdale, prominent roofing contractor and church worker in Little Rock. Lauderdale also seeks $50,000 in damages from Chief Smith.

Attorneys for the plaintiff are Amis Guthridge of Little Rock and Sidney Provensal, a New Orleans attorney.

Specify Nekoosa BOND
MADE IN U.S.A.

TO: HCF

I did go to see Mr. Haas with the statement. He read it through, made one minor change (substituted S.C.H.W. where you had used only the word "Conference") and said he thought it was a good statement. He thought that it should go out as from the Council rather than from any one person.

I took the copy complete with list of Board members, etc. to Keutner (sp?) explained that any statement would go from the Council as a group.

I also took a copy minus board list to Helen Bullard. She was out but I left it for her.

ks

THIS IS NEKOOSA BOND SALMON SUBSTANCE 20

Roy Harris has announced in his personal political newspaper that he intends to publish what he calls "exposures" of some members of the Southern Regional Council as having unpatriotic associations. We believe that Georgians know Mr. Harris and his methods well enough to recognize this unfounded attack for what it is: a politically motivated essay in character assasination. The Southern Regional Council has through all its history been the exact opposite of a communist-influenced organization. It works for democratic solution of Southern problems, by Southerners themselves. There is a Georgia statute which makes it a crime to belong to a communist-front organization. If Mr. Harris were making his charges in good faith he would have had resource to due process of law instead of cunningly distorted propaganda.

The organizing meeting of the Council was held in response to a "call" issued by some of the South's finest leadership, including:

C. H. Gillman, Georgia Director, C.I.O.
George L. Googe, Southern Director, A.F.L.
M. Ashby Jones, Baptist Minister
Ryland Knight, Baptist Minister
Rabbi David Marx, The Temple, Atlanta
Ralph McGill, The Atlanta Constitution
Bishop Arthur J. Moore, The Methodist Church
Stuart R. Oglesby, Presbyterian Minister
Rt. Rev. Gerald P. O'Hara, Catholic Bishop of Savannah-Atlanta
Dean S. Paden, President, King Hardward Co.
J. McDowell Richards, President, Columbia Theological Seminary
Bishop John Moore Walker, The Protestant Episcopal Church
Goodrich C. White, President, Emory University

Following the deliberations of this group and a subsequent conference with Southern Negro leaders, the SRC was chartered, the incorporators being Bishop Arthur J. Moore, Ralph McGill, Dr. Rufus E. Clement, Dr. Charles S. Johnson, and Dr. Howard W. Odum.

Attached is a complete list of SRC's Board members, past and present, showing the dates served. It is obvious that the Board, from the beginning, has been composed overwhelmingly of Southerners whose record of patriotism and public service is above reproach.

The members of the Board receive full reports on the activities of the SRC and review them in detail at an annual session. The Executive Committee, which is elected by the Board, meets quarterly, intimately reviews the SRC's activities, and formulates the detailed policies of the organization. (The full minutes of these meetings are on file in the SRC's offices.) A list of the members of the Executive Committee, past and present, with their terms of service indicated, is also attached.

From its inception, the SRC has had substantial contributions from many of the major religious groups (Methodist, Protestant Episcopal, Presbyterian, Congregational, Society of Friends, Catholic, Jewish). Representatives of these and other religious groups have also participated actively in the SRC's affairs.

In view of the nature of the charges here considered, it is perhaps particularly pertinent to note the extent of Catholic participation in the SRC. One of the founders and charter member of the SRC is the Most Rev. Gerald P. O'Hara, Archbishop of Savannah-Atlanta. The Executive Committee has always included a Catholic clergyman. Mr. Paul D. Williams, a distinguished Catholic layman, a founder of the Catholic Committee of the South, and more recently a Knight of St. Gregory, was president of the SRC from 1945 through 1951. In April 1953, Dr. George S. Mitchell, executive director of the SRC, received the award of the Catholic Committee of the South for his

"significant contribution to the welfare of the South." The same award was conferred in previous years on Dr. Howard W. Odum, the first president of the SRC, and Dr. Guy B. Johnson, executive director from 1944 to 1947.

The publications and public utterances of the SRC speak for themselves. They have been read, used, and acclaimed by hundreds of persons whose intelligence and loyalty are unquestioned. The SRC has a wide reputation for temperateness and constructiveness. Three noted Southern journalists who are closely familiar with the SRC's work have given the following public estimates of it:

Ralph McGill, in The Atlanta Constitution: "The Southern Regional Council is an able and worthwhile organization working in the field of race relations. It has no radical tinge, but is, nevertheless, an aggressively energetic coordinating agency."

Hodding Carter, in Collier's: "The SRC is unique in a number of heartening directions. It is bi-racial, non-denominational and non-political. It does not indulge in tom-tom beating, parades or lengthy pronunciamentos slanted for non-Southern consumption and approval. But it is not an isolationist effort to separate the South's problems from the nation's -- or from the nation's concern."

Virginius Dabney, in Saturday Evening Post: "The sanest and best-informed organization dealing with race relations."

Irresponsible charges have been made to the effect that the Southern Regional Council is "the successor" of the discredited Southern Conference for Human Welfare. This is completely false. The Southern Conference was organized in 1938 and continued in existence until 1947. The Southern Regional Council was chartered in 1944

and has continued to date. During the years of their co-existence, the two organizations were regarded as rival agencies, markedly different in ideology and approach to Southern problems. Ralph McGill, editor of the Atlanta Constitution, who led the exposure of the Southern Conference in its latter years, was an incorporator of the Southern Regional Council. To suggest that the Council was related to the Southern Conference is to fly in the face of every known fact. It is well known that the S.C.H.W. was succeeded by the Southern Conference Educational Fund, with headquarters in New Orleans, which is still in operation today.

Much has been made of the fact that several people active in the Council were at one time affiliated with the late Southern Conference. This is a threadbare technique of those who would attack liberal-minded Southerners, and is best answered by the following quotes from an editorial in the Atlanta Constitution of May 12, 1953, dealing with such an attack on Dr. Rufus E. Clement:

"A member of the Board has charged that Dr. Clement is a Communist sympathizer because he once belonged to the now defunct Southern Conference for Human Welfare. This newspaper is proud of the fact that it contributed largely to the demise of that organization. We were twice threatened with lawsuits because of our exposure of it; therefore, we believe we have some authority to speak.

"The Southern Conference for Human Welfare was organized by honest, loyal Americans, with a viewpoint to organizing all constructive forces in the South to improve the South's economic and social status. It latter was infiltrated by Communists, but for a good many years it was composed of and led by persons of unquestioned loyalty, during which time its membership was about 99.95 per cent loyal.

It offers the typical example of a few rotten Communists spoiling a good barrel of apples.

"Even so, it was not until a good many years had passed, and after most of the membership had withdrawn, including Dr. Clement, that persons of suspected Communistic tendencies took over what remained of the organization. They did not long endure, largely because this newspaper exposed them and kept upon them the full light of publicity."

The Council in the past ten years has worked temperately and constructively for better race relations. It has represented an effort by Southerners themselves to build cooperation and mutual trust between the races.

The grant from the Fund for the Republic was given specifically in order to make possible state organizations, with their own independent boards, officers and staff. In Georgia, this means that Georgians themselves will establish and direct the activities made possible by this state's portion of the grant. The regional office in Atlanta will continue to perform fact-finding and coordinating functions that will assist the various state groups.

This is an opportunity for Southerners of both races to work together effectively on race relations programs of their own choosing. Anyone who is opposed to this course is opposed to local initiative and progress in the field of human relations.

I hear that Mr. Roy Harris, in his weekly paper, has jumped on the Southern Regional Council. I haven't seen what he printed, but I have seen one or two of his previous statements.

Sad, you know, that in this time of special strain within the South repponsible people stop to thresh this ragged old wheat. It takes time from the work the South needs to do, and it raises suspicions and tempers when we need the minimum of both.

Let it be said that the Southern Regional Council is not and never has been influenced by the Communit Party or the communist movement or communist ideas. We have been from our beginning in 1944, and from the earlier beginninf of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation in 1919, a body of Southern people, white and Negro, working intelligently and calmly and constructively at our common regional problems. Oh, yes, by picking and poking in this Committee's files or that you can come up with the fact that out of ninety-odd persons who have at one time or another been on the large Board of Directors of SRC a handful have been identified also with causes unpopular and unwise. The same kind of "research" can find that the Council's present Executive Director, this fellow George Mitchell, taught a class at a Labor College, or worked for a year for the CIO-PAC (no secret that; it's in any standard biographical reference-work), or was on the Board of some other organization. What do such things prove? That the Board members,

and this Mitchell man, have been sensitive to human injustice, and active in causes that they thought would lessen the sum of injustice. But it doesn't prove that the Southern Regional Council is less than what it is; Southern people, white and Negro, working together with all the wisdom and effort they can muster to bring about the kind of South in which democracy and brotherhood can hold up their heads.

The United States Supreme Court now says that the South's cherished arrangement about schools is unconstitutional. We agree, and we work to get the people of the South to agree and to obey and implement the law.

George Mitchell is not and never has been a Communist, these various people who have lent their advice and aid to the Council are not Communists, and we have our suspicions that not more than a couple of those who have ever been on our Board have been even close to the Communist movement. Nor is the Southern Regional Council an outgrowth of any other organization (except the Commission on Interracial Cooperation 1919-43). Specifically as to the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. That was begun in 1938, and and included much of the best and wisest leadership the South had. Notwithstanding the successful start of that body, those who formed the Southern Regional Council wanted a quite different organization, working quite differently, and drawing up a type of support and effort which the SCHW did not seem to them likely to achieve. George Mitchell and some few others associated with the Council later on became participants in the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, but the two organization were seldom in agreement on ends or methods, and when it became evident that Communist inflence was playing a part in the Southern Conference for Human Welfare the two ~~groups~~ bodies

became further apart than ever.

The South's job, in this time, is to find means of cmplying with the lw of the land, and of expressivng, in positive achievement, the fundamental princple that men are of equal stature in law and in the State and in religion. That's not easy, considering history, and with a hard job to do the Council urges that people who want to get on with it et to work.

Dear Sir:

We have seen copies of your political paper dated June 28 and July 5 in which you purport to "expose" the Southern Regional Council. As you must know, your charges that the Council is the "successor" to theSouthern Conference for Human Welfare, that it is a "political" organization, and that it is a "haven for Communists" are utterly false. Your articles are full of gross misstatements, cunning omissions, and deceitful innuendo. We do not know what your motives may be for this baseless attack upon reputable Southerners, but we ~~believe the people of Georgia will see the~~ have no doubt that the people of Georgia will recognize its ~~baseless and~~ unprincipled nature.

The Southern Regional Council was chartered in 1944, after a series of meetings of prominent Southern people. ~~(As you know, deliberately and conspicuously failed to mention, Bishop Arthur J. Moore was one of the incorporators.)~~ It was and is an independent body, successor only to the old Commission on Interracial Cooperation, begun in the South in 1919 and continued until the Council took over its work.

The Southern Regional Council is an organization combining people from the ministry, church lay leadership, education, business, and labor. It has been reasonable, accurate, non-inflammatory, educational, and non-political. It has worked to get an even break for all the people of the South, regardless of race, in matters of health, education, housing, employment, and farming. It can point to some achievements in law enforcement, better public services, and a growing understanding of the dignity of all human beings. It is widely held to be the South's most useful body in race relations.

The Council and all of its officers are opposed to Communism and all that Communism stands for. You do your State and the South a disservice in equating the Council's careful, thoughtful approach with Communism. Nothing pleases

Communists more than to have people's own, native, intelligent efforts to solve problems confused with the Communist method of wrecking and revolution.

Georgia has a statute which makes it a crime to engage in subversive activities. If you believe your own charges, you are free to prosecute the Southern Regional Council under the law. The Council's sound Americanism can stand any honest investigation.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

P. A.

Copies sent to: Bob Lewis, Hope - Betty Harris, James Mackey

Report on Meeting of the METROPOLITAN ASSOCIATION TO CONTINUE SEGREGATION; Lenox Square Auditorium, January 11, 8 p.m.

Attendance: Approximately 500 to 600 persons. Seating room for 350 with all available space on the sides and in the rear of the auditorium filled with standees. Great majority of those present were well-dressed, established persons. Most of the men wore coats and ties, many were accompanied by their wives. Probably a large number from out of town. A number of teen-agers, well dressed, clean cut, sympathetic to speaker. Thoroughly respectable crowd.

When asked to do so, approximately nine members of the legislature indicated their presence.

Among those on the stage: T.J. Wesley ~~(Jr.?)~~, Dixon Oxford, R. B. Patterson, Roy Harris, and a Rev. George King. (Believe King was identified with a Baptist Church in Sandy Springs.)

Meeting: Chairman (unknown) praised Governor and quoted at length from State of the State speech. Introduced Roy Harris who praised the Governor and criticized HOPE and "Rastus" McGill. In identifying the speaker, Harris stated that in year past the Citizens' Councils of Mississippi raised $100,000 for the operation of their organization and an additional $50,000 for Citizens' Councils Forum, a radio-T.V. program service. (At the height of the Citizens' Council movement in Mississippi it was estimated that the state office raised $400,000 or more per year.)

Harris introduced Robert Patterson, Executive Secretary of the Citizens' Councils of Mississippi.

Patterson is a relatively young, red-headed, imposing individual with heavy Mississippi accent and a slow, very poor speaker. Spoke for approximately thirty minutes in a rather disorganized fashion. Theme throughout: "need to organize", power of "organization."

Significant comments from Patterson's speech:

1. Boasted of no visible activity of NAACP in Mississippi.

2. Corrected Roy Harris who had said "Battle of Atlanta" would determine victory or defeat for South. Patterson said Atlanta could determine victory but that whatever the outcome in Atlanta, other Southern areas, notably Mississippi, would continue to fight.

3. Praised new Governors of Mississippi and Louisiana along with Vandiver.

4. Nearest thing to "Rastus" McGill in Mississippi is "Rastus" Carter. And Carter has been made largely ineffective. Carter spends lots of time in places like Africa and that might be a good place for McGill too.

5. Boasted that "liberal" leadership in Little Rock has disappeared. Mayor of Little Rock at time of first desegregation no longer remembered.

Harry Ashmore in California working for the Fund for the Republic; husband of Daisy Bates now working full-time for the N.A.A.C.P., since his paper will no longer support him. No mention of Faubus or school situation.

6. Advised citizens of Atlanta not to let integration come without use of "many-many" federal marshalls and FBI men. Cause the federal government to spend a lot of tax money and Yankees would soon protest.

7. Many slaps at HOPE. Claimed that organization for HOPE had been in planning stages for some years. All of the left-wing elements are organized, therefore only way to combat this element is for segregationists to organize.

8. No "Rockefeller or Ford" money available, therefore organization is only answer.

Audience applauded throughout, though obviously would have preferred a stronger speech.

Chairman introduced Dixon Oxford who was on stage and announced that Peter Zack Geer was in audience. Geer was asked to come to the platform.

Oxford endorsed the group and then introduced Geer as he came onto platform. There was heavy applause, after which Geer began a speech of his own which lasted some fifteen minutes.

Geer began by praising Roy Harris as being a great Georgian and one of the greatest living Americans. Explained his presence at meeting by saying that he had been having dinner "and drinking some ginger ale" with friends at a nearby restaurant when he heard that Roy Harris was holding a meeting. He wanted to stop by to indicate his support for Harris.

Geer is an excellent speaker and with comments, jokes, and manner of speech he greatly pleased the crowd. He strongly resembled a young, articulate, Eugene Talmadge. Temper of his comments is indicated by the following joke which he told in mid-point of speech:

Southwest Georgia, home country, will compare favorably in attitudes and actions with Mr. Patterson's Mississippi. Down there two men went fishing. In time they both hooked onto some object at the bottom of the stream. After much pulling, they brought to the surface an "African." The corpse was wrapped from neck to feet with chains. Being "good law abiding citizens" they called the sheriff. When the sheriff arrived he remarked, "Now ain't that just like a nigger; stole so many chains he couldn't swim with them."

The story was received with laughter and heavy applause.

Following Geer, T. J. Wesley ~~(Jr.?)~~ was introduced as the man most responsible for the meeting. Wesley made a plea for funds and

announced that the next meeting would be held at the Tower Theater with _____ _____ of Farmville, Virginia. _____, a retired vice president of Standard Oil is chairman of the private school group in Prince Edward county, an authority on the "efficiency, standards and workability" of private schools. Wesley stated his strong belief that private schools could work, be operated economically, and serve all the people. Purpose of having _____ _____ as speaker was that he could tell Atlantans how they could begin private schools.

Women at the exits collected contributions in large paper buckets. The collections seemed to be heavy and few left the auditorium without giving a dollar or more.

"ACT FOR GOD AND COUNTRY — HELP DEFEAT COMMUNISM"

COMMUNISM, a word describing the evil force which works day and night to destroy Christianity and Freedoms of the people. This group of athiest are not confined to Russia, but indeed are imbedded in many sections of our nation.

They range from the pick and shovel man in the ditch to the highest court in our land. These imps of satan are continually trying to take out the commands of God. Remember the 312 False-prophets who signed the manifesto, which urged you to integrate and mongrelize your future generations. By all means remember those commie stooges of duped physicians.

These false-prophets use the pulpits but have never read a verse from the Bible which tells us that God favors mixing the races. We shall set forth in the next paragraph several verses and chapters from the Bible, which *demands* that we keep segregation.

Read These Bible References

St. Matthew 25:32; Acts 17:26; Book of Ezra, chapter 9 and 10; Book of Joshua; 2 Cor. 6:17; Neh. 10:28-30; Neh. 13:23-27; Deut. 32:8; I Kings 8:53; I Kings 11:2; Gen. 6:18-20; Gen. 10:5-20; Gen 11:8; Gen. 24:3; Gen 28:1, 8, 9; Num. 6:2; Luke 6:22; Romans 8:35, 39. Then read Deut. 23:2, study this very seriously.

Think of how many generations it would take to remove all traces of the blood line from a half-breed mongrel created by a nigger and white. This breed of outcasts are the "BASTARDS" referred to in the Bible. NO, a child born to unmarried white or black people, is referred to as "A child born out of wedlock." The "BASTARD" is the mixed-breed mongrel created by the immoral acts of lowest of human forms. Now you understand why they shall not enter the Kingdom of Heaven even unto the tenth generation. Do you now realize just how terrible is the sin because of any mixing of the races?

"Clean the House of The Lord"

What do you have in the pulpit of your church? Now is the time to make your preacher declare himself. Is he a preacher or a false-prophet? If he follows the communist line of integration, then remove his hand from the bread-basket of the church. If you fail to do this, then you become a part of the communist conspiracy.

We believe the word of God and fear the wrath of the creator of all things within and beyond the universe, therefore we believe in the teachings of Jesus Christ as our Saviour. The above Bible teachings among the many others are sufficient to lead Christians above and beyond the Devil's cesspool of integration.

Our God fearing white people have been trodden down as far as they can go. They are beginning to fight back and it is time they did so. They are tired of all the trouble-makers who are filled with communist ideas of integration, and who are now using funds from various Foundations (American Money) to mix you with the nigger.

"Know Your Enemies — Work Against Them

The Southern Regional Council (Ralph McGill's Baby) has received hundreds of thousands of dollars from the Ford Fund for the Republic. Why do you still buy the Constitution or Journal or the Fords? Then we have to be on guard against the H.O.P.E. organization.

Benjamin E. Mays, president of Atlanta's Morehouse College has (31) communist citations and a member of the NAACP; Ruby Hurley, formerly of Little Rock, now bedding down in Atlanta rat nest, is an NAACP member and noted race-agitator; Rufus E. Clement, in the top committee of 100 of the NAACP and has 27 commie citations for his work, he is a member of the Atlanta Board of Education. WHY? WHY? Who would be so ignorant as to think that the niggers holding positions in the education system of Georgia is not rubbing some of their communist ideas on to the students?

"This Is Your Fight"

Our loyal citizens of this nation must protest loud and long against these organizations and demand that they be put on the Subversive list. The NAACP; the Southern Regional Council; the Southern Conference Education Fund; the Georgia Committee on Interracial Co-operation. Don't forget the H.O.P.E. gang.

"Trouble and How to Correct It"

When niggers try to integrate with our white people and cause any school to close, it is time for action. The employment office throughout the South know of many white people who need jobs. Some time ago there was a plan adopted which has been spreading over the South. It is an easy operated plan which removes the niggers from every job. The white people know this is the solution of ending the Black Plague. NO NIGGERS WORKING, MEANS NO NIGGERS IN TOWN? NONE IN TOWN, MEANS NONE IN OUR SCHOOLS.

It is this easy and is being done NOW, WHITE people have begun to trade with firms who hire all white people. This reduces the funds of the NAACP. Only a nigger-mixer will continue to hire or work a nigger. This covers filling stations and elsewhere.

"TAXES and HOW TO REDUCE THEM"

Do you know the Atlanta's population is one-third niggers? They are paying five per cent of the taxes and receive a strong margin of seventy-five per cent of the tax for their race. Also there was a total of 6,000 nigger babies born at your expense at Grady Hospital. Also that there was only 600 white children coming into the schools of Atlanta and a total of 8,000 niggers.

"SHALL YOU CONTINUE TO PAY FOR THEIR PLEASURE"

While they sit in the shade and spoon in the moon light, multiplying like rats, we continue to bleed ourselves with heavy taxes to carry the socialistic burden of feeding and clothing them. They do not remain as slaves and therefore are certainly not your wards.

This is our peaceful way to win our right and it is your chance to help. Those not with us are against us. Which means the most to you, the command of the Lord, or the traditions of men?

FORD FUND GRANT SCORED

Atlanta Paper Says Tax Money Spurs Segregation Fight

ATLANTA, April 16 (AP)—Gov. Herman Talmadge's political weekly, The Statesman, today charged that Southern income tax money in effect was being spent to foster a fight on Southern segregation.

An unsigned article in the publication criticized a recent grant of $240,000 by the Ford Foundation to the Southern Regional Council. It called the foundation "a charitable fiction."

The council was organized in 1944 to work for better race relations. Its members number both whites and negroes. In announcing receipt of the grant a week ago, the council said the money would be used in an educational program extending into twelve Southern states and lasting eighteen months.

The Statesman said the Ford Foundation was exempt from Federal income taxes.

"This means," the article said, "that the money which we in the South pay in Federal income taxes, in effect, goes to support this organization which is working night and day to destroy our way of life."

In reply, Leonard Haas, Atlanta attorney and member of the council's executive committee, said the organization represented an effort by Southerners to build cooperation and mutual trust between the races. He said the Ford Foundation money was specifically for local organizations to work along these lines.

eering Dept.

PASS Used Here

Richardson has sent ch persons, instructing they may vote.

Hartsfield has called a ssion of the board of al- or noon Thursday to certi- ficial returns in the elec-

election, citizens will mark llots to approve each of the neral allocations of the $10,000,000.

* * *

Y MUST VOTE separately, er words, on the $5,000,000 chools, the $2,000,000 for , the $2,000,000 for sewers, $1,000,000 for a court build- d land.

in general is what city offi- ay they will be voting for: hools — The Atlanta Board ucation will use the $5,000,000 ld what it can of 452 class- it says really should be built Sept., 1955.

nust also spend some of it to r obsolete schools. Some must ed to finish some new schools ntly put up. Some will go for equipment.

ere the new schools or addi- will go isn't certain. It is im- ble, officials say, to decide e the fall enrollments are n. Officials are watching pop- on shifts carefully.

* * *

T THE PRESSURE is stiffest d the present Connally, Rags- Sylvan Hills Elementary, west High, Perkerson - Lake- -Cleveland, R. L. Hope-Mar- mith, Hapeville, Herndon, An- n Park, Wesley, South At- and Thomasville schools.

ut $1,500,000 is needed to a new high school and a new ntary school for the new unit low rent housing project egroes on Sweat Rd.

Streets — The Board of Alder- has committed itself to spend the $2,000,000 on four street ects.

this, $100,000 or possibly more buy the city's share of rights- ay for the Moreland Ave. un-

Turn to Page 20C

He said his wife, who was the last to start getting well, is still feeling weak. "She was rundown from having the baby," he explained.

And Judy, the 2-year-old, still has a few pink splotches left on her arms. But they're all happy, and glad to be up and about again.

"I sure don't want to go back to bed," Jimmy said.

"I'm thankful it's all over," the 38-year-old farmer sighed. "I bet I've lost 15 pounds in the past three weeks."

Body of Youth Taken From River

The body of a 13-year-old Negro boy was recovered Saturday from the Chattahoochee River.

He was identified as Charles Beckton of 244 Butler St., NE.

Police Lt. Ellis Barrett, aided by W. C. Brown Sr. and his son, both of Atlanta, recovered the boy's body about 150 yards from where he sank Friday.

Detective Lt. L. T. Bullard said the boy drowned while swimming with five companions Friday at 6:30 p.m.

One drowning has a city pool (Grant Park) to date this season. In Piedmont, the city's largest public pool, Cobb said, 28 persons have been "pulled in" to safety to date this season.

An average of 1,000 swimmers a day have been splashing in each of the city pools these recent hot days. Piedmont had 1,500 swimmers on July 4. A total of about one million bathers were reported over Atlanta's last season, according to Simons.

* * *

MORNINGS, when youngsters are admitted free up until noon, are usually busiest times at the pools.

STRICT ORDER KEPT, ALL HOLDS BARRED
Cobb Separates Scufflers Forrest Poss, Ted Cox

New Chapter Starts in Stormy Life of Rev. Craft

Ardent Follower of Talmadge Praises Senator McCarthy as Great Patriot

By MIKE EDWARDS

The Rev. Blake Craft parts his hair in the middle, has a sort of hooked nose and looks at the world from behind steel-rimmed bifocals.

He is an ardent Talmadge follower, a vigorous supporter of segregation, thinks Sen. McCarthy is a great patriot and was for Gen. Douglas MacArthur "1,000 per cent." And he doesn't mind saying so.

He is happiest when he is preaching, and he is considered a good man in the pulpit. His sermons dwell heavily on "the hell in this world and the hell in the other world."

When he isn't preaching he likes to fish with a cane pole and a can of worms.

He has had an interesting life. But the chapters which are yet to be written may be just as interesting.

* * *

LAST THURSDAY—in the latest chapter in his life—13 of the Rev. Mr. Craft's fellow ministers, sitting as a jury in a church trial, found him guilty of "unchristian tempers, words or actions' and "imprudent or unministerial conduct."

The charges sprouted from a little newspaper the Rev. Mr. Craft publishes. He calls it "One Methodist Voice" and he has filled it with some pretty vigorous statements about alleged Communist influences in the clergy and liberal teachings.

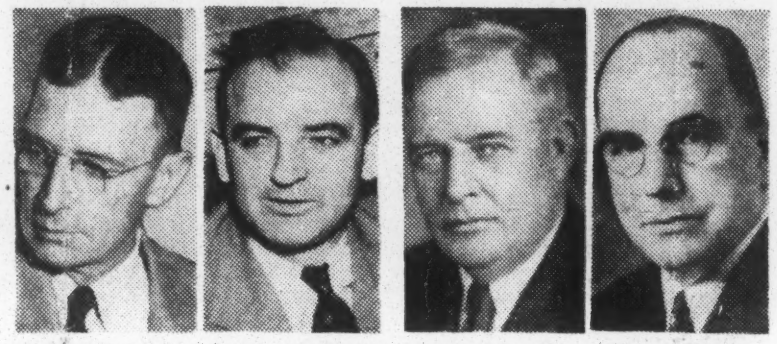
Church people say privately that this isn't the reason he was brought to trial. They said he had printed "slurs and innuendos" about his fellow Georgia ministers in addition to what he said about Communist influences.

* * *

THE REV. MR. CRAFT plainly thought he was right in printing what he printed. And the trial jury plainly thought he wasn't.

So he was suspended from the ministry for a year.

The Rev. Mr. Craft was born at Toccoa 52 years ago. He was the son of a preacher in the Holiness faith. His parents operated an orphanage "on faith" for 30 years.



Rev. Mr. Craft — Sen. McCarthy — A. J. Moore — Bishop Oxnam

At 16 Blake Craft was preaching. He went off to college—he attended three—and got a degree from the old Atlanta Theological Seminary.

* * *

THEN HE WENT BACK to preaching, still in the Holiness faith.

But in 1929 he asked for admission into the Methodist Church. He had a Methodist family background that stretched across generations. He was admitted and given a circuit of four little churches near Alpharetta.

Then other churches followed. In 1940 he was called to active duty as a Navy chaplain. He stayed in the Navy until 1946, then returned to Georgia and became the pastor at East End—now East Lake—Methodist Church in Decatur.

During this time he had no quarrel with the church about communism or liberalism.

* * *

BUT IN 1950—about the time of some of the Communist exposes in Washington—the first issue of "One Methodist Voice" Council, an organization which encourages racial harmony and which, incidentally, numbers appeared.

It was, from the beginning a militant paper. It attacked some Georgia ministers who signed a petition advocating FEPC. It went after the Southern Regional Methodist Bishop Arthur J. Moore among its directors.

He went after Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam and other churchmen.

He accused the church of disseminating literature which advocated world federalism.

* * *

THEN—in 1953—his disagreement with the church became sharper. He was placed on leave and told by Bishop Moore that no church would have him unless he quit "slandering his brethren" in his newspaper.

The Rev. Mr. Craft kept publishing the paper.

Next came the trial, writing another chpater in his life.

The chapter yet to be written may be as interesting.

The Rev. Mr. Craft hasn't said whether he'll keep on publishing his paper. But he has indicated he will as long as he feels there's a need for it.

So, there could be more fireworks.

DS IN THIS SECTION

From Late Edition of Yesterday's Times

Protestants Cry Out From Pulpits Against Stifling Freedom of Mind

By New York Times News Service.

NEW YORK, July 5—Protestant leaders spoke out strongly from New York pulpits today against the threat of "McCarthyism" to intellectual freedom.

The burden of their sermons was a general denunciation of alleged attempts to stifle freedom of expression, rather than direct criticism of Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy, the junior Republican senator from Wisconsin, who is chairman of the Senate's permanent subcommittee on investigations.

Some of the speakers, however, were provoked by an article in the July issue of the American Mercury in which J. B. Mathews, the executive director of the committee, asserted that "the largest single group supporting the Communist apparatus in the United States today is composed of Protestant clergymen."

The statement, Dean James A. Pike of the New York Cathedral (St. John the Divine) said, "is so absurd on the face of it as to reflect on Mr. Matthews' competence to hold any public office." He added that "if this systematic smearing of our fellow citizens continues to go on, more than the Rosenbergs will have died in our land."

The Rev. Adam Clayton Powell Jr. of the Abyssinian Baptist Church declared that Matthews had "lied" in making the statement and said it should be an example to the church that "this is the hour of antichrist."

Dr. Charle C. Cole Jr., assistant dean of Columbia College, delivering a sermon as a layman, denounced attacks on clergymen by "McCarthyism, blotant exaggeration, half-truth and political demagoguery." He said that "freedom of thought must remain inviolate in the ministry."

The Rev. Joseph D. Huntley, speaking at the Broadway Tabernacle (Congregational) at 56th Street, declared that ministers had become "suspect" because "unfortunately we sometimes find Communists espousing some of the same causes that we espouse." Despite such a development, he said, "one of the greatest tasks of the church is social action."

The Rev. John Paul Jones of the Union Church of Bay Ridge (Presbyterian) declared in a sermon on "The Use of Freedom" that "there are a lot of men in places of authority without sufficient character and discipline to hold to the American ideal, and they are backed up by a great multitude of people who are timid, selfish and blind to all values except the prosperity of the moment."

These sentiments were by no means unanimous among Protestant clergy, however. The American Council of Christian Churches, which describes itself as being organized "to offset the modernist, Socialist influence" of its rival, the National Council of Churches, released the text of a telegram sent to Sen. McCarthy praising Mathews' article.

"This council has long urged that the spotlight be thrown on religious leaders aiding Communism," the telegram stated, "and their traducers are not," Dean Pike said. "The only conspiracy between us is our common allegiance to the Kingdom of God, which is a higher loyalty than to acts of Congress or the un-American activities of congressmen or their employes."

Dr. Cole, a layman, conducted the services today at the Washington Square Methodist Church, 133 West Fourth Street, and preached on "our fight for freedom."

He observed that there are those who would in fanatical fervor hound those ministers, teachers, editors and others with whom they disagree; the very persons for whom freedom of thought has the greatest meaning.

"To be pastor of a congregation, to be teacher of a class is to have a loyalty higher than that to a state or of a narrow political creed," he said. "To preach or to teach demands loyalty to one's God and to the truth."

The battle against Communism should not prevent the waging of battle against economic inequities, he declared, adding: "We must not forget that even in this age one-tenth of all our families still survive somehow on an income of less than $20 a week."

Criticism of the American economic system evokes cries of indignation today, he said. But even though citizens must be alert to "the subversive elements in our nation," they must never cease improving "our system of production and distribution so that no classes or groups are discriminated against." The national wealth, he said, must be apportioned so that everyone may have "a decent standard of living."

Jones, preaching at his home church in Brooklyn, denounced the use of congressional investigating committees for a "clever and sinister bypassing of the courts." He declared that as a result:

"Countless individuals have been accused of all sorts of crimes, principally disloyalty, which is the worst of all, and have been tried, condemned and disgraced without due process, and without resort to the courts which have been set up for their protection. Some of these have been guilty; the majority have been wholly innocent. They have committed only one offense—thinking for themselves and insisting upon the right to be different."

Powell, in the sermon at his church, also spoke on the problem of racial discrimination against Negroes in the churches. He praised the action of the Roman Catholic bishop of Raleigh, N. C., in abolishing segregation in the churches of his diocese and said his action "has shamed the Protestant church in the South."

If there was any truth in the statements made by Matthews, he said, it lay in this area. "Communism only succeeds when democracy fails," he said, "and so long as Protestantism continues to ignore democraic principles then they are Communism's greatest strength."

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"This council has long urged that the spotlight be thrown on religious leaders aiding Communism," the telegram stated. Mathews, it said, "is to be honored as a patriot and factual analyst" for "too long has Comthrough clergymen who have enjoyed immunity from investigation."

Dean Pike's sermon was delivered at morning services in the Whitestone Bridge Drive-In Theater, Bruckner Boulevard and Hutchinson River Parkway.

He declared that it is "alarming to find that procedures resulting from fear of Communism are causing us to lose those very things that most distinguish our way of life from theirs." As an example of this he cited the article by Mathews.

Cites Petition

Mathews had cited as proof that clergymen were tainted by Communism, Dean Pike said, the fact that 528 of them had signed a petition opposing the McCarran Act, which governs immigration and naturalization.

"I can give Mr. Mathews some more evidence of 'treason,'" he said. "The almost 1,000 delegates to the convention of the Episcopal Diocese of New York voted by a large majority a sharp condemnation of the McCarran Act. If this be evidence of Communist conspiracy, then he can add to his list the clergy and laymen of the convention—mostly vestrymen. Heretofore Episcopal vestrymen have not been principally distinguished for their radical leanings."

Ministers have spoken out on social questions, he said, "because as ministers of God they are under ordination vows to proclaim the gospel of freedom and human dignity against all that would tyrannize the soul—on either side of the curtain."

"They are the true Americans; which is a higher loyalty than to acts of Congress or the un-American activities of congressmen or their employes."

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From the Metropolitan Herald (Buckhead)

The Voice of Our Readers

Church Leader Hits Literature Of Council of Church Women

TO THE EDITOR:

What does Christian citizenship require of us today? Being human, none of us actually practice perfect Christian citizenship. Most of us know what we believe it to include—reverence for God, daily worship, observance of the Sabbath, to abide by the Ten Commandments but most of all to let the spirit of God dwell in our hearts and command our lives. This is not an easy thing. It is something we have to constantly be conscious of.

As Christian Citizenship chairman of our local Council of Church Women I am amazed at finding in the literature for our use suggestions for reference including "Public Affairs Pamphlet" on politics. It is my understanding that the editor of these pamphlets is listed as "a consistent supporter of the Communist Party, its leaders and various front organizations" on page 109 of the Fourth Report of Un-American Activities in California.

As Christian women, must we bring politics into our church groups, especially by editors like this? Certainly, as Christians, we should exert our influence in everyday living, but why take up precious time in church meetings for politics?

I have before me the national publications of "The Church Woman" requesting our Christian support of FEPC. (Certainly this would be derogatory to free enterprise if an employer could not ask an applicant if he is or has been a Communist Party member or his national origin descent. We are urged to keep the UN flag flying above our American flag in our communities (where does this place our loyalty to our American flag rules?) Many of our church leaders are against the Bricker amendment. (As Christian women is it necessary for us to oppose a bill that may be necessary to preserve America and to assure us the ultimate protection of our Constitution as we have known it?)

Another book I recently acquired at a meeting sponsored by four religious groups, including the Council of Church Women, refers us to the writings of Dr. Gene Weltfish and Ruth Benedict. In this we find the sanctioning of the amalgamation of the races (intermarriage to you and I.)

As Christians we are asked to support UN and UNESCO and to prepare our communities for the acceptance of Human Rights and Genocide.

As Christian women we would ask ourselves where is this "Separation of Church and State" we have always heard of? Since when is it acceptable to bring political and controversial issues into our churches?

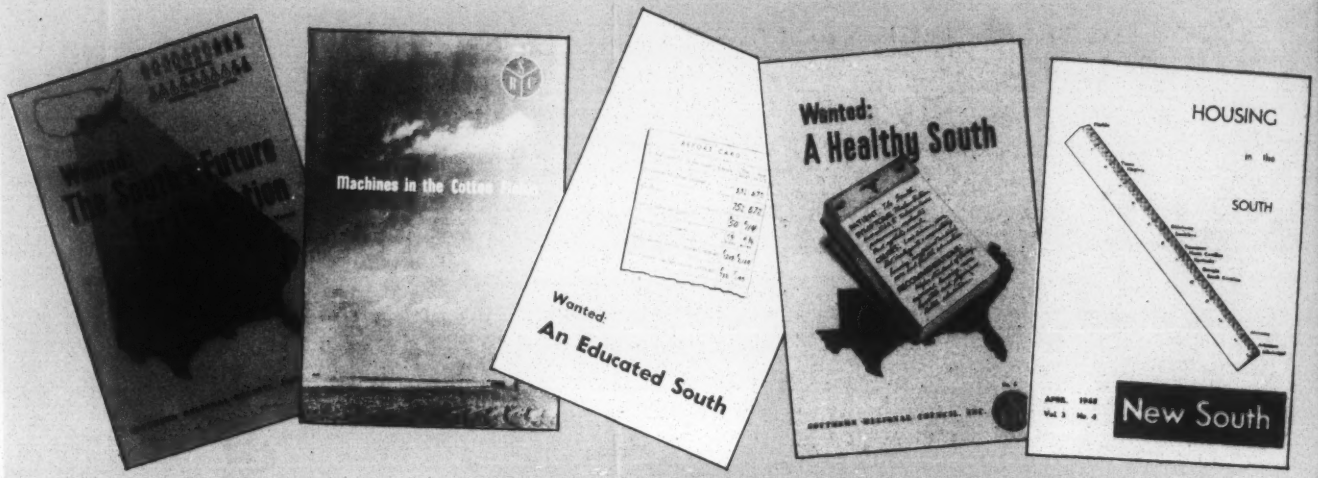
If the above be the issues confronting us today, let's make a study of them and each make our own individual appraisal and take our own stand instead of just accepting the "package thinking" that is being projected into our minds today.

Certainly it is the duty of every Christian to project Christian leadership in all the organizaitons and political groups we can, but must we bring politics into our churches?

Did God command us to preach "UNESCO" into all the world? My Bible says: "Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel." We can't always be agreeable and remain on the fence. We must take our stand. With righteous indignation we must make our stand as Christian women.

ALETHA YANCEY
Citizenship Chairman
Marietta Council of Church Women

The Changing South in Print!



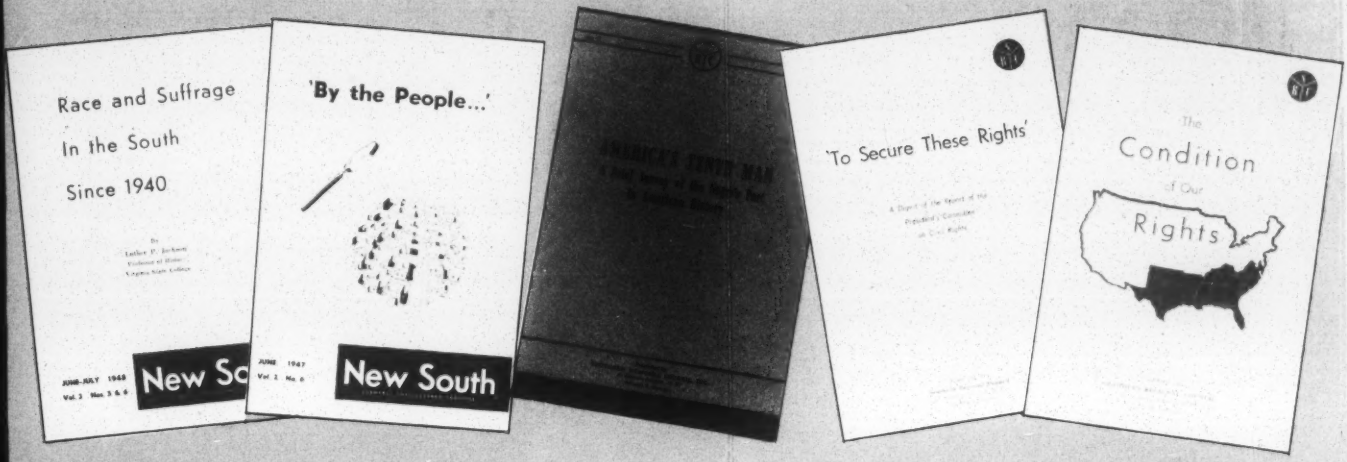
HERE is a partial list of the publications of the Southern Regional Council. All you need do is check the number of your choices on the order blank provided on the reverse side of this sheet; enclose the proper amount in stamps, coin, or check; and mail.

1. WANTED: THE SOUTH'S FUTURE FOR THE NATION, by Rupert B. Vance, with an introduction by Ellis Arnall. An excellent short study of the South's economy. 30 pp., illustrated. 20c.

2. MACHINES IN THE COTTON FIELDS, by Arthur Raper. The growing mechanization of Southern agriculture and its meaning for the people of the region. 32 pp., illustrated, 20c.

3. WANTED: AN EDUCATED SOUTH. A factual summary of the need and cost of better education for all our children. 24 pp., illustrated, 20c.

4. WANTED: A HEALTHY SOUTH, by Dorothy Dickins. Causes of and cures for the South's health problems. 30 pp., illustrated, 20c.



5. HOUSING IN THE SOUTH. Facts and figures about our housing conditions, rural and urban. 20 pp., illustrated, 20c.

6. RACE AND SUFFRAGE IN THE SOUTH SINCE 1940, by Dr. Luther P. Jackson. The Negro's growing political participation; based on first-hand study by a distinguished educator. 26 pp., two charts, 25c.

7. BY THE PEOPLE. A Southern city looks at its Negro community and sets about getting improvements; a report on the Jacksonville, Fla., self-survey. 33 pp., illustrated, 20c.

8. AMERICA'S TENTH MAN. The Negro's part in American history. 30 pp., illustrated, 10c.

9. TO SECURE THESE RIGHTS. A digest of the Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights, containing the recommendations in full. 27 pp., 10c.

10. THE CONDITION OF OUR RIGHTS. From the files on human and civil rights in the South. 39 pp., 20c.

A complete publications list will be sent on request.

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They are invaluable as texts for high school and college courses, as well as for libraries, study groups, writers, editors—in short, for everybody who wants to be informed about Southern problems and progress.

* *

"One of the best sources for materials on the South today is the publications of the Southern Regional Council . . . . Its inexpensive publications provide information on every aspect of life in Southern United States."

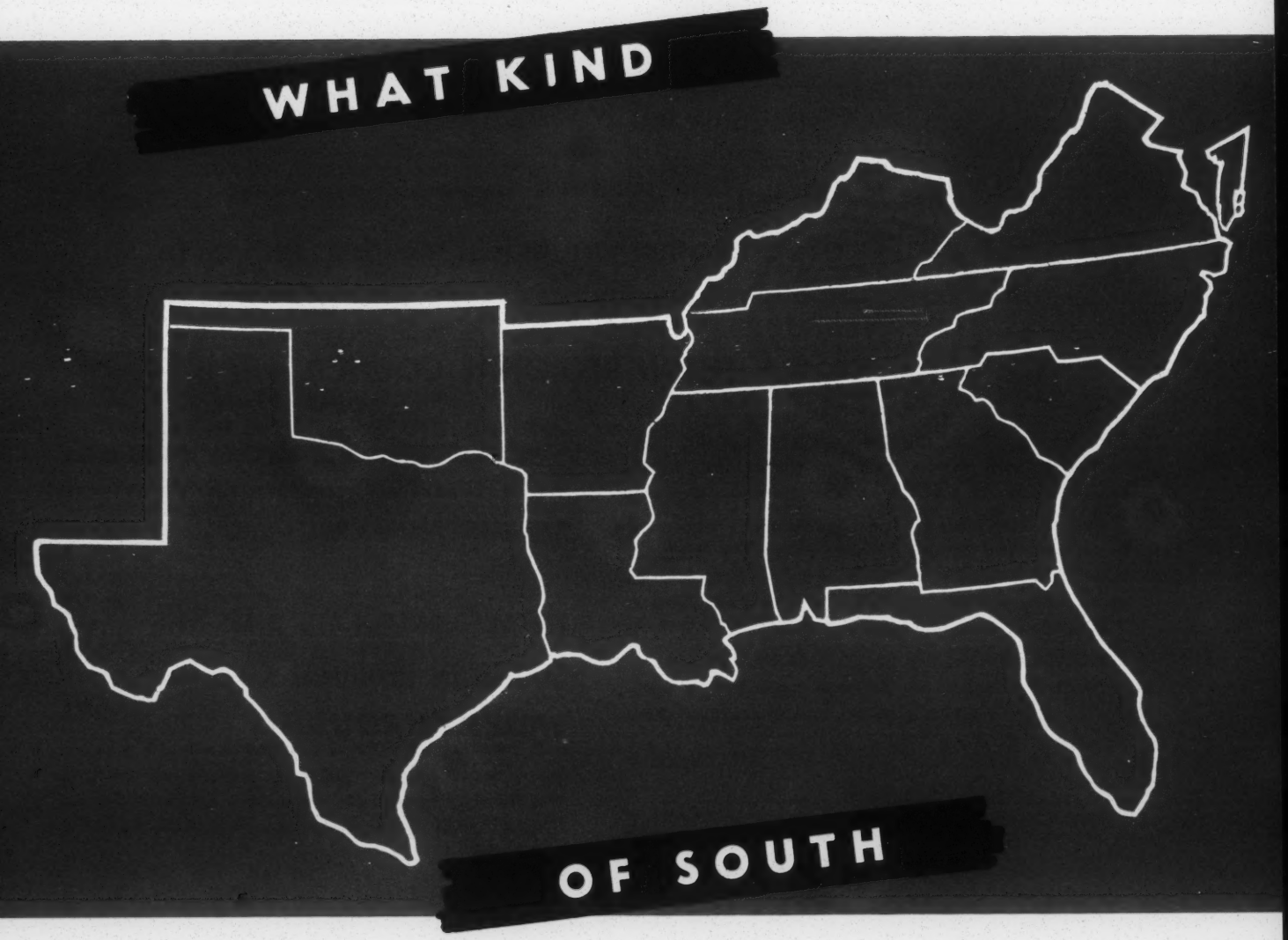
—*Current Events*

* *

"The Council has put out a notable series of studies in Southern life and needs."

—*The Christian Century*

See Other Side For A Partial List of Titles



do YOU *want?*

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4 c

A GROUP OF SOUTHERNERS

representing both races, many occupations, all faiths and denominations got together in 1943 . . .

and decided . . .

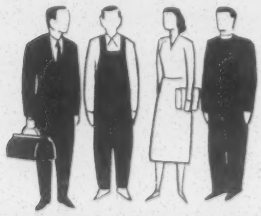
IT'S UP TO US, as Southerners, to join together, face up to the South's problems honestly, and work to solve them . . .

That's how the SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL was born

SRC belongs to its members. It is non-profit, non-denominational, non-political. It is Southern in its make-up and its work.

SRC is **not,** however, an "isolationist" movement to separate the South's problems from the Nation's. It welcomes support and understanding from all sincere people, wherever they are. But voting membership is limited to persons living in the South.

SRC members include people from all walks of life — white and Negro, city and country, men and women, church people, businessmen, educators, labor men, and plain everyday citizens.



SRC BELIEVES that the South can be prosperous and healthy, freed of poverty, prejudice, and fear . . .

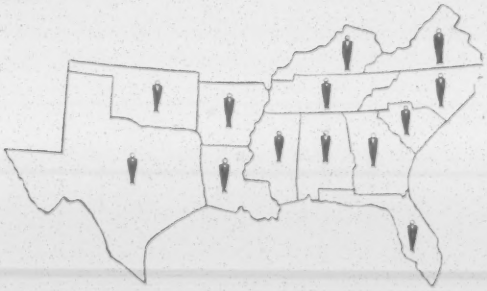
It believes in the ideals of democracy for which this Nation was founded . . .

It believes — in the name of democracy, Christianity, and common decency — that the Negro must have equal opportunity in the schoolroom, on the job, and at the polls . . .

SRC BELIEVES THAT DEMOCRACY IS SAFE ONLY WHEN EVERYBODY CONTRIBUTES TO IT AND EVERYBODY SHARES IN IT.

TO ACCOMPLISH ITS AIMS THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL WORKS *THROUGH* - - -

★ **Its local groups.** SRC has State Divisions and affiliated committees in eleven Southern States, and smaller groups in communities over the South . . .

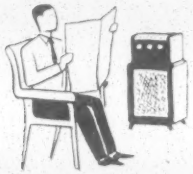


★ **Its Regional Office.** SRC's headquarters in Atlanta, Georgia, guides the work of the local groups, advises private and official agencies, issues timely statements and publications . . .

★ **A monthly bulletin.** NEW SOUTH keeps members and friends of SRC informed about Southern problems and progress . . .

★ **Special pamphlets.** These give the facts, based on careful study of the region, in simple, illustrated form . . .

★ **Public opinion.** SRC helps create a better climate of opinion through newspapers, radio, speakers . . .

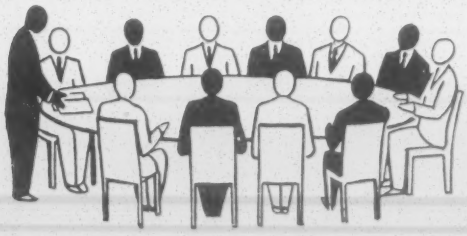


★ **Cooperating groups.** SRC works with civic clubs, church groups, labor organizations, and other groups to bring about wholesome improvements . . .

★ **Home Town Self-Surveys.** SRC helps local groups organize to collect the facts about their communities—and to **follow through** with corrective action.

TO ACCOMPLISH ITS AIMS THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL WORKS *FOR* - - -

★ **Better understanding between the races.** SRC helps lessen the violence that has plagued the South by providing a meeting ground where people of good will, white and colored, can come together, air their common problems, achieve honest solutions . . . When trouble brews, SRC members know whom to reach and what to do . . .



★ **Equal justice.** SRC watches the courts . . . points out injustices . . . works for fair police practices . . . has successfully urged the hiring of Negro policemen in towns and cities throughout the South . . .

★ **Equal public services.** SRC works to get a square break for ALL our people in —

HOSPITALS AND MEDICAL CARE

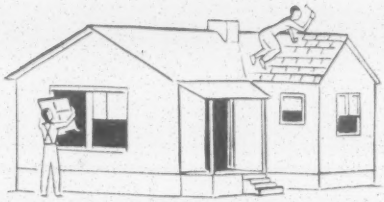
SCHOOLS

JOBS

FARMING OPPORTUNITIES

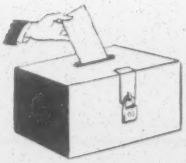
VETERANS SERVICES

HOUSING



★ **Full citizenship** for everyone in

VOTING



JURY SERVICE

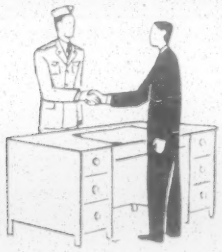
REPRESENTATION ON OFFICIAL BODIES

★ **State government for ALL the people.** SRC works for the day when our States will serve all citizens equally.

SOME ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL - - -

Supplied the basic facts in successful campaigns to secure Negro policemen in Atlanta, Memphis, Nashville, Conway (S.C.), and other cities.

During 1945-1947 helped smooth the path for the returning veteran by a widespread field program. Nine World War II veterans — eight of them Negroes — made personal visits to veterans servicing officials in over a third of the counties in the South . . . acquainted them with the needs of Negro veterans . . . taught veterans the full range of services they could get . . . spent $75,000 on this project alone.



Sponsored the 1948 Southwide Meeting on Human and Civil Rights at which four hundred community leaders, representing both races and every Southern State, devised ways to strengthen basic rights at the local level.

★

Has worked for Negro representation on school boards and other official bodies, elective and appointive.

★

Has assisted church women in a Southwide program for better law enforcement and equal justice in the courts.

★

Has successfully encouraged improved practices in the handling of racial news in Southern newspapers.

THROUGH STATE DIVISIONS AND AFFILIATES - - -

Aroused public opinion against the Ku Klux Klan and played an active part in getting local ordinances passed curbing the activities of such terroristic groups.

★

Persuaded numerous white churches throughout Georgia to be hosts to interracial meetings.

★

Has encouraged and aided bi-racial committees in Southern towns and cities to make community self-surveys. These have brought striking improvements in Negro communities — most notably in Jacksonville, Fla., and Greenville, S. C.

★

Played a leading part in bringing about the establishment of the State Training School for Negro Girls in Texas.

★

Was largely responsible for the creation of Negro community centers in Macon, Savannah, and other Georgia cities . . . Helped secure a modern, well-equipped Negro Boys' Club for Atlanta.

★

Aided the Florida Citizens Committee on Education in drawing up recommendations to the General Assembly which would provide equal education for ALL children.

★

Took the lead in getting Kentucky's Day Law amended to permit Negroes to receive medical and nursing education in institutions formerly open to white students only.

TO DO THESE THINGS

and more, the Southern Regional Council needs YOUR support. Here are three things you can do to help:

1 Join SRC and work actively with other members in your community

2 Contribute to SRC's operating funds

3 Get your friends to work with you and SRC

What They Say About The Southern Regional Council—

"The SRC is unique in a number of heartening directions. It is bi-racial, non-denominational and non-political. It does not indulge in tom-tom beating, parades or lengthy pronunciamentos slanted for non-Southern consumption and approval. But it is not an isolationist effort to separate the South's problems from the nation's — or from the nation's concern."

— Hodding Carter

"The sort of organization which makes . . . progress possible, and which therefore deserves the support of all Southerners."

— Richmond TIMES-DISPATCH

"The most widely respected interracial group in the South."

— Asheville TIMES

"Progress can surely be made if liberals, North and South, will sit down and reason together along the lines this group suggests."

— NEW YORK TIMES

"The Southern Regional Council is an able and worthwhile organization working in the field of racial relations. It has no radical tinge, but is, nevertheless, an aggressively energetic coordinating agency."

— Ralph McGill

"A voice from the informed and moderate South."

— CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

"Southerners directly interested in the welfare of their own section."

— CHATTANOOGA TIMES

"The Council has put out a notable series of studies in Southern life and needs."

— THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY

"One of the best sources for materials on the South today is the publications of the Southern Regional Council. . . . Its inexpensive publications provide information on every aspect of life in Southern United States."

— CURRENT EVENTS

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

63 Auburn Avenue, N. E. • Atlanta 3, Georgia

Believing in the principles and aims of the Southern Regional Council, I would like to become: (check appropriate square)

☐ **A Sustaining Member.** (The Council's main support.) Dues $10.00.

☐ **A Member.** (Has full membership rights and receives all publications and reports issued by SRC.) Dues $3.00.

☐ **A Member jointly with husband or wife.** (Both have full membership rights and jointly receive a copy of all publications and reports issued by SRC.) Joint dues $4.00.

(Note: Persons living outside the South are enrolled as Associate [non-voting] Members.)

☐ **A Contributor** to SRC's operation funds.

Dues for one year are enclosed . . . . . $_____

Contribution is enclosed in the amount of . . . . . $_____

Subscription to New South as non-member . . . . . $_____

Total Enclosed . . . . . $_____

NAME_____

STREET_____

CITY_____ STATE_____

OCCUPATION_____

Please send information about the Southern Regional Council to

Name_____

Street_____

City_____ State_____

TEAR OUT ALONG THIS LINE AND MAIL

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Reprinted from THE JOURNAL OF CRIMINAL LAW, CRIMINOLOGY AND POLICE SCIENCE
Vol. 43, No. 5, January-February, 1953

POLICE SCIENCE BOOK REVIEWS

Edited by
Ralph F. Turner*

RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT: A Guide to Modern Police Practices. Southern Regional Council, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Atlanta, Georgia. Pp. 20.

This terse but forceful pamphlet sets forth some clear and pertinent answers to the question of the role of the police in racial problems. It begins with a far sighted and sound analysis of the profession of "policemanship" including attitudes toward all people that lessen tension. Then the basic problems of prejudice are discussed with clarity and understanding. Methods of understanding and preventing prejudice are set forth.

The role of the negro policeman is discussed, and some of the excellent experiences in cities employing them are explained. The booklet concludes with a checklist for race and law enforcement in a typical community and a short but important bibliography.

Although this pamphlet is primarily designed for southern communities, it could be read and studied with great profit by all municipal police departments throughout the country.

Police Administration Department — ROBERT H. SCOTT
Michigan State College

PRISONER TRANSPORTATION MANUAL: Describing methods of transporting persons under restraint. Corrections Department, California. 1951. Pp. 46.

This is a fact-packed publication of the Corrections Department of California. It contains the "accumulated experiences of many peace officers" in the transportation of persons under restraint. Some of the escapes and injuries resulting from hidden hazards and improper safeguards are discussed. Methods of safeguarding the persons transported from escape are clearly established. This is a clear, well written, well illustrated (19) manual, which is a valuable source of information for all agencies concerned with the transportation of persons under restraint. A limited number of copies for free distribution may be obtained from the California Department of Corrections at 417 State Office Building No. 1, Sacramento, California.

Police Administration Department — ROBERT H. SCOTT
Michigan State College

Publications Received

HANDBOOK FOR GUARDS: Public Buildings Service Buildings Management Division. 1952. Pp. 122.

PRACTICAL BLOOD GROUPING METHODS: By *Robert L. Wall, A.B., M.D.* Charles C Thomas, Publisher. 1952. Pp. 175. $5.00.

THE BAR REGISTER: The Bar Register Company Inc. Summit, New Jersey. 1952. Pp. 732.

STEREO PHOTOGRAPHY IN PRACTICE: By *E. F. Linssen.* A Fountain Press Publication. 46-47 Chancery Lane, London WC2. 1952. Pp. 332.

INSTRUMENTAL DETECTION OF DECEPTION: By *Clarence D. Lee.* Charles C Thomas, Springfield, Illinois. 1952. Pp. 249. $6.50.

---

* Assoc. Prof. of Police Administration, Michigan State College, E. Lansing.

COMMITTEE OF WHITE SOUTHERNERS ON COLLABORATION
WITH NEGRO COMMITTEE

EX OFFICIO:

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Rt. Rev. Charles Clingman, Louisville, Kentucky, Vice-Chairman
Miss Josephine Wilkins, Atlanta, Georgia, Secretary

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M. Ashby Jones
Ryland Knight
• David Marx
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Southern Groups Seek Own Race Solutions

White, Negro Leaders Want Chance To Work Free From Outside Pressure

By the Associated Press

Southerners, represented by separate groups of white and Negro leaders, are planning new efforts to solve their racial problem, letting it be known that they want to tackle the question themselves, free from outside pressure.

White leaders, conferring in Atlanta last week, emphasized their opinion that the program must be one of "evolution and not revolution."

The Atlanta conference arranged for a committee to be named later from this group to meet with a similar committee appointed by a conference of Southern Negro leaders at Durham, N. C., last October. The two committees jointly will work out a program.

In a formal statement of policy issued today, the Atlanta group asserted that "either to deny or ignore the increased tension between the white and colored races would be a gesture of insincerity," and offered the Durham conference assurance of "our desire to co-operate in any sound program aimed at the improvement of race relations."

Negroes' Wishes Set Forth

The Durham conference set up a specific program of "what the Negro wants and is expecting of the postwar South and nation," and enumerated, among other things, full political and civil rights for the Negro. Equal rights in labor, industry, education, agriculture, military service, social welfare and health, and improvements in the service occupations, including social security benefits for these occupations.

The Atlanta conference, while holding that the Durham "statement is so frank and courageous, so free of any suggestion of threat and ultimatum . . . that we gladly agree to co-operate," did not "attempt to make here anything like a complete reply to the questions raised."

The Atlanta conference included religious, educational, labor, and business leaders from Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, Texas, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Kentucky and Virginia.

Ralph McGill, editor of the Atlanta Constitution, was elected to preside at the one-day session.

Statement in Full

Text of the statement of policy by the conference of white Southerners on race relations follows:

"In October, 1942, a representative group of Southern Negro leaders met in Durham, N. C., and issued a statement in which they addressed themselves 'to the current problems of racial discrimination and neglect, and to ways in which we may co-operate in the advancement of programs aimed at the sound improvement of race relations, within the democratic framework.'

"Their statement is so frank and courageous, so free from any suggestion of threat and ultimatum, and at the same time shows such good will, that we gladly agree to co-operate.

"We do not attempt to make here anything like a complete reply to the questions raised nor to offer solutions for all the vexing problems. We hope, however, to point the pathway for future co-operative efforts and to give assurance of our sincere good will and desire to co-operate in any sound program aimed at the improvement of race relations.

Discrimination Admitted

"These Negro leaders rightly placed emphasis in their statement on discrimination in the administration of our laws on purely racial grounds. We are sensitive to this charge and admit that it is essentially just. From the Potomac to the Rio Grande there are some ten million Negroes. While all citizens are governed by the same laws, it is recognized that Negroes have little voice in the making and enforcement of the laws under which they must live. They are largely dependent upon the will of the majority group for the safety of life and property, education and health, and their general economic condition. This is a violation of the spirit of democracy. No Southerner can logically dispute the fact that the Negro, as an American citizen, is entitled to his civil rights and economic opportunities.

"The race problem in any Southern community is complicated by our economic limitations. The factors which have kept the South a tributary section have also kept it poor and lacking in sufficient industry to develop and to provide enough jobs and enough public funds for every public need. Yet the only justification offered for those laws which have for their purpose the separation of the races is that they are intended to minister to the welfare and integrity of both races. There has been widespread and inexcusable discrimination in the administration of these laws. The white Southerner has an obligation to interest himself in the legitimate aspirations of the Negro. This means correcting the discrimination between the races in the allocation of school funds; in the number and quality of schools, and in the salaries of teachers. In public travel, where the law demands a separation of the races, primary justice and a simple sense of fair play demand that facilities for safety, comfort and health should be equal. The distribution of public utilities and public benefits, such as paving, playgrounds, public health and hospital facilities should come to the Negro upon the basis of population and need.

Rap at Law Enforcers

"It is recognized that there is often practical discrimination by some peace officers and in some courts in the treatment of Negro prisoners and in the abrogation of their civil rights. There is no such discrimination incorporated in the laws of any of the Southern states. False arrests, brutal beatings and other evils must be stopped.

"In the economic field, unquestionably procedures should be undertaken to establish fully the right to receive equal pay for equal work. To do otherwise works a wrong to our entire economic life and to our self respect. With so large a proportion of our wage-earning population belonging to the minority race, if we cannot plan for a well-trained, well-employed and prosperous Negro population, the economic future of the South is hopeless.

"Most of the Negroes in the South are on farms and in rural communities. Failure to provide for them all the facilities for improving agricultural practices through schools, county agents and supervision holds back all of the South. Fair wages, longer tenures of leases and increased opportunities for farm ownership are also necessary.

"All men who believe in justice, who love peace and who believe in the meaning of this country are under the necessity of working together to draw off from the body of human society the poison of racial antagonism. This is one of the disruptive forces which unless checked will ultimately disturb and threaten the stability of the nation. Either to deny or to ignore the increased tension between the white and colored races would be a gesture of insincerity.

Path to Solution Pointed

"That there are acute and intricate problems associated with two races living side by side in the South cannot be denied. But these problems can be solved and will ultimately disappear if they are brought out into an atmosphere of justice and good will. If we approach them with contempt in one group and with resentment in the other group, then we work on hopeless terms. The solution of these problems can be found only in men of both races who are known to be men of determined good will. The ultimate solution will be found in evolutionary methods and not in ill-founded revolutionary movements which promise immediate solutions.

"We agree with the Durham conference that it is 'unfortunate that the simple efforts to correct obvious social and economic injustices continue, with such considerable popular support, to be interpreted as the predatory ambition of irresponsible Negroes to invade the privacy of family life.' We agree also that 'it is a wicked notion that the struggle by the Negro for citizenship is a struggle against the best interests of the nation. To urge such a doctrine, as many are doing, is to preach disunity, and to deny the most elementary principles of American life and government.'

"It is futile to imagine or to assert that the problem will solve itself. The need is for a positive program arrived at in an atmosphere of understanding, co-operation and a mutual respect."

Signatories, announced by the conference as having signed in their individual capacities and not as representatives of any organization to which they might belong, numbered 97 from all the Southern States except Oklahoma and Arkansas. —*Atlanta Journal, April* 11.

Signed:

Theodore F. Adams, Richmond, Virginia.
H. A. Alexander, Atlanta, Georgia.
Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames, Atlanta, Georgia.
J. H. Anderson, Knoxville, Tennessee.
Mrs. Roscoe T. Anthony, Palm Beach, Florida.
Samuel Y. Austin, Sylacauga, Alabama.
Harry M. Ayers, Anniston, Alabama.
Miss Fannie Bame, Augusta, Georgia.
Clifford E. Barbour, Knoxville, Tennessee.
F. E. Barkley, Knoxville, Tennessee.
Rt. Rev. Middleton S. Barnwell, Savannah, Georgia.
J. A. Bays, Knoxville, Tennessee.
Noble Y. Beall, Atlanta, Georgia.
G. C. Bearden, Knoxville, Tennessee.
Noel R. Beddow, Birmingham, Alabama.
Robert D. Bedinger, Asheville, North Carolina.
George C. Bellingrath, Rabun Gap, Georgia.
Albert D. Betts, Orangeburg, South Carolina.
J. Fred Bibb, Knoxville, Tennessee.
Rt. Rev. Theodore D. Bratton, Jackson, Mississippi.
Rabbi Stanley Brav, Vicksburg, Mississippi.
Francis R. Bridges, Jr., Tallahassee, Florida.
W. E. Brock, Chattanooga, Tennessee.
F. F. Brown, Knoxville, Tennessee.
John Stewart Bryan, Richmond, Virginia.
Wright Bryan, Atlanta, Georgia.
A. R. Buhrman, Gainesville, Florida.
G. L. Fate Burnett, Knoxville, Tennessee.
W. C. Burton, Knoxville, Tennessee.
A. C. Burttram, Birmingham, Alabama.
O. C. Carmichael, Nashville, Tennessee.
Paul R. Christopher, Knoxville, Tennessee.
Edwin L. Clarke, Winter Park, Florida.
G. E. Clary, Macon, Georgia.
William E. Cole, Knoxville, Tennessee.
C. W. Coleman, LaGrange, Georgia.
Donald Comer, Avondale Mills, Alabama.
R. L. Cousins, Atlanta, Georgia.
Taylor H. Cox, Knoxville, Tennessee.
W. G. Coxhead, St. Petersburg, Florida.
Rt. Rev. Charles Clingman, Louisville, Kentucky.
W. H. Crawford, Atlanta, Georgia.
*Thomas W. Currie, Austin, Texas.
Virginius Dabney, Richmond, Virginia.

(*Deceased April 22.)

Malcolm Boyd Dana, Demorest, Georgia.
Rt. Rev. E. P. Dandridge, Nashville, Tennessee.
Mrs. Andrew Dale, Columbia, Tennessee.
Honorable Colgate W. Darden, Richmond, Virginia.
Mrs. George E. Davis, Orangeburg, South Carolina.
Jackson Davis, Richmond, Virginia.
Miss Mary DeBardeleben, Atlanta, Georgia.
George R. Dempster, Knoxville, Tennessee.
F. M. Dickenson, Memphis, Tennessee.
Henry H. Dillard, Augusta, Georgia.
J. C. Dixon, Macon, Georgia.
Frank R. Dodson, Athens, Tennessee.
C. O. Douglas, Athens, Tennessee.
P. H. Easom, Jackson, Mississippi.
Henry M. Edmonds, Winter Park, Florida.
J. W. Elmore, Jr., Knoxville, Tennessee.
M. Elrod, Augusta, Georgia.
J. T. Engleby, Jr., Roanoke, Virginia.
Mark Ethridge, Louisville, Kentucky.
S. C. Evins, Athens, Tennessee.
A. C. Flora, Columbia, South Carolina.
J. Emerson Ford, Orangeburg, South Carolina.
R. L. Foreman, Jr., Atlanta, Georgia.
T. E. Fowler, Holly Springs, Georgia.
Royal Wilbur France, Winter Park, Florida.
Charles I. Francis, Houston, Texas.
E. G. Francis, Anchorage, Kentucky.
Douglas S. Freeman, Richmond, Virginia.
Ellis A. Fuller, Louisville, Kentucky.
S. Hughes Garvin, Louisville, Kentucky.
Mrs. Nathaniel Gist Gee, Greenwood, South Carolina.
William G. Gehri, Memphis, Tennessee.
Mrs. Rebecca M. Gershon, Atlanta, Georgia.
C. H. Gillman, Atlanta, Georgia.
Bernard A. Gleason, Knoxville, Tennessee.
Fred L. Glisson, Canton, Georgia.
Cullen B. Gosnell, Atlanta, Georgia.
Bishop John Gowdy, Winter Park, Florida.
Rt. Rev. John J. Gravatt, Columbia, South Carolina.
Charles M. Gray, Atlanta, Georgia.
Rt. Rev. Robert E. Gribbin, Asheville, North Carolina.
John A. Griffin, Atlanta, Georgia.
Carey E. Haigler, Birmingham, Alabama.
Fred S. Hall, Winter Park, Florida.
V. B. Hamrick, Woodstock, Georgia.
James G. Hanes, Winston-Salem, North Carolina.
A. J. Hanna, Winter Park, Florida.
Kathryn Abbey Hanna, Winter Park, Florida.
Mrs. A. A. Hardy, Thomaston, Georgia.
Costen J. Harrell, Nashville, Tennessee.
Joel C. Harris, Atlanta, Georgia.
Julian LaRose Harris, Atlanta, Georgia.
Edward H. Harrison, Gainesville, Georgia.
Mrs. E. B. Harrold, Macon, Georgia.
C. A. Haskew, Greenwood, South Carolina.
L. D. Haskew, Emory University, Georgia.
Mrs. Henry Havens, Jacksonville, Florida.
Francis C. Hayes, Guilford College, North Carolina.
Mrs. John F. Heard, Atlanta, Georgia.
C. W. Henderson, Knoxville, Tennessee.
R. L. Henry, Augusta, Georgia.
Waights G. Henry, Sr., Anniston, Alabama.
Waights G. Henry, Jr., Atlanta, Georgia.
W. C. Henson, Cartersville, Georgia.
R. B. Herbert, Columbia, South Carolina.
Mrs. Herman Heyman, Atlanta, Georgia.
John L. Hill, Nashville, Tennessee.
Hamilton Holt, Winter Park, Florida.
A. D. Huddleston, Alcoa, Tennessee.
John A. Huff, Chattanooga, Tennessee.
John W. Inzer, Asheville, North Carolina.
J. B. Ivey, Charlotte, North Carolina.
Theodore H. Jack, Lynchburg, Virginia.
Rt. Rev. John J. Jackson, New Orleans, Louisiana.
W. C. Jackson, Greensboro, North Carolina.
A. E. Jamison, Greenwood, South Carolina.
Miss Annie Tait Jenkins, Atlanta, Georgia.
M. Ashby Jones, Atlanta, Georgia.
Smith L. Johnston, Sr., Woodstock, Georgia.
Bernard J. Kane, Atlanta, Georgia.
Charles G. Kelly, Knoxville, Tennessee.
John M. Kelly, Knoxville, Tennessee.
Bishop Paul B. Kern, Nashville, Tennessee.
Lloyd R. Killam, Atlanta, Georgia.
S. O. Kimbrough, Anniston, Alabama.
Joe P. Kimsey, Knoxville, Tennessee.
Albert R. Klemer, Miami, Florida.
Ryland Knight, Atlanta, Georgia.
Hazen Kreis, Knoxville, Tennessee.
Mrs. Joe S. Lane, Dillon, South Carolina.
Nat G. Long, Atlanta, Georgia.
Roswell Long, Greenwood, South Carolina.
Ralph McGill, Atlanta, Georgia.
J. R. McCain, Decatur, Georgia.
Frank McCallister, Atlanta, Georgia.
E. A. McDowell, Louisville, Kentucky.
J. Roy McGinty, Calhoun, Georgia.
Emmett B. McGukin, Knoxville Tennessee.
J. W. O. McKibben, Augusta, Georgia.
Miss Alice McLarty, Birmingham, Alabama.
Benjamin F. McMurry, Knoxville, Tennessee.
W. F. McMurray, Paducah, Kentucky.
Rt. Rev. Msgr. T. James McNamara, Savannah, Georgia.
Edward G. Mackay, Atlanta, Georgia.
Miss Kathleen Mallory, Birmingham, Alabama.
William H. Marmion, Birmingham, Alabama.
Mrs. Attwood R. Martin, Louisville, Kentucky.
Rabbi David Marx, Atlanta, Georgia.
Miss Lucy Randolph Mason, Atlanta, Georgia.
T. H. Maxwell, Hephzibah, Georgia.
Armand May, Atlanta, Georgia.
A. R. Mead, Gainesville, Florida.
William Melcher, Winter Park, Florida.
Haskell M. Miller, Knoxville, Tennessee.
Loye W. Miller, Knoxville, Tennessee.
H. L. Mills, Houston, Texas.
Mrs. J. W. Mills, Beaumont, Texas.
William Mitch, Birmingham, Alabama.
A. E. Mitchell, Knoxville, Tennessee.
Bishop Arthur J. Moore, Atlanta, Georgia.
Mrs. Audley Morton, Athens, Georgia.
R. M. Murphy, Knoxville, Tennessee.
A. H. Myers, Athens, Tennessee.
Alfred Mynders, Chattanooga, Tennessee.
N. C. Newbold, Raleigh, North Carolina.
Mrs. W. A. Newell, Greensboro, North Carolina.
Mrs. Donald Oberdorfer, Atlanta, Georgia.
Howard W. Odum, Chapel Hill, North Carolina.
The Most Rev. Gerald P. O'Hara, D.D.S.T.D., Savannah, Georgia.
Stuart R. Oglesby, Atlanta, Georgia.
Milwee Owens, Augusta, Georgia.
Audrey L. Packham, Winter Park, Florida.
W. M. Parker, Atlanta, Georgia.
John C. Patty, Augusta, Georgia.
J. M. Payne, Columbia, South Carolina.
E. P. Peabody, Augusta, Georgia.
Bishop W. W. Peele, Richmond, Virginia.
Paul S. Peirce, Winter Park, Florida.
A. M. Pennybacker, Chattanooga, Tennessee.
E. C. Peters, Augusta, Georgia.
Joiner R. Phillips, Waleska, Georgia.
H. W. Pittman, Porterdale, Georgia.
Wm. J. Proctor, Atlanta, Georgia.
Bishop Clare Purcell, Charlotte, North Carolina.
H. W. Purvis, Augusta, Georgia.
H. T. Quillian, LaGrange, Georgia.
Paul Quillian, Houston, Texas.
Glenn W. Rainey, Atlanta, Georgia.
D. Hiden Ramsey, Asheville, North Carolina.
John Marvin Rast, Greenwood, South Carolina.
Mrs. W. H. Ratliff, Sherard, Mississippi.
J. Calvin Reid, Columbus, Georgia.
Miss Rebecca Reid, Columbia, South Carolina.
J. McDowell Richards, Atlanta, Georgia.
M. R. Richmond, Athens, Tennessee.
James L. Robb, Athens, Tennessee.
Lester Rumble, Atlanta, Georgia.
Robert L. Russell, McDonough, Georgia.
Bishop Charles C. Selecman, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.
John W. Shackford, Greenville, South Carolina.
Philip Shulhafer, Atlanta, Georgia.
E. B. Shultz, Norris, Tennessee.
J. Homer Slutz, Knoxville, Tennessee.
Bishop A. Frank Smith, Houston, Texas.
Henry T. Smith, Augusta, Georgia.
Guy L. Smith, Knoxville, Tennessee.
Joseph A. Smith, Atlanta, Georgia.
Neal B. Spahr, Knoxville, Tennessee.
Mrs. Alex Spence, Dallas, Texas.
C. A. Stair, Atlanta, Georgia.
W. A. Stanbury, Winston-Salem, North Carolina.
Nathan C. Starr, Winter Park, Florida.
Mrs. A. H. Sterne, Atlanta, Georgia.
Mrs. J. Morgan Stevens, Jackson, Mississippi.
J. Morgan Stevens, Jackson, Mississippi.
Virginia Stone, Winter Park, Florida.
W. C. Stone, Winter Park, Florida.
Harry S. Strozier, Macon, Georgia.
Willis A. Sutton, Atlanta, Georgia.
John B. Tate, College Park, Georgia.
W. P. Taylor, Knoxville, Tennessee.
Mrs. M. E. Tilly, Atlanta, Georgia.
L. O. Todd, Augusta, Georgia.
L. L. Trent, Atlanta, Georgia.
A. B. Trowbridge, Jr., Winter Park, Florida.
Rt. Rev. Henry St. George Tucker, Richmond, Virginia.
Mrs. R. L. Turman, Atlanta, Georgia.
Paul A. Turner, Augusta, Georgia.
King Vivion, Nashville, Tennessee.
Paul J. Walker, Athens, Tennessee.
G. K. Walters, Knoxville, Tennessee.
Paul K. Walp, Norris, Tennessee.
Henry T. Ware, Atlanta, Georgia.
H. L. Watson, Greenwood, South Carolina.
Hu B. Webster, Knoxville, Tennessee.
William R. Webb, Bell Buckle, Tennessee.
Kendall Weisiger, Atlanta, Georgia.
Goodrich C. White, Atlanta, Georgia.
A. Whitmore, Harlem, Georgia.
Robert P. Williams, Knoxville, Tennessee.
Miss Josephine Wilkins, Atlanta, Georgia.
F. C. Willcoxon, Vicksburg, Mississippi.
Rt. Rev. John D. Wing, Orlando, Florida.
W. H. Wiseman, Erin, Tennessee.
Miss Emily Woodward, Vienna, Georgia.
Lida Woods, Winter Park, Florida.
Rt. Rev. John Moore Walker, Atlanta, Georgia.
G. A. Yates, Athens, Tennessee.
William F. Yust, Winter Park, Florida.

FEDERAL CODE ANNOTATED, Sec. 18, Sub-Sections 17-18

All matter otherwise mailable by law, upon the envelope or outside cover or wrapper of which, or any postal card upon which is written or printed or otherwise impressed or apparent any delineation, epithet, term or language of libelous, scurillous, defamatory, or threatening character or calculated by the terms or manner or style or display and obviously intended to reflect injuriously upon the character or conduct of another, is non-mailable matter, and shall not be conveyed in the mails nor delivered from any post office nor by any letter carrier, and shall be withdrawn from the mails under such regulations as the post master general shall prescribe.

Whoever knowingly deposits for mailing or delivery anything declared by this section to be non-mailable matter, or knowingly takes the same from the mails for the purpose of circulating or ~~depositing~~ disposing of or aiding in the circulation or disposing of the same, shall be fined not more than $1,000 or ~~imprisoned~~ imprisoned not more than one year, or both.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia
(WAlnut 7963)

FOR RELEASE SUNDAY, APRIL 11

(The following statement was issued today by the Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council. A list of the Executive Committee members, as well as the members of the full Board of Directors, is attached.)

We are pleased to announce that the Fund for the Republic has approved a grant of $240,000 to assist the Southern Regional Council's educational program in twelve Southern States for an 18-month period. The Fund for the Republic, which was established by the Ford Foundation in December 1952, is concerned with preserving and extending those individual rights which are the essence of our American heritage. The Southern Regional Council, since its founding in 1944, has expressed that concern as it exists among thoughtful people of both races in the South. As the successor to the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, the Council goes back, in experience and good will, to 1919. Its aim is the attainment of equal opportunity for all the people of the South.

Throughout these years the Council, like the Commission before it, has sought to unite the best of Southern thought and leadership, without racial distinctions. It has employed the familiar methods of fact-finding, conference, and persuasion, and has fostered the development of state divisions and affiliates through which its members might work in their respective states and communities. The central office in Atlanta coordinates and services the state groups and individual members throughout the region.

The grant from the Fund for the Republic, together with contributions from other sources, will make possible stronger and more independent state bodies. It is contemplated that each state organization affiliated with the Council shall have its own membership, governing board, and officers. The greater part of the newly available funds will be used to enable the state groups to employ

professional staff persons, white and Negro. Thus each Southern state will have a full-time human relations service, available to both public officials and private citizens, maintained and directed by local leadership. The states to be included are Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia

The grant of funds is in reality a challenge to the strengthened state bodies to win the local support necessary to become self-sustaining human relations agencies.

The Southern Regional Council proper will now consist of a widely representative board drawn from both races and every state in the region. The Atlanta office will continue to perform fact-finding, information, and coordinating functions.

We believe that this approach is well suited to the human relations needs of the South. It puts major reliance where it belongs---on local responsibility and initiative -- and it gives opportunity for the constructive forces in every Southern state to work effectively.

This pattern has characterized the activities of the Southern Regional Council from the beginning, and with heartening results. It has helped secure the right of Negro citizens to vote without hindrance. It has provided a network of Southern people with the will and the know-how to curb racial tension and violence. It has helped make possible the employment of Negro policemen and other municipal workers in scores of Southern cities. It has spread the example of the self-survey, through which a number of communities have achieved cooperation and progress across the lines of race. It has mobilized church women in a Southwide effort for impartial law enforcement and equal justice in the courts. It has stimulated local groups to study and seek correction of school inequalities. It has made widely known every Southern precedent for the dropping of racial barriers -- in professional associations, higher education,

transportation, public libraries, and the like.

The impending Supreme Court decision on public school segregation -- whatever it may be -- will call for all that is best and most responsible in Southern life. Fortunately, there is abundant and growing evidence today of Southern willingness to find positive, democratic solutions to the problems of the region. It is our hope and belief that the Southern Regional Council, through its expanded state services, will make an important contribution to this effort.

The Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council expresses its gratitude to the Fund for the Republic for putting this new strength into the growth of human opportunity in the South.

Statement concerning SRC which appeared in Research Bulletin No. 2, issued by the Grass Roots League, Inc., Box551, Charleston, S. C.

"The Southern Regional Council of Atlanta is conducting racial integration propaganda among church and other groups, and recently has received a $240,000 grant from the "Fund of the Republic" (Ford Foundation) for "educational purposes" in 12 Southern states. The Southern Regional Council in 1951 received $2,500 from the Sidney Hillman Foundation (C.I.O.) for improvement of race relations and social justice in the South* (N. Y. World-Telegram, March 31, 1951). Communist affiliations of members of the board of directors of the Southern Regional Council are disclosed by a series of articles in the AUGUSTA (Georgia) COURIER beginning with its issue of August 16, 1954, based on reports and records of the House-Un-American Activities Committee and the U. S. Attorney General, stating: "At least 38 of SRC's officials and members of its board of directors have association with groups and activities which have been branded as Communist-fronts by responsible federal officials or congressional committees...That Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director of SRC, was also a top official in the Southern Conference for Human Welfare and his name has been linked to other 'red' fronts, according to records and reports of the House Committee Investigating Un-American Activities." The Red records of many of these SRC officials are being published currently. The official monthly publication of the SRC is called NEW SOUTH. Is it the successor or continuation of the Communist Party organ, NEW SOUTH, launched August, 1938, with negro Communists Henry Winston and Benjamin Davis among its editors? Also the Southern Conference Educational fund, (whose address is 822 Perdido St., New Orleans), under investigation by the Senate Internal Security Sub-committee as a poosible Communist-front, is headed by James A. Dombrowski, formerly secretary of the Communist-front Southern Conference for Human Welfare, at 808 Perdido St., New Orleans. In addition, the House Un-American Activities Committee lists as subversive some 87 Communist and Socialist organizations which have been active in the pro-negro campaign.

*Underlined portions of the statement were italicized in the original.

$2.00 Per Year in Advance.

NUMBER 10

Citizens Council Meets At Pine Hill

The Wilcox County White Citizens' Council formed a branch organization at Pine Hill Thursday night when a meeting was held at the Pine Hill School auditorium.

Seated on the stage were the speakers for the program, Miller Bonner, Joe M. Bonner, Henderson Bruce, and Fred Henderson who was master of ceremonies. County officials were Representative Gregory Oakley, Commissioners Leslie Sharp, and J. C. Martin, Circuit Clerk Earl McNeill, and County Board of Education member J. O. Devan.

Directors for the west side of the river are Cecil Burge, Lloyd Sheffield, Harold Jeffrey, James Clayton Ratcliffe, Fred Vaughn and G. M. Carmichael.

Principal speakers for the occasion were Joe M. Bonner, attorney and county solicitor, and Henderson Bruce, farmer and cattleman.

The meeting was well represented with a crowd of over two hundred and with visitors from Clarke and Marengo Counties.

—o—

NOTICE

Ford Motor Company and its dealers have been falsely accused of contributing to the NAACP. In an effort to clarify these rumors, we telephoned and wrote Ford Motor Company and received the following replies:

"Wilcox Service Company,
"Camden, Alabama
"Dear Mr. Webb:

"I have read your letter with interest. Ford Motor Company has no control whatever over either the Ford Foundation or any of the funds, including the Fund For The Republic, established by the Foundation.

"Besides being President of Ford Motor Company, I am chairman of the trustees of the Ford Foundation. It is only natural for me to feel a deep sense of concern for any action that reflects discredit on either the Company or the Foundation.

"Because the Fund For The Republic was established as a completely independent organization, neither I nor any of the other trustees of the Ford Foundation has a voice in the Fund's activities or projects. We have no control over selection of personnel for the Fund's staff. As trustees of the Foundation, we appointed the original Board of the Fund, consisting of 16 well-known and patriotic people, in 1951. These directors were given authority to select other directors and their successors without reference to us. They have exercised this authority in 7 instances, and carried out their program on their own responsibility.

"Despite the fact that I have no legal right to intervene in the affairs of the Fund Of The Republic, I have, as a private citizen, questioned the manner in which the Fund has attempted to achieve its stated objectives. Some of its actions, I feel, have been dubious in character and have led to charges of poor judgement. What effect my comments may have remains to be seen. I am satisfied, however, that no public trust can expect to fulfill its responsibilities if it does not respond to intelligent and constructive public criticism.

"HENRY FORD II"

.....

"Mr. John P. Webb
"Wilcox Service Company
"Camden, Alabama

"Dear Mr. Webb:

"Thank you very much for your recent letter. We certainly share your concern about the unfavorable—and I might add, unjustified—criticism being leveled at Ford Motor Company in your territory.

" The substance of criticism is that Ford Motor Company, the Ford Foundation, or both are contributing to organizations engaged in controversial issues. The facts simply do not support the charge.

"I have ascertained that the $50,000 grant given such wide publicity was made by an organization known as "The Fund For The Republic".

"There apparently has been a common misimpression in the South that the Ford Foundation itself has been heavily engaged in the segregation problem. I have in-

authority to select other [illegible]
without reference to us. They have exercised this authority in 7 instances, and carried out their program on their own responsibility.

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" The substance of criticism is that Ford Motor Company, the Ford Foundation, or both are contributing to organizations engaged in controversial issues. The facts simply do not support the charge.

"I have ascertained that the $50,000 grant given such wide publicity was made by an organization known as "The Fund For The Republic".

"There apparently has been a common misimpression in the South that the Ford Foundation itself has been heavily engaged in the segregation problem. I have investigated and found that this is not the case. The most striking example of the Foundation's work is the $500 million gift it has just made to the colleges and hospitals of America.

"It seems unfortunate that the good work of the Foundation should suffer in the eyes of the public because of the inaccurate rumors which are being circulated. I cannot speak for the Foundation, of course, because I have no connection with it. My concern, a concern I share with you, is for the good name of the Ford Motor Company. But since I have made it a point to acquaint myself with all the facts, I know without question that attempts to place the Ford Company and the Foundation on one side or the other of difficult local controversies are based on misunderstanding or malice, and possibly both.

"The Company's record in the South is an excellent one, and we have every reason to be proud of it. The same applies, in my opinion, to the record of the Ford Foundation.

"I know from your letter that the problem facing you is a serious one. We want to be of every assistance possible to you in dealing with it. I hope you will not hesitate to write me again if there is any additional specific data which might be useful.

"Very sincerely,
"FORD MOTOR COMPANY,
"Allen W. Merrell
"Assistant to the President."

We have the above letters on file and will appreciate the opportunity of discussing with you these matters. We invite you to come in and talk with us about them.

JOHN P. WEBB

WILCOX SERVICE COMPANY

CAMDEN, ALABAMA

WHO "COLLABORATED" WITH RUSSIA?

by **PAUL WILLEN**

Reprinted from the Fall, 1954 issue of *The Antioch Review*. Copyright, 1954 by The Antioch Review, Inc., Yellow Springs, Ohio.

JUDSON 6-8397

JOHN W. DAVIS

SUITE 1790

10 COLUMBUS CIRCLE
NEW YORK 19, N. Y.

PA - Maybe this should be filed downstairs as defense material. What do you think?

On file

This is a reprint of the decision of the United States District Court striking down the Virginia statutes seeking to outlaw the activities of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc. We believe it to be one of the most important decisions bearing on the desegregation controversy in the South since the decision of the Supreme Court on May 17, 1954 in the School Segregation Cases.

REPRINTED BY THE NAACP LEGAL DEFENSE
AND EDUCATIONAL FUND, INC.

. . . Different Points of View

Atl Const 10-25-62

Collegians Protest Over Cuba

Civil Liberties

By HAL GULLIVER

About 25 demonstrators carrying posters marched at the edge of Hurt Park in Atlanta Wednesday protesting United States policy on Cuba.

Typical posters read, "Negotiations Instead of Quarantine," "What About Our Unborn Children?", and "Let's Talk in the U.N."

The demonstrators included college students from Spelman, Morehouse and Georgia State College. There were also several faculty members from Spelman.

A COUNTER-MARCH

At about 5 p.m., 30 minutes after the protest demonstration began, a larger crowd of students —from Georgia State—began an impromptu march across the street protesting the anti-U.S. policy demonstration. This group carried signs reading, "Better Dead Than Red" and "Look What Pacifism Did for India."

Various spokesmen for the pacifist demonstrators said that no one organization sponsored the protest gathering.

"It came about through a number of phone calls between concerned individuals," said a young American history teacher, Staughton Lynd, from Spelman College. Both Lynd and his wife carried posters in the demonstration.

A one-page mimeographed statement, headed "Why We Are Here," was handed to passers-by.

EXPRESSES DISTRESS

"We are disturbed," read the statement, "by the President's decision to blockade Cuba.

"If it is true that the Soviet Union has committed the criminal folly of stationing long-range missiles in Cuba, this does not necessarily justify the Presi-

Continued on Page 12, Column 4

Collegians March, Assail Cuban Policy

Continued From Page 1

dent's hasty and provocative response."

The statement further argued, "Thus far the principle (sic) aggressor in Cuban-American relations has been the United States . . .," and suggested that domestic politics played an important part in the President's decision.

RISK FEARED

"Are we risking nuclear annihilation so that the Democratic Party can win an election?" the statement asked.

The protest march included approximately 15 white persons and 10 Negroes.

Many of the marchers were recognized by newsmen as persons involved in desegregation demonstrations, including members of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee and the Albany Movement.

Also recognized were members of the National Student Association.

Vincent Harding, a Negro lay minister for the Menonite Church, who several months ago helped lead a march on the city hall in Albany, made this comment:

"As a Christian I have to find some way of seeing what it means to love my enemy. I don't think the way is to shoot missiles."

GIRL SINGS HYMNS

One Negro girl, who said she was a college student, sang hymns as she marched along and declined to say where she was a student.

Professor H. C. Steinmetz, who teaches psychology at Spelman, walked along arm-in-arm with his wife.

Persons walking along the sidewalk usually hesitated at sight of the posters, but there were very few comments, only apparent puzzlement.

Several Georgia State students crossed the street to attempt to argue with the marchers, but in general Atlanta police kept people moving along. There was never any suggestion of violence, verbal or physical.

One Georgia State student, Mrs. Janet Hose, carried a sign protesting the protest, "Better Dead Than Red."

"I only got here at two minutes till five," said Mrs. Hose, a housewife with two children. "Students who'd seen the signs across the street just decided to make signs of their own.

POINTS TO PLACARD

"Look at that sign," she said, pointing to one reading, "What About Our Unborn Children." "Why don't they ask, what about our born children?"

The demonstrators ended their march at 5:30 p.m., exactly one hour after it began.

They then gathered in Hurt Park for a brief meeting of the group, agreeing that the march had been worthwhile and that they would demonstrate again Thursday afternoon at 4:30 at the same place.

A telegram had been sent to the group, said one girl, from the "Harvard Peace Group." She read the telegram aloud:

"The Harvard Peace Group and hundreds of the Boston area students wholeheartedly support your demonstration. We demonstrate tomorrow in Boston Common. We demonstrate together."

MAY SHIFT SITE

A suggestion was offered that Thursday the group demonstrate in front of the General Services Building on Peachtree Street, where a regional conference of Congressmen will be held for briefing on the Cuban crisis, but the group decided instead to return to Hurt Park.

Other posters carried by the marchers read, "We Want Freedom to Live," and "Peace in the World, Not the World in Pieces."

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Civil Liberties

Georgians Picket

Special to The New York Times

ATLANTA, Oct. 24—A biracial group of 25 persons picketed for an hour here today at downtown Hurt Park in protest against the Cuban blockade.

There were no incidents and no arrests. The police took the names and addresses of the demonstrators but told them they were free to picket as long as they did not block the sidewalk.

10/25/62

Students at Georgia State College, across from the park, gathered in front of the institution on the opposite sidewalk and a few staged a half-hearted counter-demonstration.

The demonstrators said they were acting as individuals. Most were students or faculty members at Spelman and Morehouse Colleges, both Negro institutions, or persons associated with various civil rights groups.

File - Atlanta Peace Protest

Anti-Blockaders Plan New March

Civil Liberties

Atl. Journal 10/25/62

By SANDERS LAMONT

Anti-blockade demonstrators, who marched Wednesday afternoon near Hurt Park, planned to return Thursday at 4:30 p.m.

The group, self-described as individuals "representing only ourselves," marched more than an hour Wednesday with signs protesting the Cuban blockade.

IN A PREPARED statement, the group said:

"If it is true that the Soviet Union has . . . (stationed) long-range missiles in Cuba, this does not necessarily justify the President's hasty and provocative response."

The statement continues:. "Are we risking nuclear annihilation so that the Democratic party can win an election?"

The group was made up of college students from Spelman, Morehouse and Georgia State, and several nonstudents, one of them an 86-year-old woman.

THEY CARRIED signs that proclaimed, "Peace in the world; not the world in pieces," and "We want to live."

Across the street from the demonstration Georgia State students came out of class buildings and watched the marchers. Then, a few signs appeared among the students, protesting the protest.

These students' signs read "Better dead than Red," and "War or peace, we back Jack."

But the mood of the students protesting the march was similar to that of a collegiate football game, whereas those demonstrating against the blockade were for the most part quiet and serious.

There was no disorder and police kept the sidewalks from being blocked.

MEMBERS OF Atlanta's special security police squad, who have handled racial demonstrations in the past, took the names of demonstrators.

Several participants in the biracial event Wednesday have taken part in demonstrations before.

Rev. Vincent Harding and Dr. Staughton Lynd, who took part in the demonstration Wednesday, both said they had been to Washington last year to "express our great concern over efforts for disarmament."

individuals, not as members of an organization.

ONE DEMONSTRATOR, who has been active with the National Student Association, said there has been wide diversity of opinion over Cuba in that organization, and that no one person could say what the organization believed on the blockade issue.

One demonstrator said he was there to show the public that Americans have the right to dissent, and the freedom to speak out on issues.

Mr. Harding is a Mennonite minister and Mr. Lynd is an American history teacher at Spelman College.

But several demonstrators, including at least one from Georgia State, just saw the group protesting, agreed with them, and joined the line of about 25 who were walking back and forth.

TWO GEORGIA STATE students standing nearby were asked their opinion of the protest. "We're all for it," they answered. "If it wasn't for the television cameras we'd be there too."

But another Georgia State student, on the other side of the street, voiced an opposing view. "This is how the majority of us feel," he said, picking up a poster which proclaimed, "We Back Jack."

Dr. Lynd and Mr. Harding, who acted as spokesmen for the protest group, emphasized that all the persons there were acting as

Collegians March To Back Kennedy

Civil Rights

Atl Const. 10-26-62

By HAL GULLIVER

Demonstrators protesting U.S. Cuban policy marched again in Atlanta Thursday along the edge of Hurt Park across from Georgia State College.

They were answered in kind by two groups of pickets, also carrying posters, who demonstrated against the demonstrators.

Georgia State College students began their rival march shortly before 5 p.m., just after the 15 to 20 pickets protesting U.S. policy began demonstrating for the second afternoon in a row.

"ALL THE WAY"

The posters carried by Georgia State students read "JFK All the Way," "Freedom at All Cost," and "Students Back Jack."

At approximately 5:15 p.m. four young men, one carrying an American flag, marched on Hurt Park from the southeast and began their own demonstration along the southeast side of the park.

The four men identified themselves as members of the National States Rights Party.

They wore crisp uniforms with black trousers and shoes, white shirts, a black belt diagonally across the chest, and arm bands with a thunderbolt insignia imposed over a Confederate flag.

HAND OUT PAPERS

The two posters they carried read, "Blood is the Price of Liberty," and "Invade Cuba, Not Mississippi." They also handed out copies of The Thunderbolt, "The White Man's Viewpoint."

Robert Bolling, leader of the states rights group, said, "We advocate an immediate invasion of Cuba."

The pickets demonstrating against U.S. policy on Cuba turned out in smaller numbers Thursday than the day before. Before beginning Thursday's march, they met briefly on the sidewalk to decide whether they would march again, then demonstrated for approximately 45 minutes.

"This isn't merely a negative protest," commented Staughton Lynd, an American history teacher at Spelman College. "We are here to witness to the necessity of negotiations in the present Cuban crisis.

"I'm emphatically in favor of all citizens freely expressing their opinion," Lynd added, nodding at the rival Georgia State student pickets across the street. The reason we're here is that we want to communicate our opinion to our fellow citizens."

The demonstrators against U.S.-Cuban policy included college students from Georgia State, Emory University, and a Negro student from Southern Illinois.

ONE PASSING THROUGH

John O'Neal, the student from Illinois, said he was a field secretary for the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee and was only passing through Atlanta.

SNCC has been active in various desegregation demonstrations, including the Albany Movement.

Also marching in the protest against U.S. Cuban policy were two members of the National Student Association, although they emphasized that they were participating as individuals, rather than NSA members.

NSA, they said, has abstained from taking any position, regionally or nationally, on the Cuban crisis.

The demonstrators again, as they had Wednesday, passed out copies of a mimeographed statement reading in part, "If it is true that the Soviet Union has committed the criminal folly of stationing long-range missiles in Cuba, this does not necessarily justify the President's hasty and provocative response."

AN ENDORSEMENT

Georgia State students, in their opposition march, also passed out a statement, one also headed, "Why We Are Here."

"As students of Georgia State College," the statement read, "we feel compelled to demonstrate our approval of the action taken by President Kennedy to cease further Communist military advances in the Western Hemisphere. . . .

"The United States cannot wait until after Soviet missiles are fired to take defensive measures. . . ."

The statement was signed by Stuart Strenger, president of the Student Government Association at Georgia State College.

'WERE FURIOUS'

Atl Const.
10-26-62

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'WERE FURIOUS'

One Georgia State student, Miss Cary Elizabeth Howard of Atlanta, commented, "We were just furious last night about the views expressed in the demonstration.

"The overall student reaction was definitely in favor of President Kennedy's position. We believe in freedom of dissent, that the demonstrators can express their view, but we want to express ours."

Other signs carried by Georgia State students read, "Freedom of choice, not fear of choice," "Think, Americans," and "Submission is Death."

One poster carried in the anti-Cuban policy picket line across the street read, "They are demonstrating in California, Boston, Detroit, Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Chicago."

The group protesting U.S. policy ended their demonstration at 5:30 and held a brief meeting, agreeing that they would not at present plan additional demonstrations.

Atlanta police kept passers-by moving along and allowed no blocking of the sidewalk by any demonstrators.

There was never danger of violence at any time.

Picket Admits Ties to Braden

Atl Const 10-26-62 Civil Liberties

By BILL SHIPP

A 24-year-old New York woman who participated in Thursday's demonstration here against the U.S. blockade of Cuba said she is a paid associate of Carl Braden.

Braden, field secretary of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc., was imprisoned for a year on a contempt of Congress conviction after he refused to tell the House Un-American Activities Committee whether he was a Communist.

In House Un-American Activities Committee hearings in Atlanta in June 1958, Richard Arens, the committee's staff director, said the committee had received sworn testimony that Braden was a Communist.

Arens also said in the hearing that the Southern Conference Education Fund has been labeled as an offspring of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, an alleged Communist front organization.

Miss Dorothy Rochelle (Dottie) Miller, who works for the Braden organization, said she helped organize the picketing opposing President John F. Kennedy's stand against the arms buildup in Cuba.

Miss Miller told newsmen she is paid $75 a week by the Southern Conference Education Fund to handle "staff work" for a proposed Civil Liberties Conference which is expected to be held in Atlanta next spring.

Miss Miller said she informed newsmen the demonstration would be held. She said she also called other persons about participating in the demonstration, and she said she received calls from persons asking about participating.

Miss Miller, a native of New York and a 1960 graduate of Queens College, came to Atlanta in June of 1960. She said she formerly was employed by the Southern Regional Council, and had worked with the Congress on Racial Equality (CORE).

She presently has an office with the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, and works on civil rights drives with SNCC, she said.

She traveled to Albany during the demonstrations organized by the desegregationist Albany movement.

Miss Miller, a pretty brunette with a pony-tail hair-do, said the proposed civil rights meeting is being organized by the Southern Conference Education Fund, SNCC, and other desegregation organizations including the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, which is headed by Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.

A reporter who walked along the picket line with Miss Miller Thursday asked her if she is, or had ever been, a member of the American Communist party.

She replied:

"Whether a person is a Communist or not is secondary to whether he believes in and acts for integration and peace."

She said she would not answer the question because "I believe a person's political views are inviolate. . . ."

Miss Miller said she sympathized with Braden in his refusal to answer the questions of the House Un-American Activities Committee.

TIME OF TESTING

Civil Liberties
Atl. Journal - 10/26/62

Pickets Put Forth Two Moods; The People Move Between Them

By PAT WATTERS

THERE THEY were. For two days, they staged a little atomic-age drama by Hurt Park where yellow fall flowers bloom and by the Municipal Auditorium where civil defense works in the basement and the sign on the front advertises symphony concerts for children.

On one sidewalk, a peace protest group marched, about half adult, half student, half white, half Negro. The first day there were 22, the second, 14.

They were there presumably driven by the threat to human life that all of us feel in regard to the horror prospect of nuclear holacaust. Some of their signs "What about unborn children?" touched on philosophical fears raised at the dawn of the atomic age and rehashed in great verbal profusion ever since, with apparently little practical effect.

HANDBILLS

The stenciled handbills they distributed were less philosophical. In the assessment of whom to protest against, these were amazingly unilateral. Perhaps the group felt as Americans they couldn't influence Russia, but one felt Russia should have got its lumps, too.

Across the street on the other sidewalk were Georgia State College students raising placards of their own, the first day spontaneously, the second day in an organized, dignified demonstration, also.

"Better dead than red," said some of their signs in classical popular-level misinterpretation of Bertrand Russell's chilling rationale for historical perspective which refers to death of all life, not individuals or nations.

Generally, the Georgia State marchers and their signs expressed the predominant, patriotic run of opinion in the Cuban crisis, the willingness to trust leadership in its judgment of the Cuban threat and its ability to protect our interests and ideals without risking world's end in war.

On the first day, when the Georgia State mood was jeering and wisecracking, one student arrived late, assessed the situation of peace protesters and protester protesters, and said: "I guess I better get in the street."

Out in the street, in the antline rows of going-home cars, and on the sidewalks where throngs of going home city workers walked was, indeed, the significant place in this strange, eloquently symbolic, atomic-age scene.

For these great masses of Atlantans passing by had almost stock and identical reactions. They looked at the marchers and competing signs, registered something, mostly sort of a blank, stony stare, and then, virtually all, went right on. This was truer the first day than the second when crisis tension was less and smiles easier.

A few paused. "I agree with almost every sentiment on their signs," said one about the peace marchers. "But my gosh, I don't agree with what they're doing." Said another: "I guess they have to have police protection." These were mute-toned comments, devoid of strong feeling, like absurdist comments of characters in existentialist novels.

Most of the great hordes of these home-going Atlantans didn't pause, didn't comment. They saw; they reacted deep inside, and they kept going.

THE MIDDLE

They didn't engage the peace slogans, no more than a majority of the people of the world, Communist or democratic, have come to grips pro or con with the ideas behind them on a philosophical level. Also they did not join the group which jeered lightheartedly with wisecracks, approaching such serious business in pep rally spirit.

They just went their own ways, and of course no one knows their innermost thoughts and mood. But they seemed somewhere between being lighthearted at this time of danger and peril and being point-missingly zealous over ideas and ideals at a time when it is too late or, at best, inappropriate.

And out there in the street where the crowds were, in the middle, there seemed great strength and psychological wisdom at this time of testing of the people of the nuclear age.

Eugene Patterson

Why Bother With Cuba?

Cin'l Libertie

atl Const 10-26-62

Three social scientists at the Atlanta University Center have written me a letter of dissent. Dr. Howard Zinn, Dr. Staughton Lynd and Dr. Samuel DuBois Cook have this to say about the blockade of Cuba:

"Even if it is true that the Soviet Union has committed the criminal folly of stationing long-range missiles in Cuba, this does not in itself justify the President's hasty and provocative response.

"We believe the President had several alternative courses of action which would not have thrust the world so close to the possibility of nuclear annihilation.

"He could have brought the situation to the United Nations before taking a unilateral action which clearly contravenes international law. He could also have accepted the many Cuban invitations to negotiate differences directly with them."

* * *

I think these professors are entirely wrong, just as I think the war-now boys of the jingo wing have been entirely wrong. It seems to me the John Birch crowd is ready to destroy American ideals in favor of blind force, but that the pacifist theory at this moment of history also invites destruction of those ideals by blind recoil from force.

There is no "if" about the presence of offensive missile bases in Cuba. If there were, the Soviets would have denied it. They cannot deny the "criminal folly" because we took pictures of the sites. The President told the Soviets directly a month ago to keep the missiles out of Cuba and they falsely assured him they would.

Second, Britain tried alternative courses of action in the 1930s. Chamberlain went dutifully to the League of Nations at each step as Hitler rearmed, reoccupied the Rhineland, seized Austria, invaded the Sudetenland. Chamberlain accepted Hitler's many invitations to negotiate differences directly. While Britain shrank from unilateral action, Hitler negotiated publicly, expressed contempt for British courage privately, and conquered at will without clearing his aggressions with the League of Nations until, when he struck Poland, the British stood.

* * *

Neither did communism clear its unilateral actions with the United Nations when it built the Berlin wall, struck India, smashed Hungary, invaded South Korea, sent offensive missiles to Cuba and announced its intention to abrogate its Berlin obligations to the West. Meanwhile, Khrushchev has begun expressing contempt privately for American courage, as Hitler ridiculed the British. When does our restraint become folly?

Chamberlain wanted peace. He got war. Kennedy wants peace. Should he emulate Chamberlain?

At what point does it become the duty of a Prime Minister or a President—or of a social science professor—to consider issues as well as ideals and relate the two?

At what point should Chamberlain have backed League ideals with British power to chasten Hitler? In what particular have communism's unilateral policies differed from Hitler's? At what stage should American power be shown to back U.N. ideals? If not now, when? After which criminal folly should the President act? Of course the President had many alternative courses of action. He chose the most difficult one. In my opinion Khrushchev, like Hitler, had proved to us by his own acts that the difficult course was the right one.

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vith major differences, in a class vith Russia "protecting" itself rom Hungary, Germany "proecting" itself from Czechoslozakia.

In the main, our national morality has been above reproach: Stevenson's point that "when we had the control of the earth—overwhelming power—we withdrew," needs reiteration. How best can we keep this record clear, correct those instances of military behavior which are offensive in design, and at the same time properly protect this nation?

I want to add most urgently my plea that we make clear throughout the world that we do not intend to use, offensively, nuclear weapons; I ask that we begin, even unilaterally, the withdrawal of nuclear testing, and that we cease the pile-up of bombs, of which we have more than enough to destroy the earth.

Sometimes—often—nations quarrel, then subsequently find that larger mutual interests replace the current antagonisms. Let us hope this may now be the case. I hope also that our distinguished national leadership will have the wisdom to be firm when firmness is required, but also the courage to make adjustments when the larger interests of the world so dictate.

RACHEL NEELY PARKER.

* * *

Protest Made About News Story

Atlanta—I feel I must respond to the article written about me by Bill Shipp. Mr. Shipp talked to me on the Cuba protest picketline for about 30 minutes and took many pages of notes. Yet he only quoted two isolated sentences in what was a lengthy statement.

I am not trying to deny Mr. Shipp's right in getting a story, but what I said was roughly this: that I believed the label of "communism," either stated or implied, is used as a technique by segregationists and John Birchers to destroy the civil rights and peace movement in this country. I consider the attempt to disparage me, and therefore disparage the whole demonstration, yet another example of the methods made so famous by a man named Joseph R. McCarthy.

When Mr. Shipp asked me questions I answered fully, and yet The Constitution saw fit to headline the story, "Picket Admits Ties to Braden," implying that I was confessing to something other than answering his questions.

The fact is that I, and others present at the picketline, were acting solely as individuals, that our organizational and personal affiliations were unimportant—much as Mr. Shipp's personal history is irrelevant to his reporting—and that we have every right to do so, without being subjected to this kind of treatment.

Messrs. McGill, Patterson, and Shipp: why not write articles debating the issue of the Cuban blockade instead of attacking one individual who was present at a demonstration?

DOROTHY MILLER.

* * *

Racial Incidents Help Kennedys?

Decatur—It is about time that people realized that the racial incidents provoked in the South really do only one thing, get votes for the Kennedys in the heavily populated cities of the North.

Surely the American people aren't so gullible as not to see that these racial incidents are provoked right at election time. Kennedy was elected because of a racial incident right here in Atlanta.

JACK C. RANDITT.

Atl. Const 10/31/62

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Today's Index

Section A—General, Financial
Section B—City, State, Sports
Section C—Features, Editorials
Section D—Women's News
Section E—Comics

JOURNAL SUNDAY AND SENTINEL

Weather

WINSTON-SALEM and vicinity: Sunny and cold today. High, 32. (Weather data on Page 4A.)

58TH YEAR—No. 3 | WINSTON-SALEM, N. C., SUNDAY MORNING, JANUARY 18, 1959 ★ FIRST SECTION | PRICE 15 CENTS

Staff Photo by Sid Bost

The Rev. James P. Dees, head of N. C. Defenders of States' Rights.

Outspoken Defender

Minister Says Religion, Segregation Compatible

By Marjorie Hunter
Staff Reporter

STATESVILLE — A white frame rectory on a quiet residential street here has become, in the past few weeks, something of the unofficial headquarters for the latest segregation movement in North Carolina.

Official headquarters, no. The pro-segregation North Carolina Defenders of States' Rights, Inc., has set up official quarters in Raleigh.

But, it is quite natural that much of the work is being done by the Defenders' first president, the Rev. James Parker Dees, outspoken segregationist, rector of Trinity Episcopal Church and president of the Statesville Area Ministerial Assn.

The Rev. Mr. Dees finds segregation and Christianity are quite compatible.

"I feel my stand is in accord with the Christian gospel," he says, firmly.

"The supreme command is to love thy neighbor," he continues. "I feel that when we help the Negro race to retain its racial integrity we show more love for the Negroes than when we try to destroy their racial integrity."

This has been his public stand for four years now—in civic club speeches, letters to editors and in a sermon delivered in his own church last month.

In taking this stand, he finds himself in opposition to the 190-member House of Bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church.

In early November, the bishops unanimously passed a resolution urging religious and political efforts to wipe out racial discrimination and separation.

The Rev. Mr. Dees took sharp issue with this resolution in his morning sermon one Sunday in December. And, within a month, he had become president of the Defenders of States Rights, Inc.

It is an open secret that the Rev. Mr. Dees' growing importance in the pro-segregation movement in this state has caused concern in the ranks of the Episcopal Diocese of North Carolina.

And, reportedly, there is some unrest in his own congregation.

Bishop Edwin A. Penick of the Diocese of North Carolina said last week that he had talked to the Rev. Mr. Dees about his segregation activities but "I have never reprimanded him."

The bishop said that the Rev. Mr. Dees is not only an ordained minister, but is also "a citizen of the United States and as such is entitled to private opinions. I understand he makes an effort to distinguish between his rights as a citizen and as an ordained minister."

Bishop Penick said that he recognizes the Rev. Mr. Dees' right "to think as he pleases as a private citizen."

Asked if the Rev. Mr. Dees' stand on segregation conforms to that of the Episcopal Church, Bishop Penick said:

"What I have read of his statements in the press are quite at variance with the position of the Episcopal Church."

Even before the Supreme Court decision designed to end school segregation was handed down in 1954, the General Convention of the Episcopal Church went on record in opposition to segregation, the bishop said.

Unlike some denominations, an Episcopal Church congregation cannot fire a parish priest. The only recourse is to ask the bishop to dissolve the pastoral relationship—a move that is seldom taken.

De-frocking of a priest is no

See Minister, Page 6A

Northwest Cold Wave To Loosen Grip Today

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Minister Says Religion, Segregation Compatible

Continued from Page 1A

simple matter, either.

A bishop can depose a priest, who then has the right to trial by an ecclesiastical court of the church. He can be tried only for violations of doctrine, discipline and worship, immorality, crime or conduct unbecoming to a clergyman.

There have been few such trials.

Even those who fail to agree with the Rev. Mr. Dees' stand do not doubt his sincerity. He is a bouncy, friendly man with a hearty laugh, a man who can be heatedly discussing segregation one minute and talking baby-talk to his daughter the next.

But some who are aware of the rigid testing given those seeking the Episcopal ministry wonder if, perhaps, his feelings on the racial issue have changed in the past few years.

The Rev. Mr. Dees says emphatically that his thinking has not undergone any change.

Monument Maker's Son

"I have felt this way all my life," he says. "I will admit that my feelings have been crystallized, you might say, in the past few years by study and observation."

A person's early environment undoubtedly plays a large part in later thinking. And it was into a segregation setting that James Parker Dees was born 43 years ago, the son of a Greenville monument maker.

Greenville, then as now, is part of the eastern North Carolina area generally regarded as about the most staunchly segregationist of any in the state. People regard segregation there as a way of life.

As the Rev. Mr. Dees explained it in a talk to the Statesville Lions Club several years ago:

"I feel that I am able to speak of this problem out of a background of intimate and personal relations with Negroes; I am a native of the South; I grew up among Negroes; when I was a baby I was bathed by a Negro mammy, fed by a Negro mammy, and, I suspect, at times spanked by one . . ."

Quiet, Studious Boy

Those spankings were probably few, for childhood friends remember Jimmy Dees as a rather quiet, studious boy, interested in music and in the Episcopal Church that was part of the family heritage.

He liked to play with neighborhood children but always seemed "just a little different," one neighbor recalls.

The family was neither rich nor poor. But, like many eastern Carolina families, there was a certain pride in ancestry.

In the ancestoral background were at least three prominent men—William Bradford, who came over from England on the Mayflower and became governor of Plymouth colony; Gov. Abner Nash of Craven County (1780-81); and Gov. Samuel Johnston of Hayes Place plantation, Edenton, (1787-89), the first senator from North Carolina.

James Dees' mother was Margaret Parker, sister of the late Judge John J. Parker of the Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals.

Worked in Dime Store

As a teen-ager, young James worked Saturdays in a Greenville dime store to earn extra spending money. His final year of high school was spent at Campbell Junior College.

He entered the University of North Carolina during the depression years, majored in political science and economics. But, even then, as he said later, he had it in the back of his mind to become a minister.

As a high school student, he had won first place in the baritone section of the state music contest. At Carolina, he organized a quartet, did solo work with the glee club and sang over radio stations in Durham and Raleigh. He was a member of Phi Mu Alpha music fraternity, the Phi Assembly and the YMCA.

He graduated in 1938, went back to Carolina for graduate work and in the summer of 1939 went to work as warehouse superintendent for the Atlantic Coast Line Railroad.

The next year, he married Margaret Lucinda Brown of Asheville, whom he had met at Carolina.

In the winter of 1943, he was drafted into the Army, spent two years in Italy as supply clerk with the Quartermaster Company of the 88th Infantry Division. He spent his leaves attending opera in Rome, Milan and Florence.

Italian opera, he discovered, was something he had been seeking all his life.

He also loves the music of Bach and Vivaldi and has a homemade hi-fi set.

"Ministry . . . Where I Belong"

In the fall of 1946, his Army service was over, he set out to find the other thing he had been seeking—the ministry. He entered Virginia Theological Seminary at Alexandria.

"I just felt the ministry was where I belonged," he said.

He finished Seminary in 1949, at the age of 33, and, after the usual tests and waiting period required for those entering the ministry, became rector of the Episcopal church at Aurora, on the south banks of the Pamlico River.

Three years later, he became the rector at Beaufort, then in the summer of 1955 came to Trinity Church here.

By that time, the Dees family had grown to four. Margaret is now 7 and a first-grader. Eugenia (Genie) is just 4.

For a few months, the Rev. Mr. Dees had a double job, as rector of Trinity and priest in charge of a Negro parish. He gave up the parish work after what he refers to as a difference of opinion with "some integrationist NAACP Negroes." Since then, the parish has been served by a Winston-Salem rector.

The Rev. Mr. Dees had voiced some views on the segregation subject early in his ministry. But his first major assault on school integration came one spring day in 1955 in a talk to the Statesville Lions Club, of which he is a member.

"Good Will for the Negro"

His topic was: "Is it Necessary for a Christian to Support Integration?"

"I believe that I love the Lord and I believe that I have a profound affection and good will for the Negro race and concern for their progress," he told the Lions. "At the same time, I am unequivocally opposed to de-segregation."

Some of the ideas he expressed in that speech were included in his later letters to the editor:

"Do black birds intermingle with the blue birds? Does the red-wing fly with the crows? Would it make sense for my Senior Warden to mix Black Angus cattle with his purebred Herefords? Common sense, knotty - headed common sense, cries out against it, 'No'."

"I believe that the NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People) is the greatest enemy that the Negro people have. The NAACP is driving the Negro race to destruction."

190,000 Copies of Speech

He also termed the racial tension in the South as Communist-inspired.

The pro-segregation Patriots of North Carolina, Inc., was so impressed with the speech that it printed and distributed 190,000 copies throughout the United States.

The Rev. Mr. Dees says he was not a member of the Patriots "but I think I was the only honorary member they ever took in."

In the summer of 1956, the Rev. Mr. Dees journeyed to Raleigh to appear before the State Legislature in support of the Pearsall Plan for handling school segregation.

The new segregation organization he heads does not support the Pearsall Plan, which has led to limited integration.

In its platform, the Defenders of States' Rights, Inc., contends that "the governor has betrayed the people of the state in not fighting integration to the last ditch and we lay the integration accomplished in this state to him and call on him to do something about it."

But in the summer of 1956, the Rev. Mr. Dees supported the Pearsall Plan.

Looking back to that stand, he now says that he told legislators at the time "that the Pearsall Plan would ultimately be inadequate but I felt it was a stop gap for the time being."

He looks upon the limited integration (in Charlotte, Winston-Salem and Greensboro) as "token integration that doesn't satisfy anybody, except maybe the Supreme Court for the time being."

After that legislative appearance in 1956, the Rev. Mr. Dees came more and more into the segregation spotlight. He wrote many letters to the editors of major daily newspapers in the state. Some of them were reprinted for distribution.

He delivered a pro-segregation speech on "A Survey of the Racial Issue," which has been printed and distributed as a pamphlet by the Defenders, Inc., of Wichita, Kans.

Last summer, he was spokesman for a group of Episcopal laymen and clergymen in announcing the formation of an organization set up within the church to prevent "physical mixing" of the races.

The group, known as Concerned Churchmen, was created to resist an "organized and church-financed drive of integrationists with the church," the Rev. Mr. Dees explained

The Rev. Mr. Dees says he is not a member of Concerned Churchman but is in sympathy with the group, headed by James W. Cheshire of Hillsboro, son of the late Bishop Joseph Blount Cheshire of the Episcopal Diocese of North Carolina.

In November, the Rev. Mr. Dees joined with other segregationists, including some of the leaders of the old Patriots organization, in chartering the Defenders of States' Rights, Inc., designed, among other things, to foster racial segregation.

Early this month, it was announced that the Rev. Mr. Dees had been elected president of the Defenders.

As head of the state's newest pro - segregation organization, the Rev. Mr. Dees does not pretend to know what the future will bring.

"The most crucial issue right now is to show the people the consequences of integrated schools," he says. "But we can't get it in the press. Integration will destroy education."

Much of the trouble, he feels, is that people so often associate segregation with white supremacy.

"I am a segregationist," he says. "I am not a white supremacist. That is one who would keep himself up by keeping others down. There's all the difference in the world. That is a basic fallacy held by integrationists. They can't see how one could stand for segregation and at the same time for advancement of the colored race."

Perhaps the Defenders can set the record straight, he believes.

"I just don't think the people of North Carolina would put up with integration," he says. "I just don't believe they would."

Dallas Gwynn . . . active defender, too.

Defenders of States' Rights Leads Tar Heel Segregationists

By Marjorie Hunter
Staff Reporter

An organization that once led the pro-segregation movement in North Carolina has quietly moved aside to make way for another.

Nearly four years ago, the Patriots of North Carolina, Inc., made its debut with an impressive list of charter members, many of them widely-known politicians and businessmen.

Today, there are few signs that the Patriot flags are still flying.

Some former members believe the Patriots, as a statewide force, is thoroughly dead, though perhaps not yet buried. Some local chapters, such as the one in Mecklenburg County, are still active.

The North Carolina Defenders of States' Rights, Inc., headed by the Rev. James Parker Dees of Trinity Episcopal Church, Statesville, apparently has taken the place of the State Patriots.

It may be that the Defenders' rolls contain many of the same names that once were on the books of the Patriots. Certainly, there are some duplications, for six of the directors of the Defenders were prominently identified with the Patriots.

But the Rev. Mr. Dees said the new organization is not yet ready to say how many members it has.

"We're getting new ones every day," he said. "I wouldn't even make a guess."

Serving with the Rev. Mr. Dees as officers of the Defenders are Dallas Gwynn of Leaksville, first vice president (once a vice president in the Patriots); Lucius M. Cheshire of Hillsboro, second vice president; Joseph D. Butler, Burlington, secretary; and Arthur A. Gould of Raleigh, treasurer.

On the board of directors are Dr. W. C. George of the University of North Carolina faculty (former president of the Patriots); John W. Clark of Greensboro, an industrialist and University of North Carolina trustee (a prominent Patriot); Allison James of Walnut Cove (secretary of the Patriots); Kenneth Whitsett of Charlotte (head of the still active Mecklenburg County Patriots) and V. C. Estes of Durham (also once active in the Patriots); Roger Winborn, Lenoir; Bernard H. Dixon, Providence; Erwin A. Holt, Burlington; W. N. Jefferies, Burlington.

Gwynn says he is still a member of the Patriots but has not attended a meeting in a year and has no idea who the officers are.

J. S. Kuykendall of Winston-Salem, once on the board of the Patriots, believes the old organization is dead.

The Patriots seemed lively enough at birth, one August day in 1955, a year after the Supreme Court handed down its historic decision calling for moves toward school integration.

C. L. Shuping, Greensboro attorney, was the founder and signer of the 234-page document of incorporation that listed 356 charter members.

On the list were three former State House speakers (John Kerr Jr. of Warrenton, Frank Taylor of Goldsboro and John G. Dawson of Kinston) and numerous former legislators and active politicians.

Winston-Salem was represented by Kuydendall, George W. (Bill) Coan Jr., R. C. Pratt, Clint R. Lawrence and F. W. Neumann.

At one time, it was believed there were at least 25,000 Patriots in the state.

No one recalls just when the state Patriots organization began sagging.

In Forsyth County, the Patriots chapter had a number of meetings. Then the pro-segregation banner was taken up by the Citizens Government Council, organized in the early fall of 1957.

Council aims were, among other things, opposition to racial integration, excessive government spending and high taxes.

The council now has voted to affiliate with the state-wide Defenders of States' Rights, Inc.

Thus, it now appears the major activities of segregationists will be through the Defenders, in whose platform its members refer to themselves as "conservative American citizens who are blessed with a love for our native land, America."

The platform contends that there are concerted efforts by the Supreme Court, the "so-called liberal clergy," numerous outstanding foundations, the National Council of Churches, the Communist Party, the NAACP and others "to destroy what our founding Fathers have constructed."

It calls for "a governor and state administration dedicated to serving the principles for which we stand . . . one of which is the complete segregation of the races in the public schools." It expresses the belief that the governor (Luther Hodges) "has betrayed the people of the state in not fighting integration to the last ditch . . ."

Among other points in the platform:

1. A belief that some educational institutions have become too liberal in "inviting integrationists, Pinks, Reds, world citizens, etc., to speak under their auspices . . ."

2. A belief "that segregation of the races is in accordance with the Divine Will and Plan as manifested in the Created Order."

3. A belief that "it is for the best interests of both races that segregation continue."

4. A belief that "the ministers in the state and liberals in the various churches are doing more to destroy our heritage than anyone or anything else."

5. A belief that the "teaching and administrative personnel of our state's schools would bear being investigated and the left-wingers and subversives and pseudo-liberals should be exposed."

6. Opposition to socialism and state ownership and control of the economy.

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LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA
January 19, 1959

Rev. James P. Dees
Trinity Episcopal Church
421 Walnut Street
Statesville, N. C.

Dear Mr. Dees:

I appreciate your having written me under date of January 15 as follows:

"Be assured that you do not stand for what the South stands for. If you are a Southerner, then you have betrayed your heritage."

I am not facetious when I express my thanks for your having written me. In the absence of such a letter I would not have the occasion or the incentive to correspond with the head of one of the resistance groups in North Carolina and its chief theological champion. Your letter gives me a convenient opportunity to place before you considerations you may otherwise overlook.

You are no doubt entirely correct in asserting I do not speak for the South. I have never assumed that I did. There are some 30,000,000 people in the South of many colors and descriptions and gradations and shadings in their beliefs. It would be quite presumptuous for anyone to pose as spokesman for so conglomerate a group.

For example, for whom do you speak? The millions of Negro citizens? The states of Kentucky, Tennessee, Texas, West Virginia, Delaware, Maryland, Missouri, Oklahoma and the District of Columbia, all of which are peacefully de-segregating their schools? The Catholics, the Quakers, the Unitarians? The Southern divinity schools, including, notably, Sewanee? The ministers of all denominations in Atlanta, 311 in number, in Dallas, in Little Rock, and in scores of other Southern cities? The Methodist Council of Bishops who spoke their convictions in their statement of Nov. 13, 1958? The Protestant Episcopal Bishops with whose profound utterance of Oct. 17, 1958, you must be familiar?

Surely you do not speak for any of those groups. Your convictions must be at war with theirs. And, particularly in your isolation from the moral and religious trends which now nobly assert themselves, you must be a very lonely figure.

Circulated to: Reed Sarratt, W-S Journal & Guide
Harry Jones, Dir., N.C.H.R. - 6 copies
Rev. Arthur Walmsley
Mr. Neil Tarplee
John B. Morris
25 copies - M. A. Wright, Jan. 30, 1959

It is only fair to say that you must be conceded spokesmanship for the official policy of the "hard core" states. Those states are now in open rebellion against the law of the land. They have suspended guaranties of the Federal Constitution as effectively as if such suspension were formally proclaimed by edict of a Hitler, a Batista or a Fidel Castro. The fruits of such policy have been cross-burnings, bombings, assaults and murder. For these the policy makers and policy spokesmen must answer to their consciences.

While I speak for no one except myself, I derive comfort from the fact that the Supreme Court, both political parties, all religious bodies, United Nations, labor unions and the overwhelming weight of informed opinion throughout the world condemn legalized segregation. The Southern "stand" to which you refer is in opposition to such imposing and respected forces.

So, when you say I do not stand for what the South stands for I must ask what South you mean. There are many features of Southern life worth preserving -- the tradition of hospitality; urbanity, good manners, mastery of parliamentary procedure; sense of international obligation and responsibility evidenced by support of the old League of Nations and United Nations; and a scale of values which minimizes the importance of the sharp commercial instinct. For all of those things I should like to stand. This heritage I do not betray.

But when you and your associates use the expression "our Southern way of life," you never seem to mean any of those things. You seem to mean only a system of caste legally enforced. Probably you do not intend to do this, but the image of the South which you are fashioning and exhibiting to the rest of the world is of a region obsessed with the significance of pigment, with the preservation of a fixed status for some millions of Southerners. For those features of Southern life I do not stand. I should be humiliated if I were thought to stand for them. If they are a part of my heritage, I have no particle of loyalty to them.

If I have understood anything at all of the religion you profess, it is that the supreme loyalty is not to state, or region, or race, but to truth as it is given one to see the truth. And if your religion has the slightest meaning for mankind, that

meaning is that no man looms larger or smaller in the divine vision because of his color. Man-made institutions which attach personal status to color depart from what even the conscience of the unorthodox tells him is the only honorable way of life.

You and your associates seem deeply disturbed that I and others seek to change Southern custom, "the Southern way of life." My answer is that there is nothing sacred about custom; that its right to survive unchanged depends upon how it affects humanity; that the human race has progressed as it has had the wisdom to abandon outworn institutions, and, that the only way of life worth preserving is one which is always subject to change.

You will no doubt recall that the complaint of the rabble of Thessalonica against Paul and Silas was that they had "turned the world upside down"; and that the founder of your religion said, "I come not to send peace but a sword."

Those who hack away at the injustice and cruelty inseparable from segregation feel that they humbly wield that sword. All the world's great religious bodies and the vast majority of their ministers, rabbis and priests have their hands upon the hilt. The defection of any one of their number causes the peculiar sorrow with which one always observes a betrayal of a noble faith.

Sincerely,

/s/ M. A. WRIGHT

M. A. Wright

MAW/eg/mf

PA
JC
LWD
DT
MM
MF (file)

TRINITY EPISCOPAL CHURCH
Statesville, N. C.

Rev. James P. Dees, Rector
421 Walnut Street

February 20, 1959

Mr. Marion A. Wright
Linville Falls, N. C.

Dear Mr. Wright:

I want to thank you for the items you sent me. Of course I consider you and your tribe perhaps the greatest menace to America that exists, not excluding the Communists.*

I note Bishop Lichtenberger's remarks concerning segregation. Segregation is a sociological issue and not one of the Faith. He is entitled to his private opinion on the matter, but he had best not try to enforce it on the church.

I would be pleased to have any additional items that you can send me, similar to the ones I have just received.

Yours very sincerely,

JPD:dp

*J. Edgar Hoover is of the same opinion.

Of course this should not be circulated.
M.A.W.

Feb. 28, '59

Rev. James P. Dees,
Trinity Episcopal Church,
Statesville, N. C.

Dear Mr. Dees:

I must again thank you for writing me so frankly your unsolicited opinion of me and my "tribe", whom you consider "perhaps the greatest menace to America that exists, not excluding the Communists." While I naturally have great respect for your opinion, I am much more concerned about the opinion of Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, in whose confidence you seem to be, since you say he shares your views.

This places Mr. Hoover in a very bad light. It so happens that I held under the Roosevelt, and hold under the Eisenhower, administration appointment presumably requiring F. B. I. approval. Certainly, Mr. Hoover was incompetent or grossly inconsiderate of the national safety to give clearance to a national "menace."

But my own case loses much of its significance in view of the fact, as you state, that you and Mr. Hoover feel the same way about my "tribe". (You are, of course, referring to our position on the segregation issue.)

Without going beyond the confines of your own church, you must include in this grave indictment all of your bishops, ninety per cent of your clergy, your seminaries and the church itself. Almost it may be said that you alone among Episcopal clergymen are not a national menace. You must be quite uncomfortable in membership with so perfidious a group.

As a segregationist, I assume you embrace the guilt-by-association theory. Surely there must have occurred to you the possibility that the theory may apply to you and that you may therefore be regarded as a national menace because of your Episcopalian connections.

Frankly, Mr. Dees, you cannot produce one word from Mr. Hoover in-

pugning the loyalty of myself or of any group with which I am connected. Your charge is a malicious fabrication. I ask you to reflect upon the venality of a clergyman who thus bears false witness against his neighbors.

It is a real tragedy that from the lofty eminence of a pulpit one should stoop so low.

You will little note nor long remember my opinion of you. But the views of your fellow clergymen of the Statesville area, I hope, must cause you seriously to reflect upon the course you are now pursuing.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Wright

MAW/eg

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IS ACTIVE SEGREGATIONIST

Minister Censured By Fellows

An Episcopal minister who doubles in bass as president of the Statesville Area Ministerial Association and head of North Carolina's newest segregationist organization was censured by his fellow ministers this week.

He is the Rev. James P. Dees, rector of Trinity Episcopal Church in Statesville.

The verbal slap came as a result of the Rev. Mr. Dees' activities with the North Carolina Defenders of States Rights Inc., which fights for "racial integrity and states' rights."

The censure motion was passed at a meeting of the ministerial association Monday by a vote of 16-2. Immediately after the motion was passed, the Rev. Mr. Dees offered his resignation from the group. This was not accepted by the members.

The motion read: "We assert that the statements of the principles of the Defenders of States' Rights and those of the president of this organization revelant thereto do not reflect the thinking of the members of the Statesville Area Ministerial Association relative to human relationships and the oneness in Christ that should characterize us as ministers of the Gospel."

The Rev. Mr. Dees offered an amendment which would make the motion read "do not necessarily reflect" the thinking of the members.

The amendment was turned down and the original motion passed. The Rev. Mr. Dees then offered to resign.

After some confusion as to whether he was resigning as president or offering to quit the association, the Episcopal minister said he was resigning from membership in the organization.

He gave as his reason that the motion "inferred one could not accomplish that 'oneness in Christ' unless he were an integrationist."

Other ministers said his resignation was not accepted because his grounds reflected an interpretation of the motion which was not intended.

The Rev. Mr. Dees is an outspoken foe of integration, who once stated that integrations "seems to me to be contrary to the natural primal creation of God and to natural law, and to enlightened common sense."

His stand directly opposes the Episcopal Church's official statement on segregation. This statement, passed at the church's general convention in 1955, advocates acceptance of the Supreme Court's ruling and acceptance of people of any race into the "full fellowship" of the congregation.

C Of C Banquet Speaker Named

BENNETTSVILLE, S. C. — An address by W. Gordon McCabe Jr., prominent textilist of Greenville, will feature the annual dinner meeting of the Bennettsville Chamber of Commerce Feb. 16.

Civic clubs members of the community, Kiwanis, Rotary, Lions and Jaycees will attend with their wives.

Don't bother to return.

March 13, 1959

The Rev. James P. Dees
Trinity Episcopal Church
Statesville, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Dees:

With many letters to write and various organizations to head I am sure you are a busy man. Please feel under no obligation to reply to this letter which is sent in response to your letter appearing in the March 15th issue of The Living Church.

You state that you stand for "racial segregation in the Churches and the schools". Presumably you did not mean to imply that you would be against segregation in restaurants, movie theaters, public transportation and the like. In apparent substantiation of your stand for segregation in schools you refer to "the situation in Washington, D. C.". You have probably been the recipient of, and, I daresay, the dispenser of, materials that portray that situation as Congressman Davis of Georgia subjectively wants it to be. For the broadening of your perspectives please accept with my compliments the enclosed leaflet entitled, "The Truth About Desegregation in Washington's Schools". Should you desire to make a full and objective study of this school system and its experience with desegregation, there are more detailed materials available which, at first-hand observation, have a different impression of "the situation in Washington, D. C.," than you seem to have.

As for segregation in the Churches, you are probably not familiar with many learned treatises that speak to this subject and to related areas such as the Bible and Race, etc. You will find a book published by Abingdon, "Segregation and the Bible", enlightening. Even Broadman, the Baptist publishing house, has just come out with a similiar work . I am enclosing a little leaflet published by the Baptists (Southern, mind you!) which may be informative to you. As to resources from our own Church, you are no doubt familiar with the excellent brochure just issued by the Department of Christian Social Relations of your Diocese entitled, "The Church and Race". There are lots and lots of other materials which might clarify your thinking. But, oh my! I'm sorry! I should not confuse you with the facts since your mind is already made up.

With reference to a news report about you, you said in your letter to The Living Church, "I am utterly amazed also at the viciousness of this scurrilous attack on me by a brother priest who is not concerned to find out the truth before spreading his false accusations..." May I remind you, that in response to a letter of mine appearing in The Charlotte Observer indicting

the Ku Klux Klan, Citizens Councils, and other racist groups, you took it upon yourself to attack me in correspondence which you initiated although my letter in the Observer did not include you and your organizations which it should have. For some strange reason, but perhaps too apparent, you felt called upon to defend Klansmen, Councilmen and your other bedfellows. In doing so you made every accusation against me which you could muster to align me with Communists. Were you "concerned to find out the truth before spreading" your accusations? In a letter published in the Charleston, S.C., News and Courier on September 5, 1958, you continued your attack in likening my expressions to "words used by the Reds and their dupes". Alas, alack! To think that it had to be a "brother priest" to give me the distinction of being called a Communist. "Breathes there the minister with soul so dead, Who never hath been called a Red?"

In your letter in The Living Church you disclaim adherence to the ideology commonly called "white supremacy". You state, "A white supremacist is one who would try to keep the White race in a relatively superior position by trying to keep the other race or races down". Come now, Mr. Dees! This describes you exactly. Please go to your literature supply and re-read some of the hate pieces you sent to me which plainly are white supremist in nature. Of course, I know you'll say that you love the Negro, but in his place. We love our dogs in their place.

When clergy and concerned churchmen (not the brand you are affiliated with) get together the query is often heard, "Have you seen the latest from Dees?" There is humor, pity and astonishment that one in your office could be committed to the principles you espouse. The only positive thing that can be said about your prattle is that it has caused the Church in North Carolina, and its clergy in particular, to think through their positions to a clear affirmation of a Truth which you deny. You must be an extremely lonely man in your Diocese. When I reflect upon this I am moved to pity. But when I observe the enormity of your offenses and the supposed vows of your ordination, I am indignant that you presume to be a priest of the Church.

Yours truly,

John B. Morris

File
Criticism

WHY PICK ON DIXIE? by Harold Lord Varney

The American Mercury July, 1957

"It is evident in magazine publishing offices, which, with a uniformity now becoming almost compulsive, invaribly give their assignments of stories about the South to race-obsessed foreigners like Gunnar Myrdal or Alan Paton, or to unrepresentative Southerners like Hodding Carter, Harry S. Ashmore, Lillian Smith, Robert P. Warren, Mark F. Ethridge, ---men and women who have achieved a quick, synthetic popularity among Northern South-haters by affecting the pose 'reasonable Southerners.'

".....The staffs of the network news interpreters, headed by such Left-leaners as Edward R. Murrow and Chet Huntley, are unanimously anti-South."

"The climate of opinion in the North is similarly saturated against the South by most of the effective and well-financed organizational molders of public opinion. All the Foundations stand in solid ranks, with their billions, in determined opposition to the traditional Southern viewpoint. Instead of providing a forum for the honest discussion of Southern issues, the Foundations have underwritten a controversial organization in the South, the Southern Regional Council, which is staffed by Southerners who have unreservedly accepted Northern opinion patterns. The Council, in a dignified way, is the clearinghouse of most of the indoctrination of the South which is now in furious progress by Nothern agencies.

"In the last three years, the Council has received a total of $445,000 from the Fund of the Republic of the Ford Foundation. The Council has also been on the receiving end of sizeable funds from the William C. Whitney Foundation, the Field Foundation, the Marion Ascoli Fund, the Sidney Hillman Foundation and others.

"More militant organizations in the field of South-baiting which have received Fund of the Republic money are the Legal Defense Fund of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People ($50,000) the Urban League ($50,000) the Commission on Race and Housing ($118,954).

"All of these agencies are engaged in the determined task of discrediting in national public opinion the recognized leaders and spokesmen of the South."

file

MEMORANDUM FOR CRITICISMS FILE - general
December 2, 1957

From: Harold C. Fleming

On November 22, 1957 a rough cut man, who identified himself as Clarence Hall of Titus, Alabama, appeared in the office for the stated purpose of getting some information about SRC. He wanted a list of officers and board members. He said he worked for the Postal Transportation Service and was an active Methodist. He had been exposed to the charges against the SRC involving Bishop Moore, the Wesley Memorial Building, and so on.

I talked with him at some length, pleasant on both sides but to no purpose. His views were unshakeably pro-segregation, though he claimed to deplore "extremes" on both sides. I gave him a copy of the brief history of SRC before he departed.

- END -

FILE [Criticisms & Defense file]

Call Jack Marion

Virginia Council on Human Relations

1409 CHOWAN ROAD
RICHMOND 26, VIRGINIA
Phone: ATlantic 8-1210

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Dr. Lambert Molyneaux
Dr. Alonzo G. Moron
Mr. Benjamin Muse
Dr. Harry T. Penn
Dr. J. Rupert Picott
Dr. Harry W. Roberts
Dr. C. Waldo Scott
Mr. David H. Scull
Mrs. Grellet C. Simpson
Mr. Gerald C. Speidel
Mr. W. R. Walker, Jr.
Rev. Wyatt Tee Walker
Dr. David C. Wilson
Mr. James B. Woodson
Mr. Thomas W. Young
Mrs. Arnold Zetlin

JOHN H. MARION
Executive Director

May 2, 1958

Mr. Frederick B. Routh, Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N. W.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Fred:

I thought you and the others in the Atlanta office might like to see the enclosed clippings from the Richmond News-Leader. The editorial appeared a day or two after you and Emory were in town, and the letter in the paper's Forum columns appeared yesterday afternoon.

You or Harold may have some suggestions as to possible replies that might be made to one or both of these statements. Concerning the editorial, I have been torn between an urge to write a letter to the editor and the feeling that it would be better just to ignore it. As for the letter from Edward O. McCue, III, (he's the son of E. O. McCue, Jr., the state Senator from Charlottesville and several surrounding counties), I felt that maybe a letter from Harold to the news paper--of the kind he wrote to the Charlston News and Courier some months ago--might be in order.

We would be glad to get any ideas or suggestions you may like to pass on.

Called Gray & Suggested he get state person in Va to answer charges - Ben Muse, Wilson Brown or Msgr. Flaherty. FBR.

Cordially,

Jack

John H. Marion

JHM:bfb

P.S. We are delighted you can be with us on the 12th. In a separate envelope I'm sending you a copy of the formal call to the meeting, along with 2 other items which are going out to all Board members. J.

TO THE FORUM: Richmond News - Leader - 5/1/58

Study Asked of ADL, Southern Council

Editor, The News Leader:

Constant pressure is being applied to every age group of every segment of our citizenry to embrace new concepts of government, religion and social relations. This pressure is being generated by an impressive array of religious, educational, civic and social action organizations. A review of some of the major activities of the American Jewish Committee will reveal the nature and extent of this nation-wide campaign to influence public opinion. Compounding the effectiveness of the intensive but diversified activities of this one organization is the intimate cooperation that is maintained between many such groups.

The ultimate goal of these national organizations is a radical change in the social and political order in the South. The average citizen is totally unaware of the existence of the nation-wide ideological offensive to achieve this end. He is under the impression that the NAACP is the sole agency responsible for the racial agitation and alien propaganda that have enveloped the South. He is not cognizant of the fact that it is the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith and the Southern Regional Council that are providing the stimulus and momentum to these revolutionary activities in the South.

Our political leaders have concerned themselves primarily with the activities of the NAACP. Their program of "massive resistance" has so far failed to provide any counter measures to the widespread activities of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, the Southern Regional Council and their Virginia affiliates. It would be well-nigh impossible for scattered groups of private citizens to meet the challenge posed by the activities of these national and regional organizations. The most practical and effective means of checkmating their revolutionary programs would be through the facilities and resources of an appropriate State agency.

In its recent session, the General Assembly authorized the creation of a Commission on Constitutional Government. This commission was granted authority to "publish such information as it deems appropriate in order to acquaint the general public, both in this State and elsewhere, with the nature of the relationship between the individual States and the United States and the freedoms reserved to the States and their individual citizens under the Constitution of the United States." A speedy implementation of such a program of public enlightenment would be a great stride in stemming the tide of radical politics which is currently seeking to engulf the South.

Very truly yours,

EDWARD O. McCUE, III.

Charlottesville.

Urges Emphasis On the Individual

Editor, The News Leader:

There are more clubs, groups, causes, clinics, churches, centers and movements in the United States today than at any time in its history. And their accomplishments are spectacular.

Everyone is so busy today. Numbers of people are fund-raising, marching, attending luncheons, quoting statistics, compiling long lists and engaging in endless group activities. But, despite the fact that hundreds of people are so "busy being busy," there is a shortage of people who will take time out to be humane. Few people have time to really know a person.

So many groups deal with the "masses," and on just that basis. There seems to be little interest in the person as an individual. Too many problems of the individual are dealt with on an assembly-line principle. Too many people are listed "statistically," or find themselves or a member of their family recorded as a "case history."

Probably, it is quicker and more efficient that way. Then, too, it is easier to make a decision if you don't know an individual personally. But, what a cold inhuman method! There is no warmth in it to soothe the troubled spirit; whether the person who needs special help and consideration is a handicapped person, a shut-in (because of his own illness or because he must care for someone else who is ill) or because he is one who carries a heavy burden of another kind.

Of course, the person who seeks out others in a personal way needs special qualities himself. Above all, he needs to be understanding. He should be be able to imagine how he might react if he were in a similar position as the one he would like to assist. And, most of all, he cannot be condescending, or a phony. Even a child recognizes these attitudes. And, he should be slow to judge.

Many organizations fail to bring satisfaction; either to those who manage the particular set-ups or to those who are supposed to benefit. You often find dissension within the groups. Selfishness is a common ailment.

What happened to the "old-fashioned virtues": integrity, kindness, compassion, sincerity and love? These qualities used to be admired in a person. Styles have changed so drastically. Could it be that old values will return, too, along with the revival of the sack dress?

Perhaps people could find a solution to some of these flaws that exist within groups by being a member of only one organization; or, at the most, two. In this way, a person could really give of himself to others in the only way that counts. I believe that this would not only benefit the receiver immeasurably; but it would also reward the giver beyond anything he could possibly imagine. (Particularly, if he has heretofore given only his "name" to causes.)

I recommend the personal approach to you who may favor a certain group. As a giver, I have tried to follow these precepts. And, I hope one day, "if I faint not," to reap the rewards that come to a receiver.

MRS. C. S. HICKS.

THE RICHMOND NEWS LEADER

Published every afternoon except Sunday at 110 North Fourth St., Richmond 13, Va., by Richmond Newspapers, Inc.

DAVID TENNANT BRYAN, President and Publisher

JAMES JACKSON KILPATRICK, Editor CHARLES HENRY HAMILTON, Managing Editor

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Richmond News-Leader

Students Now, Parents Later

4/24/58

Richmonders who are opposed to racially-mixed schools would do well to look with equanimity upon a Tuesday headline: "Ready to Integrate, Six Students Say." Disturbing as the caption might appear at first glance, it is not necessarily an indication that all high school students have swallowed the social theories of the Supreme Court and the propaganda of the NAACP.

The news story dealt with a panel discussion sponsored by the Virginia Council on Human Relations. The gathering was held at the First Unitarian Church. Under the circumstances, what could one have expected? If the panel discussion had been held by the Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties in the auditorium of Farmville High School, you can bet your bottom dollar the headline would have read, "*Not* Ready to Integrate, Six Students Say."

Student opinion on this issue is divided, just as adult opinion is divided. But the interesting thing is that resistance to race-mixing hardens as young people grow older. Every public opinion poll has reflected this trend. By the time high school students marry and have children of their own, the realities of integration have a way of overcoming the sweet theories of a sociology class.

The six students who participated in Monday's panel discussion may never change their minds; they may remain always agreeable to racial integration. That is their privilege. But it is equally the privilege of other students, equally intelligent, equally capable of forming their own decisions, to grow in age and wisdom and to come in time to appreciate the Supreme Court's decree for the reckless evil that it is.

What is Sentiment
WF

Savannah Morning N
SAVANNAH EVENING PRESS
SAVANNAH, GEORGIA

June 22, 1959

Rec'd 6-23-59

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Gentlemen:

Attached is a tearsheet of our lead editorial of Monday, June 22, one week following release of the report referred to in it.

We would appreciate any comments you might care to make on the enclosed.

Yours very truly,

J.E. Lambright

J.E. Lambright
Associate Editor
Savannah Morning News

The South Is Due an Apology

EVERY RESIDENT of the eleven Southern states from Virginia to Texas is due a personal apology from three organizations which united to publish a slanderous and prejudicial document purporting to show that there has been a general breakdown of law and order in the South in the past four years.

The 30-page booklet, entitled "Intimidation, Reprisal and Violence in the South's Racial Crisis" was published jointly by (1) Southeastern Office, American Friends Service Committee of High Point, N.C.; (2) Department of Racial and Cultural Relations, National Council of Churches of Christ in the United States of America, of New York City; and (3) the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta.

The purpose of the tract, obviously, was to amass a box score of real or alleged "incidents" from newspaper clippings, and to present the total listing largely out of context without benefit of any statistical comparisons on which it could be properly judged or evaluated, in an effort to prove that the South is fairly wallowing in race riots and anarchy.

FROM THE RESULTING conglomeration came a "news release" announcing widespread "erosion of individual liberties" in the eleven Southern states involved attested to by a list of 530 specific cases of "violence, reprisal and intimidation" in the four-year period. The story made page 1 of New York papers last Monday. Editorials of condemnation followed. Declared the South-hating *Washington Post & Times Herald:* " . . . there is little hope for the South to shake off this trend toward violent eruptions until its own basic thinking about adherence to the law as defined by the courts is straightened out."

Thus, the three groups responsible for the publication have, for reasons best known to themselves, contrived through a misleading document to fan the fires of sectional animosity.

LET'S TAKE A LOOK at the report itself, which covers the period from Jan. 1, 1955 to Jan. 1, 1959, during which 530 specific cases of violence, intimidation or reprisal were cited. How many cases occurred in the four years from 1951 to 1955? This is not listed, but if twice as many occurred, it could be said that conditions in the eleven states are improving. More important, what would the box score show for the same period in eleven Eastern or Midwestern states, of any eleven chosen at random with the highest Negro-white ratios of population, if a similar count were made? Would the South show *more* cases—or would it show *less*?

Since no attempt was made to give such a comparison, the motive of the joint endeavor may be taken for granted—namely, to hold the South up to scorn and contempt.

DOES A TOTAL of 530 "incidents" in eleven states over a four-year period show a general breakdown of law and order? This would average out to about a dozen incidents per state per year.

Last year a congressional committee investigated more than 800 specific incidents of violence (not including intimidations and reprisals) during the same period of time in one labor dispute in Kohler, Wis. And this was by Walter Reuther's union—we don't even have to get into the statistics from the real bad boys such as Jimmy Hoffa. Does this indicate a widespread erosion of individual liberties in Wisconsin? And if so, why was this not included in the report?

On race incidents, what about Cicero, Ill., or Levittown, Pa., or Dearborn, Mich.? What about New York, Washington, Baltimore, Philadelphia and Chicago? The box score, had one been kept, of similar incidents, would have shown a greater number in New York or Chicago during the four-year period than the 530 total for eleven Southern states!

IN FACT, when we consider that the Southern states have the highest proportion of Negro population to white, we'll bet our last dollar that an honest survey would prove race relations in the South to be better and more amicable than any other area of the country where there is an appreciable Negro population.

The organizations responsible for this report have done an irresponsible thing that will not help the cause of better race relations in the South or elsewhere. Their report, itself, admits "this is not a comprehensive survey . . . It describes only their angry, violent side." We ask them—Why? We think the South is *due* an explanation.

Hold On, Senator

SEN. PAUL DOUGLAS of Illinois has leveled a broadside against retired military officers who accept positions with industry. He said that when firms seeking defense contracts "hire former officers of high rank to negotiate with their former fellow officers—some of whom they have promoted—the potential and actual abuses are magnified."

we can, the historical situation in which the issues have been posed.

Since the war which ended 15 years ago Franco-American relations have been based on a premise which was never openly avowed but has always been assumed both in Paris and in Washington. The premise has been that France, though it is counted among the victors, was in fact defeated, and that her colonial empire is in the process of dissolution, and that she is no longer a first class power. The chronic instability of the post-war governments in France, the budgetary and monetary disorders, supported this view.

LIPPMANN

Our government acquired a habit of not consulting France regularly and genuinely, and indeed of treating her with less intimacy and confidence not only than Great Britain but even West Germany. On two recent occasions which might have led to a war involving France—the landing in Lebanon and the affair at Quemoy—there was no full consultation with Paris.

* * *

THE ADVENT to power of Gen. de Gaulle was bound to mean, as it has meant, that France would not accept the lower position which she has occupied. She has been regarded not only as not so great a power as Russia and the United States, but not even as being in the second rank with Great Britain or even with Adenauer's Germany.

We must never forget that Gen. de Gaulle, to his everlasting honor, is the Frenchman who never surrendered and who never accepted defeat, and it is a kind of historic justice that he should be the man who now insists that France must not be treated as a defeated and inferior power.

In this context we may look at the issues. They were raised diplomatically last summer and then in a note addressed to President Eisenhower and Prime Minister Macmillan on Sept. 24, 1958. This note has never been published. But it is said to set up three French objectives.

* * *

ONE IS THAT NATO, which is now a regional pact, shall become a global alliance in which France, Britain, and America have the same policy and the same

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Have That Again

SAVANNAH MORNING NEWS Monday, June 22, 1959

Leg'l. Meeting - cont. plans next 2 yrs -

FLORIDA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

356 SOUTH BEACH STREET
DAYTONA BEACH, FLORIDA

TELEPHONE
255-5881

November 19, 1963

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Wanted to send you the enclosed - the addressee was blanked out - in case you all wanted to make response. The new staff director is John E. Evans (replaces Strickland) the new Chairman is Richard O. Mitchell, and the counsel is Leo Foster (Tallahassee). If you decide to answer this, let me know.

May come to Atlanta next week. There are problems involved due to my meeting in Tampa Tuesday night, but I could get a night coach after the meeting, and might just do that. I really thank you, Paul, for the plane fare. I mean it. Thanks. The crisis has not come, however - a holding operation. But, inside its going from bad to worse. Don't worry about the Council - it will make it, and so will I.

Thanks again.

Sincerely,

Lou

Louis L. Mitchell, Jr.,
Executive Director

LLMJr./dnt
Enclosure: Letter from Florida Legislative Committee.

Mk Feder
"Citizens - Sec"

December 11, 1963

Mr. Richard O. Mitchell
Florida Legislative Investigation Committee
Tallahassee, Florida

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

It has come to our attention that a letter, dated July 5, 1963 and purporting to be from Mr. R. J. Strickland, Chief Investigator for the Florida Legislative Investigation Committee, has circulated among many persons in Florida. The copy of the letter we have seen does not show an addressee, but is on the letterhead of the Committee. For your information and files, I am enclosing a copy of the letter as we have it.

The purported letter deals with the origin and organization of the Southern Regional Council and of the Florida Council on Human Relations. The information presented in it -- which is being circulated throughout Florida -- is almost wholly false. Specifically:

(1) We assume that the House Un-American Activities Committee does have in its files documentation regarding the Southern Regional Council. We assume this because the Committee has once informed us, and to our knowledge has on several occasions, one as recent as August 9, 1963, informed others, that its files contain no adverse

information. If your staff has received contrary advice from the Un-American Activities Committee, or from any other Congressional source, we would like to hear about it.

(2) The Florida Council on Human Relations was established under our auspices, but since 1957 has been legally and organizationally autonomous. Relationships between it and the Southern Regional Council are close, but consist of cooperation and not direction.

(3) It is categorically false that the Southern Regional Council was "formed under the auspices and direction of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc." There are no organizational ties of any kind between us and the other named organization, and there never have been.

(4) It is categorically false that the Southern Regional Council adopted "the same charter as the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc. verbatim."

(5) It is not even true that "the Florida Council on Human Relations adopted as its charter the same charter of the Southern Regional Council." Nor is this statement even intelligible in the light of the next succeeding sentence of the letter.

If this letter did actually originate from your Committee, I believe you will agree that fairness dictates that a correction be sent by your Committee to whatever person or persons have received it.

To the best of our knowledge, we have never received any inquiry from the Florida Investigation Committee. If you want any information regarding our charter, our

purposes, our program, our membership, our organizational structure, or our finances, you have only to ask.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
cc: Mr. Leo Foster, Committee Counsel
Mr. Joseph Haas, Legal Counsel, Southern Regional Council
Mr. Louis Mitchell, Executive Director, Florida Council on Human Relations
Dr. Ralph Mason Dreger, President, Florida Council on Human Relations
All Florida SRC Board Members:
Mr. I. H. Burney, Jacksonville
Mr. Herbert M. Davidson, Daytona Beach
Rev. Caxton Doggett, Lakeland
Rev. Theodore Gibson, Miami
Dr. John A. Griffin, Tallahassee
Mrs. Austin Kimball, Gainesville
Dr. H. Franklin Williams, Coral Gables

Charley E. Johns
Senator
Chairman

Ben Hill Griffin, Jr.
Representative
Vice-Chairman

Senate Members

Edwin G. Fraser
Houston W. Roberts

House of Representatives Members

Richard O. Mitchell
William G. O'Neill
George S. Stallings, Jr.

Copy Copy Copy

(Florida State Flag)

FLORIDA LEGISLATIVE INVESTIGATION COMMITTEE

Tallahassee

July 5, 1963

In answer to your letter dated June 26 to the Hon. Mark Hawes, attorney for the Florida Legislative Investigation Committee, I wish to advise that documentation inregards to the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, Southern Conference Educational Fund Inc., and Southern Regional Council can be obtained from both the House Committee on Un-American Activities and the Senate Sub-Committee of the United States Senate. Also wish to advise that the Florida Council on Human Relations is set up under the auspices and direction of the Southern Regional Council out of Atlanta, Georgia. The Southern Regional Council having been formed under the auspices and direction of the Southern Conference Educational Fund Inc.; the Southern Conference Educational Fund Inc. being the follow up organization of the old Southern Conference for Human Welfare which was discontinued after the expose by the House Committee on Un-American Activities and Senate Sub-Committee of the United States Senate. Said Southern Conference Education Fund Inc. having come into effect immediately after said expose with the same phone number, the same address, the same offices, the same board of directors, the same president or chairman, and the Southern Patriot being the official publication of both organizations.

I think you will find upon inquiry that the Southern Regional Council adopted in Atlanta, Georgia the same charter as the

continued.....

Southern Conference Educational Fund Inc. verbatim. I do know personally that the Florida Council on Huamn Relations adopted as it charter the same charter of the Southern Regional Council of Atlanta, Georgia. It was intended to adopt the same charter verbatim until an expose was made showing the direct connections between the old Southern Conference for Human Welfare, Southern Conference Educational Fund inc. and Southern Regional Council; a copy of this charter this committee holds in it files.

Trusting that this answers your inquiry directed to Mr. Hawes and that we can assist you in the future, I remain

Sincerely yours,

R. J. Strickland
Chief Investigator

RJS:mt

HAAS, HOLLAND & ZINKOW

HERBERT J. HAAS (1905-1953)
JOSEPH F. HAAS
J. KURT HOLLAND
JACK H. ZINKOW
RICHARD C. FREEMAN
S. JARVIN LEVISON

ROSE M. SCHREIBER
WILLIAM M. SINRICH
GORDON R. SUGARMAN

LAW OFFICES
FIRST NATIONAL BANK BUILDING
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

PA ✓
VJ ✓
MJ

December 13, 1963

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia - 30303

Dear Les:

This will acknowledge receipt of copy of your letter dated December 11th to Mr. Richard O. Mitchell of the Florida Legislative Investigating Committee, which contained a certain enclosure supposedly representing some type of investigation. I think your letter is excellent and fully covers the matter.

I do think that this matter should be followed up, so please keep me fully advised.

With kindest personal regards, I am

Cordially yours,

Joe

JOSEPH F. HAAS

JFH:RS

Memo from **VERNON E. JORDON, JR.**

Les,

I'm not sure that we ought to send these guys our charter and finances, even though you indicated we would upon request.

Maybe the Florida Council should but not us voluntarily.

I would recommend L-1, all public statements, any specific Florida report, and our '63 publications.

D R A F T for LWD

Dear Mr. Evans:

Your letter of December 26 is acknowledged.

We are pleased to have an opportunity to give the Florida Legislative Investigation Committee a true and accurate account of the Southern Regional Council per se and our relationship with the Florida Council on Human Relations. The utterly false and inaccurate information about the Council that your successor, Mr. H. J. Strickland, apparently disseminated is so inconsistent with fairness and truth that we feel an obligation to the Committee and the people of Florida to set the record straight. And it is our hope that the Committee, once armed with the real facts concerning the both organizations, will report them to the general public.

The Southern Regional Council, incorporated under the laws of Georgia in 1944, is an organization to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South. Ninety distinguished Negro and white Southerners from the major religious faiths make up our non-profit non-political, and non-sectarian organization. The Council's predecessor was the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, a group of the South's leading church men and women which formed in 1919.

The Council seeks through research and education to help the South find its own answers to social issues within the framework of law and conscience. We are not an action group in the sense of picketing, selective buying compaigns and demonstrations.

Our finances come from individuals, churches, labor, foundations, and subscriptions to our monthly magazine, New South. We are a tax-exempt organization under state and federal regulations.

Seven Florida citizens serve on our Board. They are: Mr. I. H. Burney, Jacksonville; Mr. Herbert M, Davidson, Daytona Beach; Rev. Claxton Doggett, Lakeland; Rev. Theodore R. Gibson, Miami; Dr. John A. Griffin, Tallahassee; Mrs. Austin Kimball, Gainesville; Dr. H. Franklin Williams, Coral Gables.

Our activities in Florida are, for the most part, in cooperation with the Florida Council on Human Relations. As indicated in my letter of December 11, the Florida Council was established under our auspices, but since 1957 has been legally and organizationally autonomous.

DRAFT for LWD

Ltr., Mr. Evans
January 4, 1964

We exchange with the Florida Council data and information relating to social change and human relations in Florida and the South, ~~as well.~~ We assist the Florida Council financially, but only to the extent of a minor fraction of its budget, & consult with it from time to time on its planning & fulfilment of its program. ~~with a quarterly grant-in-aid upon receipt of quarterly reports of its human relations activities. These grant-in-aid funds have been specifically and trusted in our care for state Councils on Human Relations throughout the South by a prominent national foundation. We also help the Florida Council Board in the recruitment of staff personnel in the event of staff vacancy. Despite this limited assistance from us the Florida Council determines its own policy and modus operandi and we make no attempt to influence these decisions.~~

With the foregoing information, Mr. Evans, it is our sincere hope that the Florida Legislative Investigation Committee is better informed ~~xxxxx~~ about the Southern Regional Council and its relation to the Florida Council on Human Relations. We trust that you will make these facts available to the people of Florida consistent with the mandate from the Florida Legislature.

Sincrely yours,

not enclosure

CC: Haas
Dreyer
Mitchell
Fla Bd member

Dear Mr. Evans:

Thank you for your letter of December 26, 1963. We are glad to learn that neither your Committee nor its predecessor has publicly re-heard any statements regarding the Southern Regional Council.

As requested, we are enclosing:

a - a copy of our charter

b - The South & its Future. Although adopted by the Council in 1957, this statement was reviewed by the membership in 1961-62, & stands as the most succinct & authoritative expression of purpose. On December 7, 1963 our Executive Committee issued "A Statement of Views," which also ~~expressed~~ expresses concisely the outlook of the Council. This too is enclosed, as is a

brief document, "The South Beyond Segregation" & Aims.

c. Two annual reports of program activities for 1961 & 1962. As you will notice, this customarily is written in February, & ~~consequently~~ our 1963 report ~~is not yet prepared~~ ~~and~~ will be forwarded to you on request.

d. ~~In~~ 1963 annual meeting was postponed from November 27 & 28, because of President Kennedy's death, until January 29 & 30, 1964. Because membership changes somewhat at each annual meeting, it would be pointless at this time to send you the membership list. You may expect to receive the revised & complete list of members in early February.

e. a copy of our by-laws in order to indicate organizational structure.

f. our 1962 financial statement. The 1963 audit ~~should~~ will be completed & return next month, & would be available to you on request.

1/17/64

FOR YOUR INFORMATION

--Perhaps you've seen this already.

Best regards.

PWC
PA
VI
SB
MH-file

file
Criticisms: The News + Courier
Courtney (E)

COURTNEY SICELOFF

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INC.

FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA

Mandate For Mobocracy

No informed observer expects the Southern Regional Council, an interracial propaganda agency in Atlanta, to give a fair appraisal of the contemporary history and outlook of the South. Though it is labeled "Southern," the organization is a carbon copy of ultra-radical groups such as the Fund For The Republic, which seems dedicated to promoting economic disruption and social revolution in this region.

A New Year statement made by the Southern Regional Council's executive committee deserves special public attention, nevertheless, because of its extraordinary viciousness and its relationship to the political goals of the national Democratic Party in 1964.

Virtually putting aside any pretense of being genuinely Southern, the council declares that "white Southerners have a much inferior record of loyalty to the principles of America and of the Judeo-Christian religion."

No fair-minded citizen can condone this falsehood.

If white Southerners were hard-hearted and irreligious, they would not have carried the Negro along step by step. In Southern cities, for instance, white taxpayers could insist that the indigent sick, the vast majority of whom are Negroes, should not be helped at public expense.

As for American principles, it is not the white people of the South who are demanding that the Constitution be dismantled and replaced by an all-powerful government that can order every citizen's life. It is not white people who are subverting American society by trying to impose alien techniques of civil disobedience developed by revolutionists in Europe and Asia.

The Southern Regional Council's allegations do not deserve a point-by-point rebuttal, for they are as preposterous as they are insulting. But the chief allegation should be known because of the organization's political slant.

In view of the council's violent attitude against the white race in the South, it is important that the public be familiar with its outspoken enthusiasm for the late President Kennedy and for his successor, Lyndon B. Johnson. The Southern Regional Council is a partisan on the side of the national Democratic Party, urging ever stronger support of what it terms the "Negro revolt."

This council, we regret to say, is headed by a resident of South Carolina. He is James McBride Dabbs of Mayesville. The council's New Year statement commends the street demonstrations that convulsed the nation last summer. It praises leaders of so-called "non-violent demonstrations." But policemen were injured in American cities last summer by supposedly "non-violent" bricks.

As is made clear in an article from the San Francisco Chronicle reprinted today on this page, the leader of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee is counting on violence and justifies it.

The Southern Regional Council is therefore, giving moral support to those who want America to get more than a taste of street revolution. It holds that the revolutionary qualities demonstrated in street demonstrations are the qualities needed in schools, universities and churches.

No matter how the Southern Regional Council may torture words, its statement comes out as a plug for the national Democratic Party and a mandate for mobocracy in America.

The News and Courier

South Carolina's Most Outspoken Newspaper

FOUNDED JAN. 10, 1803

Thomas R. Waring, Editor — Arthur M. Wilcox, Assistant Editor — Anthony Harrigan, Associate Editor

THE NEWS AND COURIER - January 16, 1964

Mandate For Mobocracy

No informed observer expects the Southern Regional Council, an interracial propaganda agency in Atlanta, to give a fair appraisal of the contemporary history and outlook of the South. Though it is labeled "Southern," the organization is a carbon copy of ultra-radical groups such as the Fund For The Republic, which seems dedicated to promoting economic disruption and social revolution in this region.

A New Year statement made by the Southern Regional Council's executive committee deserves special public attention, nevertheless, because of its extraordinary viciousness and its relationship to the political goals of the national Democratic Party in 1964.

Virtually putting aside any pretense of being genuinely Southern, the council declares that "white Southerners have a much inferior record of loyalty to the principles of America and of the Judeo-Christian religion."

No fair-minded citizen can condone this falsehood.

If white Southerners were hard-hearted and irreligious, they would not have carried the Negro along step by step. In Southern cities, for instance, white taxpayers could insist that the indigent sick, the vast majority of whom are Negroes, should not be helped at public expense.

As for American principles, it is not the white people of the South who are demanding that the Constitution be dismantled and replaced by an all-powerful government that can order every citizen's life. It is not white people who are subverting American society by trying to impose alien techniques of civil disobedience developed by revolutionists in Europe and Asia.

The Southern Regional Council's allegations do not deserve a point-by-point rebuttal, for they are as preposterous as they are insulting. But the chief allegation should be known because of the organization's political slant.

In view of the council's violent attitude against the white race in the South, it is important that the public be familiar with its outspoken enthusiasm for the late President Kennedy and for his successor, Lyndon B. Johnson. The Southern Regional Council is a partisan on the side of the national Democratic Party, urging ever stronger support of what it terms the "Negro revolt."

This council, we regret to say, is headed by a resident of South Carolina. He is James McBride Dabbs of Mayesville. The council's New Year statement commends the street demonstrations that convulsed the nation last summer. It praises leaders of so-called "non-violent demonstrations." But policemen were injured in American cities last summer by supposedly "non-violent" bricks.

As is made clear in an article from the San Francisco Chronicle reprinted today on this page, the leader of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee is counting on violence and justifies it.

The Southern Regional Council is therefore, giving moral support to those who want America to get more than a taste of street revolution. It holds that the revolutionary qualities demonstrated in street demonstrations are the qualities needed in schools, universities and churches.

No matter how the Southern Regional Council may torture words, its statement comes out as a plug for the national Democratic Party and a mandate for mobocracy in America.

Gabby Spies

The press conference recently engineered by the Central Intelligence Agency to report on Russia's economic troubles is an unprecedented lifting of the veil from espionage. Normally the cloak is more important for spies than the dagger.

The raised eyebrows that have greeted the new policy on CIA publicity may turn into official frowns against repeating the experiment. As for ourselves, we place more reliance on U.S. News & World Report's current article on the Soviet Union than on CIA's evaluation, either secret or public.

January 21, 1964

Mr. John E. Evans
Staff Director
Florida Legislative Investigation Committee
Tallahassee, Florida

Dear Mr. Evans:

Thank you for your letter of December 26, 1963. We are glad to learn that neither your Committee nor its predecessor has publicly released any statements regarding the Southern Regional Council.

As requested, we are enclosing:

(a) a copy of our charter

(b) The South of the Future. Although adopted by the Council in 1951, this statement was reviewed by the membership in 1961-62, and stands as the most succinct and authoritative expression of purposes. On December 30, 1963 our Executive Committee issued "A Statement of Views," which also expresses cogently the outlook of the Council; this too is enclosed, as is a brief document, "The Southern Regional Council: Its Origins and Aims."

(c) My annual reports of program activities for 1961 and 1962; as you will notice, this customarily is written in February, and my 1963 report will be forwarded to you on request.

(d) Our 1963 Annual Meeting was postponed from November 25 and 26 because of President Kennedy's death, until January 29 and 30, 1964. Because membership changes somewhat at each Annual Meeting, it would be pointless at this time to send you the membership list. You may expect to receive the revised and complete list of members in early February.

(e) A copy of our by-laws, in order to indicate organizational structure.

(f) our 1962 financial statement. The 1963 audit will be completed some time next month, and would be available to you on request.

Our activities in Florida are, for the most part, in cooperation with the Florida Council on Human Relations. As indicated in my letter of December 11, the Florida Council was established under our auspices, but since 1957 has been legally and organizationally autonomous.

We exchange with the Florida Council data and information relating to social change and human relations in Florida and the South. We assist the Florida Council financially, but only to the extent of a minor fraction of its burget, and consult with it from time to time in the planning and fulfillment of its program.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosures

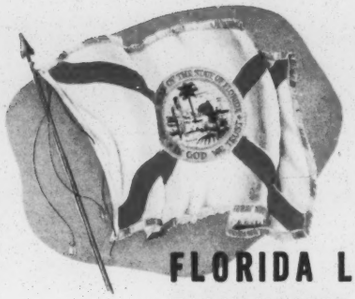
cc: Mr. Joseph Haas, Legal Counsel, Southern Regional Council
Dr. Ralph Mason Dreger, President, Florida Council on Human Relations
Mr. Louis Mitchell, Executive Director, Florida Council on Human Relations
All Florida SRC Board Members:
Mr. I. H. Burney, Jacksonville
Mr. Herbert M. Davidson, Daytona Beach
Rev. Caxton Doggett, Lakeland
Rev. Theodore Gibson, Miami
Dr. John A. Griffin, Tallahassee
Mrs. Austin Kimball, Gainesville
Dr. H. Franklin Williams, Coral Gables

RICHARD O. MITCHELL
Representative
CHAIRMAN

ROBERT WILLIAMS
Senator
VICE-CHAIRMAN

Senate Members
CHARLEY E. JOHNS
C. W. YOUNG

House of Representatives Members
LEO C. JONES
WILLIAM E. OWENS
GEORGE B. STALLINGS, JR.



FLORIDA LEGISLATIVE INVESTIGATION COMMITTEE
TALLAHASSEE

December 26, 1963

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, Northwest
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

The Honorable Richard O. Mitchell, Chairman of the Florida Legislative Investigation Committee, has asked that I acknowledge your letter of December 17, with its enclosures.

Mr. Strickland, the purported author of the letter to which you referred, has not been in the employ of this Committee since its reorganization under a fresh mandate from the 1963 Florida Legislature and Representative Mitchell's assumption of the responsibilities of Chairman.

The files and records of the Committee, as property of the sovereign state, are subject to neither disclosure nor discussion by the Committee or its staff, and it is the strict policy of this Committee that, except for necessary relationships with qualified cooperators, no information be divulged other than through public reports and statements authorized by the Committee. I have reviewed the publicly released materials of our predecessor Committee and find no reference or information relating to the Southern Regional Council.

We are grateful for your offer of information on the Southern Regional Council, and, to assure the currency and correctness of our information on your organization, would be appreciative of such information as you may wish to provide us relating to the several items suggested by your letter, including your

charter, purposes, program, membership, organizational structure and finances. In view of our responsibilities under our Legislative mandate, we would be particularly appreciative of information relating to the scope and nature of your activities in Florida, either independently or in conjunction with the Florida Council on Human Relations.

For your information, I am enclosing a copy of the only public report thus far issued by this Committee, which sets forth its basic philosophy and approach, which we trust you will find to be of merit.

Sincerely,

John E. Evans
Staff Director

JEE/mh
Enclosure

LEGISLATIVE INVESTIGATIONS COMMITTEE

INFORMAL REPORT #1 SEPTEMBER 16, 1963

To The Honorable Speaker of the House,
President of the Senate, and Members of
The 1963 Florida Legislature

Your Committee believes that its work is of vital concern to all who share our desire that Florida be free from the unsavory influences of those "isms" that would deprive the individual of his rights, and the responsibilities of his citizenship.

Your Committee is equally aware of the heavy responsibility with which it has been charged by the mandate of the Legislature, and determined to conduct itself in such a way as to properly reflect the high level of integrity which is the hallmark of the Florida Legislature. We believe that our activities of this biennium will be of benefit to all Florida and will ultimately be reflected in new or amended Florida laws.

Because our work is statewide in nature, and may well affect the interests of each member, we will seek to keep the members of the Legislature advised of our activities through a series of Informal Reports such as this. We solicit your comments and your suggestions, and will be happy to have any members of the Legislature attend any of our meetings to advise and consult with us on matters which may be of mutual interest.

ORGANIZATION

The Committee met to organize for this biennium at Jacksonville on August 8. At that time Representative Richard O. Mitchell of Leon was named chairman, and Senator Robert Williams of Graceville was elected vice-chairman. The entire Committee, composed of Senators Johns, Williams, and Young, and Representatives Mitchell, Owens, Stallings and Jones was present.

The resignations of Mark Hawes as Committee Attorney and R. J. Strickland as Committee Investigator were accepted. Mrs. Lamar Bledsoe agreed to continue to serve as secretary of the Committee, and Mr. Dave McGriff was employed as Administrative Assistant to the Committee.

It was agreed that the Committee would seek as its first order of business to define the issues to be explored during the coming biennium; to lay down guide lines for such exploration, and to assemble a high calibre staff to assist the Committee.

It was further agreed that, as a result of the activities of prior investigating committees of the Legislature, the Board of Control and the officials of the state universities have become more conscious of their responsibilities to protect against improper influences on the campuses. There was agreement that it is possible for the Committee, the Board of Control and educational institutions to work well together, and agreed that it should at all times be made plain to educational authorities of the state that this Committee, in raising questions about conduct or activities on any campus, is anxious to work with responsible officials in a constructive manner.

A discussion of the often unfair picture of the Committee's activities in the past presented to the people of Florida resulted in a renewed recognition by the members that the Committee's mandate from the Legislature leaves no room for either politics or publicity. The members were united in the conviction that upon its work the Committee must be judged, and that its concern should not be with public relations, but rather with the quality of its investigations, the soundness of its reports, and the effectiveness of its liaison with other state agencies and with the members of the Legislature.

The Committee recognizes that it is not engaged in a popularity contest, and that it cannot expect its efforts to be accomplished without the possibility of controversy or criticism. The Committee is, however, dedicated to the proposition that it is engaged in a serious effort to preserve Florida as a state of which we are proud, and is determined to meet its responsibilities in an honorable and forthright fashion.

ACTIVITIES

To determine the course of Committee action; areas which might compliment activities of other agencies having interest in Florida, and those qualities desirable for staff personnel, your Committee traveled to Washington and Chicago September 3-6.

Conversations with C. D. DeLoach, Assistant Director, and Inspector Edward Kemper, Federal Bureau of Investigation; Congressman Johansen, Republican of Michigan, Pool, Democrat of Texas, and Bruce, Republican of Indiana, members, Francis J. McNamara, staff director, and Donald Appell, chief investigator of the House Committee on Un-American Activities; David Martin, investigation evaluator and Special Assistant to Senator Thomas Dood, Democrat of Connecticut; J. Sourwine, Chief Counsel to the Senate Internal Security Sub-Committee; John M. Fisher, William K. Lambie and Clarence Perry Oakes of the Institute for American Strategy and American Security Council, made possible these conclusions:

1. That a definite need for this Committee exists. That there are substantial areas of concern to appropriate Federal agencies existent in Florida which by the necessities of priority and the limitation of budget are not now being delved into and which merit scrutiny by this Committee in keeping with its legislative charge.

2. That experience in a number of states over a long period indicates that great good can come from the effective activities of such a Committee as this.

3. That a highly qualified staff director is essential, and that men of superior qualifications can be found if an intense and careful search is undertaken.

Every official with whom we talked commended the State of Florida and its Legislature for the creation of the Legislative Investigations Committee. All felt that a useful service could be performed by this Committee, and all were generous with their time in allowing us to seek from them advice and suggestions that will be of great benefit to the Committee, both in its operations and in the selection of staff.

As a result of these conferences, we have:

1. Undertaken a survey of the activities of similar committees, current and past, in other states, and a review of state laws which have come into being as a result of their activities.

2. Begun work on Rules of Procedure which allow for business-like operation of the Committee and make possible maximum protection of the rights and interests of all those whom we may scrutinize or who may cooperate with us.

3. Established criterion for consideration in the selection of staff, and begun to make known in national investigative and intelligence circles our desire to employ a staff director of high and proven capabilities.

4. Obtained for Committee review a wealth of materials pertinent to our responsibilities and helpful as guides to the development of successful investigative programs and meaningful reports.

5. Established channels of communications and access to information which will save this Committee and its cooperators literally thousands of hours of research and investigative time, and will assure the prompt development and thorough evaluation of information coming to the Committee.

INVITATION TO COLLEAGUES

In determining our course of action for the biennium, we have been keenly conscious of the many problems Florida faces because of

her unique geographic position and the role she plays as vacationland for peoples of other states and other lands. Influences upon young people of the state; the effect of large numbers of foreign nationals among our population, however welcome they may be, and the ease by which men and materials may be landed on our coasts, all represent areas of concern which may be subject to investigation.

In our conversations in Washington and Chicago we explored these and other possibilities. We would like at this formative stage of our program to invite members of the Legislature to suggest to us areas of concern they believe we should consider, and to suggest to us any outstanding individuals, in or out of Florida, they believe we should interview for our staff.

While we cannot in these reports detail our investigative plans, or spell out specific inquiries either under consideration or underway, we can assure each member of the Legislature of our desire to carefully consider all information and suggestions forwarded to us, and of our willingness to provide a confidential briefing on our activities for any member wishing to review in detail our efforts.

This Committee is an investigative arm of the Legislature, set up to inquire, report and recommend. This we shall do. We are cooperators with law enforcement agencies, not enforcers ourselves. We are your Committee, and we seek your assistance to assure that our service be of the highest calibre.

Sincerely,

Richard O. Mitchell

Richard O. Mitchell, Chairman

Robert Williams

Robert Williams, Vice Chairman

C. W. Young

George B. Stallings, Jr.

Lee Gay

William E. Owens

Charley E. Johns

PAV
SB

Handed out at Kennaw Ga, 9-8-62
Klan meeting

THE AMERICAN LEGION

FIRING LINE

Prepared and Distributed By The National Americanism Commission, P. O. Box 1055, Indianapolis, Indiana

file "Criticism 1962"

VOL. NO. VI, NO. 10 May 15, 1957

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Beneficiary of the largest single grant ever awarded by the Ford Foundation's Fund For The Republic is the Southern Regional Council, Inc. (SRC), whose headquarters is located in the Wesley Memorial Building, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Atlanta 3, Georgia. As of last year, the Council received a total of $445,000 "in support of studies and activities to promote interracial improvements" in the South. According to The Fund For The Republic's Three-Year Report, dated May 31, 1956, page 22, the SRC "has concentrated on building strong state organizations, so that each of its groups will be able to stand on its own feet when Fund support is terminated." (See "The New York Times", 12-16-56, page 117.)

Founded in January 1944 as a successor to the Commission On Interracial Cooperation, Inc., the Council's original corporation papers reflected its following "objects and purposes": "...to organize and maintain a Regional Council for the improvement of economic, civic and racial conditions in the South, in the endeavor to promote a greater unity in the South in all efforts towards regional and racial development; to attain through research and action programs the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the region; to reduce race tension, the basis of racial tension, racial misunderstanding, and racial distrust; to develop and integrate leadership in the South on new levels of regional development and fellowship..."

This document, filed in the Superior Court of Fulton County, State of Georgia, listed the names of five incorporators of the Council as follows: DR. RUFUS E. CLEMENT, RALPH McGILL, and BISHOP ARTHUR J. MOORE, Atlanta Georgia; DR. CHARLES S. JOHNSON, Nashville, Tennessee (now deceased); and DR. HOWARD W. ODUM, Chapel Hill, North Carolina. (See Petition of Incorporation, Book 062, pages 64-67, 1-6-44; and "The New York Times", 10-17-55.)

Today, the Council has expanded its activities into 12 states. Virtually supported by the enormous grant from The Fund For The Republic, the SRC "has strengthened its head office in Atlanta and organized Councils on Human Relations with interracial boards and staffs" in the following states: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia. (See Fund For The Republic "Three-Year Report," 1956, page 22.)

Formerly entitled The Southern Frontier, SRC's official organ is called New South, a 16-page monthly journal published in Atlanta, Georiga. With the approval of the United States Treasury Department, the Council enjoys tax-exempt status and all contributions to the organization can be treated as Federal income tax deductions. According to a revised roster dated April 1957, the SRC's

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Board of Directors numbered 78, which included some of the following as officers and staff members: MARION A. WRIGHT, President; Vice-Presidents: GORDON B. HANCOCK, A. W. DENT, and PAUL D. WILLIAMS; RUFUS E. CLEMENT, Chairman, Executive Committee; JOSEPH HAAS, Counsel; HAROLD C. FLEMING, Executive Director; JOHN CONSTABLE, Director of Information; and FLORENCE B. IRVING, Research Assistant. (See "New South", February 1955, page 1; and March 1957, page 2.)

"RED FRONT"

Readers of the April 15, 1957 issue of the Firing Line will recall the Council was identified as a "Southern Red front by MANNING JOHNSON on March 8, 1957 before the State of Louisiana Legislative Committee On Segregation." The Firing Line report also revealed testimony which reflected the Council was "formed by JAMES E. JACKSON, a southern organizer of the Communist Party" and "is affiliated with the Mississippi Council On Human Relations."

Records of The American Legion reveal a definite trend of interrelationship between the SRC and the Southern Conference For Human Welfare, a defunct Communist front organization. According to the files of the National Americanism Commission, the following 16 former Directors of the SRC have been supporters of this aforementioned subversive organization: CHARLOTTE H. BROWN, LOUIS E. BURNHAM, GEORGE E. CLARY, HERBERT DAVIDSON, J. M. ELLISON, CLARK H. FOREMAN, GUY B. JOHNSON, DAVID D. JONES, GEORGE S. MITCHELL, HOWARD W. ODUM, F. D. PATTERSON, EDWIN A. PENICK, HOMER P. RAINEY, IRA DeA. REID, FORRESTER B. WASHINGTON and AUBREY WILLIAMS. (See SRC publication "What Kind of South Do You Want?", undated, pages 7 and 8; "New South", December 1946, pages 25 and 26; "The Southern Frontier", March 1944, page 1; "The New York Times", 12-16-56, page 117; HUAC, Appendix IX, 1944, pages 1589, 1595-1598; HUAC, Report, Southern Conference For Human Welfare, 1947, page 1; "New York Journal American", 11-7-55, page 1; and HUAC, Guide To Subversive Organizations and Publications, 1957, page 81.)

The files of The American Legion reflect the following 9 current SRC Directors have also been affiliated with the subversive Southern Conference For Human Welfare: RUFUS B. ATWOOD, PAUL R. CHRISTOPHER, RUFUS E. CLEMENT, A. W. DENT, BENJAMIN E. MAYS, H. COUNCILL TRENHOLM, E. C. PETERS, JOSEPHINE WILKINS and MARION A. WRIGHT. (See HUAC, Appendix IX, 1944, pages 1594-1597; HUAC, Report, Southern Conference For Human Welfare, 1947, pages 1 and 15; and "Daily Worker", 5-20-47, page 5.)

At the conclusion of a 1954 investigation, the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee reported the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc. (of 822 Perdido Street, New Orleans 12, Louisiana), "was initially an adjunct of the Southern Conference For Human Welfare. After the exposure of the Southern Conference For Human Welfare as a Communist front, it began to wither and was finally dissolved, but the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc., continued." The Subcommittee found that after "an objective study", the "Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc. is operating with substantially the same leadership and purposes as its predecessor organization, the Southern Conference For Human Welfare." (See Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, Hearings, Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc., 1955, pages V and VIII.)

For the information of Firing Line readers, the following 8 current Directors of the Council have been affiliated with the aforementioned Southern

Conference Educational Fund, Inc., which was fully exposed in the July 1, 1955 issue of this publication: F. WOODS BECKMAN, BLAILSFORD R. BRAZEAL, RUFUS E. CLEMENT, JAMES M. DABBS, CHARLES G. GOMILLION, DUNCAN HUNTER, BENJAMIN E. MAYS and JOSEPHINE WILKINS. It may be of interest to recall that former SRC Director AUBREY WILLIAMS has been President of the Southern Conference Educational Fund since 1948. He was named as a member of the Communist Party during the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee's 1954 hearings. (See Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, Hearings, Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc., 1955, pages VI, VII and 102; and Southern Conference Educational Fund, leaflets and letterheads, 1953-1956.)

REPORT FROM THE SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES CONTROL BOARD

Due to the increasing number of petitions filed by the United States Attorney General with the Subversive Activities Control Board (SACB), the National Americanism Commission has compiled the following statistical report on the status of 24 cases which this quasi-judicial body has received since it creation by the Subversive Activities Control (Internal Security) Act of 1950:

The SACB has ordered six organizations to register under the Subversive Activities Control Act. In a Modified Report dated December 18, 1956, the Board "recommended that the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit affirm the Board's Order entered April 20, 1953, requiring the Communist Party of the United States to register as a Communist-action organization under section 7 of the Subversive Activities Control Act of 1950." The Board also ordered each of the following groups to register as a Communist-front organization: Jefferson School of Social Science (1955), Labor Youth League (1955), National Council of American-Soviet Friendship (1956), United May Day Committee (1956) and Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade (1955.)

Subject to review of the whole Board, Recommended Decisions have been issued to require each of the following groups to register as a Communist-front organization: American Peace Crusade (1957), California Labor School (1957), Civil Rights Congress (1955), and the Washington Pension Union (1956.)

In various procedural stages are the cases of the following 7 alleged Communist-front organizations: American Committee For Protection of Foreign Born, California Emergency Defense Committee, The Colorado Committee To Protect Civil Liberties, Committee To End Sedition Laws, The Connecticut Volunteers For Civil Rights, National Negro Labor Council, and Save Our Sons Committee. Cases of the following two alleged Communist-infiltrated organizations are also pending: International Union of Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers and the United Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers of America.

After extensive hearings, the Board ordered dismissal of the following petitions on the grounds that evidence reflected these organizations to be defunct: American Slav Congress, The Committee For A Democratic Far Eastern Policy, Council On African Affairs, International Workers Order, Inc., and the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee. According to the Sixth Annual Report of the SACB, dated June 30, 1956, six organizations have appealed Board decisions to the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia, namely: Communist Party, U.S.A., Labor Youth League, Jefferson School of Social Science, National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, Inc., Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, and the United May Day Committee.

TODAY'S ASSOCIATES - "PROGRESSIVE LITERATURE" OUTLET

In her January 1957 issue of Today, MISS ANNA LOUISE STRONG declared her periodical will be converted from its present form to a monthly column of the same title scheduled for future appearances in the National Guardian. Mimeographed on legal colored paper, Today has used the following mailing addresses: Post Office Box 161, Montrose, California, and Post Office Box 87, Altadena, California. For the information of readers, MISS STRONG is a long time supporter of the international Communist conspiracy. An identified member of of the Communist Party, U. S. A., she has "collaborated with agents of the Soviet Intelligence apparatus" and has written for Communist Party publications. (See Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, Report, Institute of Pacific Relations, 1952, page 158.)

On March 14, 1957, BETTY CHESLEY, Secretary of the apparent newly formed Today's Associates of Post Office Box 87, Altadena, California, wrote the following message to Today readers: "This is a plan to share good progressive literature. It grows from the letters that came to ANNA LOUISE STRONG'S Today. Some people wrote offering books and magazines; they take many progressive periodicals and are willing to share them. Other people want progressive literature but have little means to buy it and live miles from any source. The staff which handled the volunteer mailing of Today have worked out a plan by which they hope to supply the names of those wanting good reading matter to those having good reading matter to give away...If you are able to help in this project, please fill out the coupon...and return to us at above address."

This plan listed the following "progressive literature": Catholic Worker, I. F. Stone's Weekly, Manchester Guardian, The Nation, National Guardian, New Republic, New Statesman & Nation, Monthly Review and The Progressive.

FACTS ON CHESLEY

According to The American Legion files, one MRS. ELIZABETH R. CHESLEY of Pasadena, California was listed as a signer of a quarter-page advertisement which appeared in the September 20, 1951 edition of The Los Angeles Times, demanding a reduction of bail for Communist Party leaders who have been involved in Smith Act prosecution cases. The Daily Worker of April 13, 1951, page 5, reflected that a MRS. BETTY CHESLEY, Chairman of the Pasadena Non-Partisan Peace Committee, led a "two hour vehicular parade through the main streets of Pasadena", California. On May 8, 1954, a MRS. ELIZABETH CHESLEY was honored at a "Mother's Day Testimonial For Peace", which was announced by the Southern California Peace Crusade, an identified subversive organization. (See "Daily People's World", 5-5-54, page 6; and HUAC, Guide To Subversive Organizations and Publications, 1957, page 80.)

COMMUNIST PARTY MEMBERSHIP: According to FBI Director J. EDGAR HOOVER, Party membership as of January 1, 1957 totaled 17,360. This represents a drop of 14.4% from last year's total of 20,289. He warned against discounting Party strength based on actual membership.

AMERICAN
33RD YEAR MERCURY JULY 1957

Why Pick on DIXIE?

by Harold Lord Varney

A new and wonder formula for quick literary success is now emerging. The formula is a simple one—easily within the reach of the most uninspired plodder in American letters. Expressed in a single sentence it is this: damn the South.

So rapidly has this new literary fashion fastened itself upon us that there is now scarcely a publishing house or a national magazine which does not have a dreary stable of hacks grinding out anti-South treatises or fiction. The theme assails our ears nightly on the airwaves via both radio and television. It comes to us cloyingly in the dignified columns of the New York *Times* or in the more tabasco pages of Mr. Luce's *TIME*. It is becoming a literary occupation. We are all becoming South-baiters.

An incredible example of this new literary genre was displayed a short time ago on the mass audience TV *Climax* show, sponsored by one of the "Big Three" auto makers. Probably 30,000,000 TV viewers saw an implausible political story, "Stain of Honor," confected by Adrian Spies. No TV fan could rise from this performance without the ineluctable impression that Southern politicians as a breed were a thoroughly bad lot, with unmistakable overtones of insanity. Whether intended or not, the fact remains that every Southern character in the play with the exception of the hero, who had repudiated his Southern heritage, was unsympathetic. The only role of nobility in the play was assigned to a Negro character.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Such a play—and it is only a sample of the dreadful tripe which is now on display—is vicious and malevolent. It attempts to place the Claghorn stamp on all Southern political leaders. Its effect is to fan hate between Northern and Southern Americans. The fact that the message is not spelled out—that it is conveyed by innuendo and through the heavy lines of caricature—makes it all the more deadly in its impact on the mass mind.

Going the rounds of the second-run movie house circuit at this time are three hit pictures stressing Southern themes. These are *Giant*, *Baby Doll*, and *Written on the Wind*.

Of *Giant*, which is based upon the Edna Ferber book of the same name, *TIME* declares that the book from which the screen play was confected,

> "...bellowed from the bookstalls that Texas in modern times is a microcosm of materialism, a noisome social compost of everything that is crass and sick and cruel in American life."

Although not as wholehearted in its malice as the Ferber original, the story which George Stevens directed for the movies is one continuous preachment against Texans. They are pilloried as cruel and inhuman in their treatment of the Mexicans. They are shown as vulgar and devoid of the human sympathies which characterize Northern Americans. A mounting atmosphere of disdain pervades the whole screen play.

Although nowhere stated bluntly, the message comes through in every scene of the play, and particularly in the pumped-up overwrought finale. That message is that Texans aren't on the same emotional wave length with the rest of us. It is a technique which Hollywood perfected in its depictment of Germans and Japanese during the late war. The vast *Giant* audience rises from its plush seats with the inevitable stereotype that Texans simply aren't good Americans.

In another picture, *Written on the Wind*, the unpleasant Southerner stereotype is not quite so clear. Some sympathetic Southern characters are allowed to enter the cast. The main action is in New York rather than in the Deep South. But in the central story line, the neurotic, wastrel protagonist who snatches Lauren Bacall from the clean-cut boy of the plot is—you have guessed it—the inevitable Texas oil man. Audiences all over the United States are now engaged in a collective emotional wallow, hating the Texan.

But the most malicious caricature of the South is given by *Baby Doll*, which Cardinal Spellman described as "revolting" and "morally repellent."

Baby Doll is slanted cynically at the *Tobacco Road* Northern thea-

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to going public. Its action takes place in Mississippi among a weird collection of unbelievable "Deep South" whites. The heroine, Baby Doll, is a near-cretin and a slut. Her middle-aged husband is a creep. They live together in one of the most nauseous situations ever depicted on the American screen. The most nearly normal character in the picture (all of the cast are fugitives from Krafft-Ebbing) is, of course, the Northern outsider to whose obscene arms *Baby Doll* flees.

The whole story leaves a sickening savor in the viewer's mouth.

These three unpleasant examples are cited, not because they are any worse than other treatments of the South which Hollywood has ground out. What is noteworthy in them is that they represent a trend which seems to be dominating large areas of the communications media of the country. It is the trend to defame and defoul the composite picture of the Southern American which is in the people's mind. It is the trend to libel 46,000,000 Americans who happen to live South of Mason and Dixon's line, and to hold them up to national contempt.

This lynch spirit against the South is evident throughout the public opinion field, as registered by the various media. It is evident in book publishing houses which have discovered that a novel, such as Lettie Hamlett Rogers' *Birthright*, which draws a horrifying likeness of the "best families" of the South while sobbing tearfully over the wrongs of the Negro, will sensationally outsell any book about the South which presents white Southern characters as ordinary, decent-spirited Americans.

IT IS EVIDENT in magazine publishing offices which, with a uniformity now becoming almost compulsive, invariably give their assignments of stories about the South to race-obsessed foreigners like Gunnar Myrdal or Alan Paton, or to unrepresentative Southerners like Hodding Carter, Harry S. Ashmore, Lillian Smith, Robert P. Warren, Mark F. Ethridge—men and women who have achieved a quick, synthetic popularity among Northern South-haters by affecting the pose of the "reasonable Southerner." True experts on the South such as Virginius Dabney, James J. Kilpatrick, Clifford Dowdey, James G. Stahlman, Jonathan Daniels, James F. Byrnes, Luther H. Hodges, are seldom if ever published in the mass circulation Northern slicks. It is evident that most Northern editors are little interested in the Southern state of mind, but only in its denunciation.

When the brightest star in the Southern literary constellation, Nobel-Prize winner William Faulkner, wrote a two-page letter to a national weekly defending the atti-

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tude of the South, a deep stunned silence engulfed him. He has been invited to write no more articles on the South for the Northern magazines.

Television is another medium which appears to have joined wholeheartedly in the anti-South brainwashing. Occasionally, a spokesman for the Southern attitude is reluctantly included in a panel program or a discussion or interview show. When this is done, the announcer or interviewer is certain to make it plain, directly or indirectly, that the station disassociates itself completely from the views of the speaker. The bias of the station is so obvious as to nullify any gain in understanding which might result from the presentation of a Southerner. The staffs of the network news interpreters, headed by such Left-leaners as Edward R. Murrow and Chet Huntley, are unanimously anti-South.

The only time when an influential network discussion program attempted to give a fair break to the South was during the late lamented career of the *Facts Forum*. The *Forum* was continually harassed during its life by "Liberal" pressure before the FCC to have it thrown off the air. It was smeared in exposés charging "Rightism" in such Leftist magazines as *The Reporter*, etc. It was cited before the Internal Revenue Bureau. Instead of welcoming this opportunity, in the American tradition of fair play, to hear this dissenting voice, the South-baiters thought only in terms of suppression.

The climate of opinion in the North is similarly saturated against the South by most of the effective and well-financed organizational molders of public opinion. All the Foundations stand in solid ranks, with their billions, in determined opposition to the traditional Southern viewpoint. Instead of providing a forum for the honest discussion of Southern issues, the Foundations have underwritten a controversial organization in the South, the Southern Regional Council, which is staffed by Southerners who have unreservedly accepted Northern opinion patterns. The Council, in a dignified way, is the clearing house of most of the indoctrination of the South which is now in furious progress by Northern agencies.

IN THE LAST three years, the Council has received a total of $445,000 from the Fund for the Republic of the Ford Foundation. The Council has also been on the receiving end of sizable funds from the William C. Whitney Foundation, the Field Foundation, the Doris Duke Foundation, the Marion Ascoli Fund, the Sidney Hillman Foundation and others. More militant organizations in the field of South-baiting which have re-

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ceived Fund of the Republic money are the Legal Defense Fund of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People ($50,000), the Urban League ($50,000), the Commission on Race and Housing ($118,954).

All of these agencies are engaged in the determined task of discrediting in national public opinion the recognized leaders and spokesmen of the South.

THE great national organizations which represent important occupational and religious belief blocs are, to an appalling extent, also enlisted in this indiscriminate "damn-the-South" drive. The South's right to observe its own folkways is being assailed on platform and in print by such potent national groups as the National Education Association, the National Parent-Teachers Association, the AFL-CIO, the League of Women Voters, the Americans for Democratic Action, the American Civil Liberties Union, and the clearing house of affiliated civil liberties organization, the National Council of Churches, the denominational secretariat of most of the church bodies and many others. Even the national spokesmen of the Republican and Democratic National Committees make discreet political noises directed against the South on appropriate occasions.

Under this high-level prompting, indoctrination against the South is slowly blanketing most of the opinion-influencing agencies of the North. It is being taught openly in the classrooms of the public schools, and in many of the private ones. It permeates the newer textbooks and teaching aids which are given to the teacher. It is slipped styly into the children's books and the comic strips. It is the theme of impressive seminars in the colleges and universities. It is being preached from the pulpits of religious "Liberals," proclaimed from the lecture platform and the women's club stage, reiterated *ad nauseam* at Rotary, Kiwanis, Lions and other business club luncheons. It saturates the Northern press. The fair-minded American, seeking honest light on the Southern question, finds himself asphyxiated in a suffocating fog of indoctrination and propaganda.

No such private war of spite and calumny has been directed against a minority of fellow-Americans since the days of the Mormon persecutions.

It is inevitable, in such an atmosphere of all-pervading malice, that the people of the South are beginning to feel themselves outsiders in the national family. Thanks to seniority, Southerners still wield a potent influence over the committees of the Senate and House, but there their influence ends. They have lost the battle of national public opinion. Under this bludgeoning, the Deep South has become a sort of American Sudetenland—a deep fault of explosive

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political unhappiness and humiliation threatening our national unity.

Who has done this to the South? Certainly, this recrudescence of anti-Southern animosity is not something which has just happened spontaneously in the North. The average Northerner has no particular dislike of the Southern American, although he may be conscious of certain surface differences. If, today, he is supporting movements and leaders which are engaged in all-out anti-Southernism, it is because he is reacting unthinkingly to the propaganda that is filling the airwaves and the public prints. This propaganda emanates from a relatively small group of Northern "Liberals." This group is willing to revive all of the sectional hates and passions which were buried almost a hundred years ago in the Civil War, in order to serve their own ignoble purposes of power.

BRIEFLY STATED, the men and women who are behind the anti-South drive are the familiar figures who, in other fields, have been trying since the days of Roosevelt to remake America in the image of their one-world, one-race ideology. It is the same inglorious crowd which has committed the United States to the United Nations, and to UNESCO and to the Mrs. Roosevelt-written Covenant of Human Rights. It is the same crowd which hounded Bob Taft to his grave, which humiliated MacArthur, which has declared political vendettas against Jenner and McCarthy and Knowland, and which is still unconvinced of the guilt of Alger Hiss.

To these resourceful schemers, the South, with its deep-running conservatism and with its unshaken Anglo-Saxon traditions, was an obstacle which had to be removed. Its leaders must be discredited as political pariahs, its way of life must be held up to public detestation and ridicule.

What better instrument was there to direct against the South than the Negro question? Americans, both Northerners and Southerners alike, have long felt a sense of national guilt over the Negro, and there has been general agreement that inherited discriminations must be gradually abolished. The fact that the South was doing something about it made little difference to the doctrinaire "Liberals," whose book called for a political jehad against Southern conservatism. It was determined to use the Negro issue as a smashing club against the South, to compel immediate compliance with the blueprints of "one world" liberalism.

What assured "Liberal" success in this undertaking was the political poteney of the Northern Negro vote. An organization such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People which has always been under Left Liberal

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(before World War II, even Communist) influence, offered itself as a ready-made instrument for this purpose. The NAACP could direct terrific influence upon Northern politicians, both Republican and Democratic, by threatening reprisals by the Negro voters. The 6,000,000 Northern Negro voters, acting as a bullet bloc, could easily decide the outcome of a Presidential election. They meant the difference between victory and defeat in the hairline outcome of many a House or even Senate election in the North. No ambitious politician, who wanted to stay alive, would willingly affront such a balance of power.

Commencing sometime in the early 1940's and taking on accelerated speed as the years passed, we have seen the spectacle of an almost bandwagon rush of Northern politicians to the NAACP side in local and national elections. The pressure of the local politicans, who get out the vote, upon individual Senators and Congressmen in Washington, became terrific. From a dominant place in the legislative picture, which they had enjoyed in coalition with conservative Republicans throughout the Taft-Wherry period of Republican leadership, the Southern legislators have now sunk into a sad status of isolation. Through their control of committees they can exercise some restraining influence upon the speed of the anti-Southern measures. But they can no longer check them. Republicanism under Eisenhower, and Democracy under Adlai Stevenson and Walter Reuther, are sternly against them.

In a period in which the South is no longer feared politically, it has ceased to be respected intellectually or socially. It has become the butt of mediocrity in literature, in journalism, on the screen and over the airwaves. It has become the whipping boy of every political and journalistic demagogue who is seeking an easy road to quick success. Enlistment in the anti-South hate campaign is the surest pathway for the unscrupulous to win the great claque of "Liberalism" to further his career.

IT IS a shameful episode in the history of our times. It is also a disastrous experience for Americans. At an historic juncture when the hostility of the American people should be channeled exclusively against our enemies at home and abroad, "Liberalism" has detoured us into a hate drive against other Americans. At a time when "tolerance" has become almost a national religion, the "tolerance" high priesthood is itself launched on one of the most intolerant smear campaigns in the annals of propaganda.

America, in releasing the anti-Southern hate waves, is weakening our most precious possession—the unity of the American people. It will not be easy to recapture it after the present dementia is past.

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I. Alabama Journal 1 Aug. 1958

COMMIES AND INTEGRATION:

Little Rock Luster Dimmer; Reds Eyed in School Fight

WASHINGTON — The luster is wearing thin at Little Rock, Ark. where bayonets were used last fall to enforce integration in a public school. Some of the trail-blazers appear to have washed their hands of the cause of Negro "rights." Others have been seen in roles considerably less flattering than those they played last fall.

Ernest Green's observation, "I'm glad that's all over," is perhaps not untypical. Ernest, 18, was one of the nine Negro youths admitted to Little Rock's Central High School under the guns of federalized National Guardsmen and U.S. paratroopers.

Last month Ernest was graduated. One of the nine was expelled: the other seven may never return to Central.

If the experiment continues at Central, it will have to do so without the assistance of many persons who were instrumental in launching it.

Mayor Woodrow Wilson Mann of Little Rock, who made the daily telephone calls to the White House that led to Federal intervention, has left town.

He is now a resident of Denver, Colo., working in an investment banking firm.

Max Rabb, the presidential assistant who was at the White House end of the Mayor Mann calls and was a key man in the decision to send Federal troops, has left Washington.

He is now a partner in a big New York law firm.

Despite apparent "success" in its part in obtaining the Little Rock test, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has experienced a "sharp drop" in membership.

Federal Judge Ronald Davies, whose ruling that integration must begin "forthwith" in Little Rock was the foundation for what followed, has long since left Little Rock.

He is now back in his court in North Dakota, where there are but 257 Negroes in the entire state. Arkansas has 462,000.

Harry Ashmore, the Little Rock editor whose editorials in behalf of integration stirred the controversy and brought him a Pulitzer prize, has conceded he will not employ a Negro on his newspaper.

Mrs. Grace Lorch, the Little Rock "housewife" who attracted national attention by "befriending" one of the nine students, has since refused to declare whether she is a Communist.

Herbert Brownell, whose U. S. Justice Department gave the orders for dispatch of troops, is no longer attorney general.

He has taken up the more lucrative private practice of law.

The Justice Department, itself, has had a change of heart. Under its new chief, William P. Rogers, the word is "never again" on the use of federal troops to enforce integration.

The Little Rock School Board, which had worked out a gradual integration program that Judge Davies' ruling nullified, has thrown in the sponge on any integration in the near future.

Central High School has claimed that the educational program for its 2,000 students was so badly dislocated by the one-year experiment the school could not survive another year without complete disintegration of morale.

This was a major consideration in Federal Judge Harry J. Lemley's approval of a 2½-year stay of integration for the Little Rock high school, a decision that may have made the best of a very unfortunate situation.

Judge Lemley, while acknowledging the interest of Negroes in obtaining equal rights, said the "public interest" of the majority rated consideration, too. The burden placed on other Central High students and the "racial tension and unrest" created in Little Rock itself demanded a delay in integration, he said.

The ruling led to another example of apparent change in viewpoint among those who had been insistent on an immediate end of segregation.

When Judge Lemley's decision was taken to the U. S. Supreme Court, whose 1954 "sociological" and subsequent decrees had started the ferment in the South, that body declined to break up its summer vacation for a special sitting.

The court, in effect, passed the buck to a lower court with an admonition to act fast.

Little Rock, the morning after, appears to have been a venture that has not served racial harmony or promoted integration. As such, its origin, its leaders and its original objectives invited inquiry.

I Alabama Journal 2 Aug. 1958

COMMIES AND INTEGRATION:

Main Goal of Reds Revealed As Racial Strife—Then Rule

This is the second of a series of five articles written by Edward B. Simmons of the Standard-Times, New Bedford, Mass., after a survey of segregation-intergration issues in the South. Simmons traveled from Washington southward to the Midwest in preparing these articles.

WASHINGTON — To incite racial strife is one of the oldest objectives in the Communist program for getting world domination. "We must realize that our party's most powerful weapon is racial tension," states a Communist Party handbook of 1912, well before a few hundred Bolsheviks seized control of Russia.

"By propounding into the consciousness of the dark races that for centuries they have been oppressed by the whites, we can mold them to the program of the Communist Party," the handbook continues.

"In America, we will aim for subtle victory. While inflaming the Negro minority against the whites, we will endeavor to instill in the whites a guilt complex for their exploitation of the Negroes. Thus will begin a process which will deliver America to our cause."

COINCIDENCE OR STRATEGY?

Is it coincidence or the result of strategy that, some 45 years later, racial unrest in an outstanding Southern city, Little Rock, Ark., has increased so sharply that a Federal judge called for a 2½-year delay in any integration?

Again, is it coincidence or the result of Communist strategy that one of the most influential of all Southern Negro leaders, the Rev. Martin Luther King, exhorts his followers with these words:

"It (the Montgomery, Ala., bus boycott) is a part of something that is happening all over the world. The oppressed people are rising up. They are revolting against colonialism and imperialism and all other systems of oppression."

When Mr. King draws a parallel between the situation of the American Negro and "oppressed peoples" rising against "colonialism" and "imperialism," he is following exactly, to the word, the Communist line.

DIRECT APPROACH FAILED

At first, the Communist drive for creation of racial strife called for a direct approach to Negroes, using labor unions and Communist fronts like the American Negro Labor Congress and the League for Struggle for Negro Rights.

This approach was brazenly direct, and it failed. Former Communist Joseph Kornfelder, one of the party founders in the United States and its first director of Southern operations, has described what happened:

"The South to the Communists was always of the most vexing problems," Kornfelder told a joint legislative committee of the State of Louisiana in March 1957. "Moscow could never understand it . . . According to Marx' theory, the South should be leading the United States in Communist development.

"It just didn't work out that way.

"It was just to the contrary. The South proved to be a hard nut and it didn't conform to the doctrine.

BLOCKED BY RELIGION

"They decided that the big block against penetration of the South is religion. The Negroes believed in religion; the hillbillies believed in religion; nearly everybody is religious. The South is more religious than the North.

"Therefore, they decided maybe they should get at them under the auspices of the Cross."

Kornfelder and two Negro former Communist leaders, Manning Johnson and Leonard Patterson, told the Louisiana committee that the new tactics included, besides use of the church penetration of reputable Negro organizations and the founding, but not obvious control, of others.

World War II, with its migrations and general dislocation of living habits, produced what Kornfelder described as a "sort of honeymoon situation" between the Communist organizers and Negro organizations.

4 AGENCIES INFILTRATED

"It seems the intellectuals during that time had shown a remarkable weakness," he testified. "They were bigger suckers for the Communist propaganda than many others were, apparently because they sort of led a life apart from the daily troubles and toil of the population.

"They were the ivory tower boys who picked up the theories of the Communists, not looking at what is behind the theories."

The results of this "honeymoon" were vital Communist infiltration of the most important agencies in the South dealing in Negro issues. The Communists infiltrated four of these organizations and actually helped found three of them.

They are the Southern Conference Educational Fund, the Southern Regional Council, the Highlander Folk School in Tennessee and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

An almost incredible maze of interlocking officials, ideas and publications linked the three first-named agencies with the Communist Party.

COUNCIL GOT FORD GRANT

The Regional Council and the Educational Fund were both offshoots of the old Southern Conference for Human Welfare, which was dissolved in 1948 after twice being described by the federal government as "a Communist front serving the Soviet Union and its subservient Communist Party."

Former directors and officers of the Conference for Human Welfare became directors and officers of the Regional Council and the Educational Fund and of the Highlander School. The Communist Daily Worker openly boasted that James E. Jackson, chief of the Southern branch of the U. S. Communist Party, was a co-founder of the Regional Council.

Although the Regional Council is not widely known in the North its influence in the South is attested by its receiving a $497,000 grant from the Ford Foundation's Fund for the Republic.

Likewise, the Highlander School plays an important role in Southern civil rights developments, although it is scarcely known in the North. The school, according to testimony before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, was co-founded by a Communist and by a man who refused to testify on his beliefs.

NAACP INFILTRATED

During these "organizing" years by the Communist Party, the NAACP was extensively infiltrated, although not dominated by Communist sympathizers. Many of its leading officals were members of Communist fronts.

In fact, by 1954 and the crucial Supreme Court decision, the Communist Party was so confident it had set the stage for developments in its favor that the party's national convention in the winter of 1953 declared, "The next period ahead will witness momentous struggles of the Negroes . . . given the vanguard leadership of the Communist Party, we may be confident that the Negro liberation movement will ally itself more fully with the camp of peace and democracy."

The Communist Party was in a position to follow its long-proved doctrine:

To get a "sociological" or pro-Communist book on the reading list of influential persons, like a Supreme Court justice;

To persuade a Negro to violate a civil rights statute, in the cause of "civil disobedience";

To inject a fellow-traveler in the forefront of a civil rights dispute;

To support the program of the NAACP.

These objectives were attained in the year to come.

The Alabama Journal 4 Aug 1958

COMMIES AND INTEGRATION:

Reds Goad NAACP Leaders Into Ending Moderation

EDITOR'S NOTE: This is the third of a series of five articles written by Edward B. Standard, New Bedford, Mass., on the segregation-integration problems after a survey in the South.

WASHINGTON — The success of Communist efforts to exploit the Southern Negro under the guise of "democratization" became fully evident in 1954 and the three subsequent years. The Supreme Court's historic 1954 ruling on school segregation was in judgment on four cases brought before it by the National Association of Advancement for Colored People, which for years had been a priority objective of Communist infiltration.

The NAACP charged that Negro children in Delaware, Kansas, South Carolina and Virginia were being denied their rights under the 14th Amendment.

The court did not rule on this aspect. Instead, Chief Justice Earl Warren in the written opinion, declared that the court found for the NAACP because segregated schools induced a feeling of inferiority among Negro children.

SIX BOOKS CITED

This sociological view, the justice stated, is "amply supported by modern authority." He cited six books by such "modern authority."

Two of the six authorities were Theodore Brameld and E. Franklin Frazier. Between them, they have been members of or identified with 28 organizations listed as Communist, Communist-fronts or Communist-dominated.

A third "authority" was K. B. Clark. While arguments were being heard by the court on the four cases, Clark was on the payroll of the NAACP as a "social science expert."

A fourth authority cited by Justice Warren was the book, "An American Dilemma," edited by Gunnar Myrdal, a Swedish Socialist. The chief justice emphasized the importance of this book in the court's deliberations by saying it was depended on "generally," that is from cover to cover.

RECORDS NOTED

Sixteen of the contributors to Myrdal's book have long records of pro-Communist affiliation and activity. One, W. E. B. Dubois, identified by the Communist Party as the "honorary chairman" of the NAACP, had a hand in 82 parts of the book. Dubois has been identified with 80 Communist fronts, reportedly more than any other American citizen.

Dubois intervened in behalf of executed Communist spies Julius and Ethel Rosenberg and sent the Kremlin a message of condolence on the death of Stalin.

Myrdal, himself, has written that the U. S. Constitution is "impractical and unsuited to modern conditions." Its adoption was "nearly a plot against the common people," said this foreign authority on American Negro problems.

The court's decision gave new influence to the NAACP. Its officers hailed the decision but indicated that it would not change the organization's plan for calm and orderly progress in race relations.

"We accept the decision quietly, unless there is deliberately-fomented trouble," said the late Walter White, then executive secretary of NAACP.

WANTED STRUGGLES

Thurgood Marshall, chief NAACP counsel, who had argued the school cases before the court, said, "The people will get together and work this thing out."

The Communist Party, however, wanted no part of moderation. It wanted the "big sharp struggles" its leaders had forecast, and racial unrest. Communist publications and officials shrilled for "immediate implementation of the Supreme Court decision, immediate abolition of segregation and discrimination from every facet of American life, immediate enforcement" . . . etc.

The record from the Supreme Court decision until the climax at Little Rock, makes it plain, which philosophy was the dominant one.

Moderation was forgotten.

The next three years brought unprecedented civil disobedience and violence in the South's racial affairs. There were all-out "incidents" of long duration in Tuskegee, Ala., Charleston, S. C., Tallahassee, Fla., Montgomery, Ala., Americus, Ga., and Clinton, Tenn., to name only the major ones.

COMMUNISTS BLAMED

The NAACP played a prominent role in each, but the atmosphere was not the moderate one ostensibly espoused by the NAACP.

"In my opinion, every major racial disturbance in the South since 1954 has been incited and directed by the Communist Party," Mrs. Paul Crouch, widow of a former Communist leader, told The Standard-Times. Her husband was a top Communist functionary in the South for 13 years, and she was his aid throughout the period.

Communist exploitation of the Negro through the NAACP is attested by the proceedings of the 1957 national convention of the Communist Party. That convention adopted as its main resolution, "The question of Negro freedom . . . the crucial domestic issue of the day . . . requiring support of the program of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People."

Communist penetration of the NAACP in these important years is conceded by the NAACP itself.

ALL CHAPTERS WARNED

On Feb. 14, 1956, Leroy Watkins, who succeeded White as NAACP executive secretary, warned all chapters to guard against the "intensive efforts" of Communists to infiltrate.

At that very time, however, the NAACP's official publication, "The Crisis," was recommending as MUST background reading for Negroes, books by Claude Lightfoot, chairman of the Illinois Communist Party, and Doxey E. Wilkerson, member of the party's National Committee. Both have written extensively in behalf of racial unrest.

Communist dominance of Negro civil rights developments after the Supreme Court decision is illustrated, also in the activities of the Highlander School, influential "sociological" workshop in the South. Highlander, according to testimony before a congressional committee, was founded by a Communist and by a man who refused to state his beliefs.

Since 1954, Highlander has held a series of "workshops to develop plans for an orderly transition from segregated to integrated schools." At the last workshop, held over the Labor Day weekend just before the trouble at Little Rock, the leaders of every important racial strife incident in the South since 1954 were present.

How sincere is the Highlander program for "orderly transition" in desegregation?

The actual curriculum at Highlander, its pamphlet statement in behalf of "orderly transition" notwithstanding, preached that "desegregation is more effectively accomplished in a single step than in a series of steps with delays in between."

This is fellow-traveler vernacular for the straight-out Communist program of "immediate desegregation."

Among those attending the important Highlander workshop was the Rev. Martin Luther King, leader of the Montgomery, Ala., bus boycott. King was to be at Little Rock, and in 1958, at the White House, protesting integration delay.

By the time Central High School in Little Rock was to open for its 1957-58 school year, the Communist Party was marching step by step with the NAACP, whether the good element in the NAACP liked it or not.

IV

COMMIES AND INTEGRATION:

Daily Worker Led Intervention Cry

This is the fourth of five articles prepared by the Standard-Times of New Bedford, Mass., on the part the Communist party played in promotting racial troubles in the South.

WASHINGTON — "The honor of our country requires federal intervention now to end the organized defiance of decency and justice in the South." These words were not spoken by Mayor Mann of Little Rock. Nor by Maxwell Rabb, White House assistant to whom the mayor talked daily by telephone in the hectic days preceding intervention by the National Guard and Paratroopers.

They were not spoken by an offical of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the dominant U. S. Negro organization.

The words were an official pronouncement of the Communist Party of the United States, issued two years before Little Rock, and printed in the party's official political guide, Political Affairs, issue of October 1955.

UTTERED BY COMMUNIST

"The federal government has the power and the duty to use troops and whatever other constitutional means are available to enforce the law of the land."

Use of the word "constitutional" in the above might lead someone to think a good American had said those words.

They were uttered 18 months before Little Rock's federal troop intervention by Benjamin J. Davis, chairman of the Negro Commission of the U. S. Communist Party.

"The federal government hasn't hesitated to use the force of jail and seizures in trying to destroy the Communists and other foes of Jim Crow," said Davis, who, like other Communists, has been able to predict the future in civil rights matters.

PRESSED FOR TROOPS

"It should not hesitate to use whatever force — troops if necessary — to put down violent defiance of the law of the land, and murderous terror against peaceful citizens seeking to exercise their constitutional rights."

From the very beginning of the Little Rock incident, the Communists pressed for "dispatch of federal troops to keep order in the South."

The Communist Daily Worker shrilled a demand for "action," on Sept. 5, the day after Governor Faubus stationed National Guardsmen around Central High School.

"The insurrection in Arkansas" must be put down, strummed the Worker the next day.

"G-men must be sent," said another edition, blasting FBI director Hoover for refusing to do so.

OTHER PHRASES

"Every prerogative" must be used by the President, was another phrase in the daily demands for use of the military."

"Threats of blood running in the streets" were cited by the Worker, without identifying the source.

Southern whites were charged with being "immune to education cajolery and pleas of moderation," so that troops were the only recourse.

"Why wait?" asked on Worker editorial.

"Patience!" scoffed another.

"Nothing is to be gained by handling Faubus with kid gloves," stated another diatribe.

"Shilly-shallying" was laid to the President.

And so it came to pass. On Sept. 24, Paratroopers were airborne to Little Rock. Exactly the methods advocated by the Communist ace-agitators — speed and force — were used in a civil rights dispute.

"A tremendous victory for the American people," rejoined the next day's Daily Worker.

Use of armed troops climaxed years of incitement by violence and distortion of truth by the Communists and their sympathizers. Again a helping [illegible] came from the Supreme [illegible] that had "opened the way to [illegible] gro freedom," as the Comm[illegible] Party observed, and from [illegible] misled NAACP.

Mrs. Daisy Bates, presiden[illegible] the Arkansas Conference [illegible] NAACP branches, had a key [illegible] at Little Rock.

MRS. BATES LAUDED

In an adulatory interview [illegible] Mrs. Bates, the New York P[illegible] reporter Ted Poston stated, "[illegible] sides in this embattled Sou[illegible] town agreed on one thing: "If there had been no Daisy B[illegible] there would have been no [illegible] Airborne Division patrolling [illegible] halls of Central High School.

"And no nine Negro childre[illegible] the once all-white high school."

Mrs. Bates' husband, Luci[illegible] Bates, is a director of the Southern Conference Educational F[illegible] which former Communists [illegible] indicted as a "Communist tr[illegible] mission" agency, for inculcating and carrying out Communist doctrine.

The Southern Conference Educational Fund took over many [illegible] the officers and all of the publications of the old Southern Conference for Human Welfare, twice listed as a Communist front, "doing the work of the Communist Party," by the U. S. government.

Mrs. Bates is listed as a "sponsor" of the Southern Conference Educational Fund.

ANOTHER WOMAN INFLUENTIAL

Mrs. Bates was a member of the organization known as Negroes for Wallace, a Communist rallying-point. He was a sponsor of the Bill of Rights Congress, a Communist Party front.

Also influential at Little Rock was Mrs. Grace Lorch, white woman who "befriended" one of

the Negro students refused admission to Central High.

Widely-published press dispatches described Mrs. Lorch as a white housewife who protected a Negro girl before a jeering mob," and as "having defied an angry crowd of whites offer sympathy."

It was not reported, however, that Mrs. Lorch, according to Senate Internal Security Subcommittee records, has a thorough Communist Party background.

She has been identified as a former-time Communist Party organizer in Boston, as having attended a Communist Party convention, as a member of the New England District of the Communist Party, as former vice president of the Teachers Union, and as a director of the Samuel Adams School for Social Studies, both Communist fronts.

At the time Mrs. Lorch was active in Little Rock, her husband, Lee Lorch, was under federal indictment on eight counts of refusing to answer questions on his alleged Communist background put to him by the House Un-American Activities Committee.

Here, too, the Supreme Court rendered an assist. The charges against Lorch later were dismissed by a federal judge on the basis of the Supreme Court's freeing of John T Watkins, United Auto Workers official who refushed to name Communists he knew while he was one himself.

Little Rock found the U. S. Supreme Court, the NAACP and the Communist Party teammates.

It was a dazzling demonstration of what can happen, to quote former Communist Joseph Kornfelder, when "the ivory tower boys picked up the theories of the Communists, not looking at what is behind the theories."

COMMIES AND INTEGRATION:

South Called Reds' Target In Dixie Segregation Fight

(This is the fifth and last of a series of articles prepared by the Standard-Times, New Bedford, Mass., on Communist activities in connection with the integration campaign in the South.)

WASHINGTON — What lies ahead for race relations in the South and, indirectly, for the nation? If the pattern of the last three years is followed in the future, the outlook is not favorable. Some may want to ignore the record, but they cannot hide it. Racial disturbances since the Supreme Court decision of 1954, armed force at Little Rock, have made two areas of opinion where there were three.

The middle-ground on Southern civil rights issues, the ground on which progress has been steady if slow, is virtually deserted. Sides have been chosen, of necessity.

TWO EXTREMIST CAMPS

Without this conciliatory middle area, there are two extremist camps:

One is headed by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The Communist Party officially has planted its standard in this camp, its purpose to promote racial tension behind the NAACP program.

The other camp includes various white citizen organizations, established authorities of many Southern municipalities and states and, as time passes, more and more of the "moderates."

The no man's land between these two camps is widened in an election year, like the present, and with the 1960 presidential campaign drawing closer. Neither major political party, nor, apparently, the federal government, wishes to intervene.

A HANDS-OFF ATTITUDE

The hands-off attitude in Washington was evident during Senate Judiciary Committee examination of incoming U. S. Attorney General William P. Rogers. The prospective head of the federal agency that sent troops to Little Rock was not asked about his views on civil rights, not even by southern senators.

Absence of leadership from Washington has increased the importance of the role played by the NAACP. Its leaders apparently plan no change in policy.

Reviewing events through Little Rock, Dr. Channing Tobias, board chairman of the NAACP, declared:

"But this record of advance is only a beginning. Unjust practices are still commonplace in many parts of the nation. The people have a continuing responsibility to take the lead, to assure the winning of equality in all communities, large and small, North and South.

"The pattern is set; it's up to us to fill in the details of the picture. Only then will we have achieved our goal of a democratic America living up to its ideals."

These words from an influential Negro leader describe an objective which the majority of Americans would be happy to work toward.

But there is little reason to suppose that the good intentions of the NAACP will not capitulate, as they have before, to the driving, inflammatory race-tension strategy of the Communist Party.

After the 1954 court decision, the leadership of the NAACP promised moderation, a "quiet" "talking over" of issues among all segments.

EXACTLY AS FORECAST

Instead what transpired was a series of "big, sharp struggles" in civil disobedience and violence, exactly as forecast by Benjamin J. Davis, chairman of the Negro Commission of the Communist Party.

Today, Davis and his coworker, James E. Jackson, Communist chief for southern affairs, are using phraseology much like Dr. Tobias' in predicting the future.

"The people must take the lead," says Davis. "Negro liberation is now the property of the whole American people."

Jackson's view: "The response to Little Rock has signalized that ours is the time ripe with opportunity to secure major victories in the cause of Negro freedom."

These words have a ring like Dr. Tobias', but an utterly different intent.

AIMS NEFARIOUS

"You are aware, of course," FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover commented for The Standard-Times, "the Communists have no sincere interest in promoting racial harmony, but are ever alert to exploit any issue to further their nefarious aims."

This observation may be obvious to many Americans.

But is it obvious to Dr. Tobias, who has been associated with 40 Communist fronts, board chairman of NAACP, or to W. E. B. DuBois, "honorary chairman" of NAACP, who has been identified with 82 Communist fronts, more than any other American citizen?

Apparently it is not.

As recently as March 1958, the NAACP leadership brought a court action in Florida seeking to halt an investigation by the Florida Legislature of Communist activity in that state.

Besides the NAACP, leadership in the integrationist camp will come from the Rev. Martin Luther King, leader of the Montgomery, Ala., bus boycott. Mr. King also seems hazy in distinguishing between the Communist way and the American way.

A COMMUNIST EXPLANATION

At its 1957 national convention, the U. S. Communist Party selected a man identified by the Communist Daily Worker as Mr. Rustin, to be an official "observer." Rustin praised the "democatic" proceedings of the convention in a report later denounced by FBI Director Hoover.

Mr. King was quoted as telling a Chicago assembly last year, "It (the Montgomery boycott, in which there was much violence) is a part of something that is happening all over the world. The oppressed people are rising up. They are revolting against colonialism and imperialism and all other systems of oppression."

This explanation is exactly that of the Communist Party, the depiction of the American Negro as a kicked-around colonial, oppressed by imperialists.

Yet the same Rev. Martin Luther King was one of four Negro "leaders" who called upon President Eisenhower in June 1958 to try and set the pattern for racial progress.

A LOOK TO FUTURE

A former Negro Communist official, who later worked for the U. S. Department of Justice, sees the future in these words:

"In my opinion, the Negro leadership should realize that they have responsibility," a Lousiana legislative committee was told by Manning Johnson, "a responsibility to guide and spirit their people along the right paths, help to pull themselves up by their own bootstraps, and to work together as a group for cooperation between races, to the end result that they can keep what they have, strengthen their economic and political position and move on to higher things.

"Men of King's type will not give that kind of leadership. The only thing they know is the threat and a sword.

"I know the NAACP can't do that. They have called the leaders of Southern life every conceivable type of name. They have labeled them everything they can, and there is no basis for them to negotiate with them because they have already built up a wall that cannot be gotten over, gotten under, or gone around."

Former Communist Johnson's judgment may be harsh. But the future will make him an accurate prophet unless there is wider understanding of the Communist background to "immediate" integration, to be accomplished by "force" if necessary.

In a little-publicized report of last November, the U. S. Senate Internal Security Subcommittee declared: "There is a present-day pattern of Communist activity in the mid-South area. The Communist participants . . . make up the basic framework of a Communist operation that is directed against all generations of people in the South."

To that could be added, "and in the nation."

File Attacks

Friday August 7, 1958.

Dear Harold,

I enclose a series of articles which appeared in the Alabama Journal and will, I am sure interest you. 'Smearing' in a grand way and you will note that the SRC comes in for quite a bit of it in article 2.

If you have not received these from some other source and wish to keep them for office files, could you let me know ? I shall want a set for my own reference.

Hope all is well at the office,
Yours aye,

Violaine -

PEOPLE'S FORUM

Albany Herald 8-16-58

BAD POLICIES IN MIDDLE EAST

To the Editor of The Herald:

If the United Nations can get a permanent police force composed of military units from all member countries and then is given authority to use this police force to straighten out the internal affairs of different nations as Henry Cabot Lodge has advocated for so long, everything will be fine, until our chickens come home to roost. I mean that [illegible] any other country. The Communist countries would have a vote in the U.N. on how it is to be used here just like any other country and in some cases they out vote us. The human rights committee in the U.N. has already voted by a large majority that they do not favor one person owning more property than another. As we are tied up in the U.N. through a binding treaty the Communists may vote that all property must be re-distributed among all the American people, so your son might be sent with a Yugoslavia soldier to move you off your property. Of course, it would be done in the name of brotherhood, peace, prosperity and Christianity.

One of the acts of brotherhood the world planners have performed is for 100,000 British troops to patrol Palestine to keep the Arabs from arming and then standing patiently by and allowing a well armed Zionist army to attack the unarmed Arab and driving them in the desert. When the Arabs obtained arms and came back to retake their land and homes the United Nations steps in and says they would settle the matter peaceably, so the U.N. sent Ralph Bunche over and he set a boundary line on what is now known as Israeli. So the U.N. says that all must abide by Bunche's decision. The result is the Zionists invaders are occupying the Arab homes and enjoying the fruits of heir labor while the Arabs are forced to live in the desert that is barren on only two dollars a head, of money furnished by the U.N. You can [illegible] where that money comes from. How would you like for some armed person to drive you off your property and then occupy same? Incidentally most of these Arabs are Moslems and some military experts estimate that they can raise a Moslem army of 300,000,000 people if they can find a country to arm and train them and it looks like Russia is doing it. A Moslem in Egypt is a brother to a Moslem in India.

While Truman's police action was going on in Korea, Anna Rosenburg was Assistant Secretary of Defense. Anna ordered the crosses moved [illegible] symbol of Christ. Truman refused McArthur a hearing when he fired him because Truman was getting military orders from the U.N. to pass on to McArthur and we all know that these orders were deliberately fixed so that McArthur could not win. When McArthur refused to take orders from this Communist in the U.N. then Truman hollered insubordination. It seems that will not be the last time American boys will have to fight under the U.N. flag instead of the U.S. flag. The brotherhood [illegible] cite one case, Bishop [illegible] of the Methodist Church along with Ralph Magill and five Negroes organized the Southern Regional Council. The fire that many of these preachers tell us we are headed for because we don't love our Communist brothers enough may be occupied by these same preachers. When the devil tempted Christ in the wilderness and later on the mountain He never took Mr. Devil by the hand and said you are my dear brother and I love you just as much as I do our Father in Heaven. Isn't it strange how Christ discriminated when some tell us we shouldn't?

The president of the NAACP is not a Negro and I challenge any one to disprove that statement.

The same conspirators that stirred up the race trouble in Little Rock are the same ones responsible for the trouble in Lebanon as well as France.

S. B. SUMNER.

Albany, Ga.

BEST COPY AVAILA

File - Attacks
See p 19

VIRGINIA JEWRY IN THE SCHOOL CRISIS

Anti-Semitism and Desegregation

MURRAY FRIEDMAN

RICHMOND

A YOUNG Jewish attorney in a small city in central Virginia was discussing school desegregation with a non-Jewish friend. "I hear that the president of the NAACP is Jewish," remarked the latter. Within twenty-four hours almost everyone in the Jewish community had heard the story, and next day a Jewish defense agency was phoned for information. When the Virginians learned that Arthur B. Spingarn of New York, the NAACP's president, was indeed Jewish, there was grim silence at their end of the line. The knowledge that a Northern Jew was head of the leading organization for Negro rights had shaken the security of this Virginia Jewish community.

The incident illustrates the special problem Southern Jews face today, at a time when American Jewry generally is enjoying an unparalleled prosperity, and discrimination against Jews is being steadily reduced. The Southern Jews' problem stems from the possible consequences of the struggle over desegregation, the region's most severe crisis since Reconstruction. Many Virginia Jews feel "caught in the middle," fearful that any action they may take in the public school controversy will lead to an increase in anti-Semitism. For the Old Dominion is currently a major battleground in the Southern effort to nullify the Supreme Court school decisions. "Massive resistance" was first decreed by Senator Harry Byrd's long-entrenched political machine in 1956. A powerful, organized segregationist movement soon sprang up to mobilize that resistance. Now Virginia's laws have collided with the rulings of Federal courts. Nine public schools in Warren County, Charlottesville, and Norfolk have been closed under state legislation which demands shutdowns when Negro children are enrolled. Early this year, Arlington and Alexandria faced similar battles. Although hastily organized private schools and tutorial systems have been seeking to provide a temporary and makeshift education, almost 13,000 youngsters are presently receiving inadequate schooling or none at all.

There has been considerable opposition to school closings in Virginia, especially in Norfolk, but the position of the state authorities has not changed. In a speech to the Virginia Education Association in Richmond on October 30, Governor J. Lindsay Almond, Jr., said: "The question becomes one of surrender or continued exercise of every legal and honorable means at our command to resist. I shall never willingly witness or become a party to the destruction of education by the mixing of the races in the classrooms of Virginia."

THE Virginia Jewish community numbers about 30,000 and is located primarily in Richmond, in the central part of the state, and in the Tidewater cities of Norfolk, Portsmouth, and Newport News. Richmond and Norfolk have 8,000 and 7,500 Jews respectively, while smaller towns such as Charlottesville have less than 100 each.

The first Jewish settler in Richmond, Isaiah Isaacs, arrived there before the Revolutionary War, and served on the original Common Council with John Marshall. Early Jewish settlers soon identified themselves with Virginia ideals and traditions. Lewis L. Strauss, former chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission and now Secretary of

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MURRAY FRIEDMAN, who holds a doctorate in American history from Georgetown University, has written for the *New Republic, New Leader,* and the *Progressive.*

Commerce, is a worthy representative of Virginia's older Jewish families, with their tradition of public service and largely conservative attitudes. But their patterns have been modified since the Eastern European migrations, and particularly since World War II, which brought many second-generation Jews of East European descent to Virginia.

In the larger cities, Jews are active in all the businesses and professions; in the smaller ones, they generally own small businesses. In this well-to-do community, Jewish life is vigorous; in almost every town where Jews have settled, a temple, religious school, or community center is either being built or was recently completed. Until now anti-Semitism has scarcely figured as a problem, and Virginia's Jewish leaders regularly take their turns on planning commissions, in city councils, and as members and presidents of civic organizations.

Despite all these manifestations of security, the Virginia Jew is more keenly aware of the special character his Jewishness gives him than is his co-religionist in the North. He is, of course, far more isolated. Jews in New York, Chicago, or Boston live among a host of religious, ethnic, and racial groups, none of which can claim majority status. But the eighty Jewish families of Danville, Virginia, for example, are an obvious minority in an otherwise homogeneous white Protestant society. Their contacts with Christians are cordial, but rarely extend beyond business hours or community-service efforts.*

These factors help shape Virginia Jews' contradictory attitudes on the race question. Most Jews feel a natural sympathy for the aspirations of the Negroes, whom they see as a minority group now journeying down something like the same road they had to travel. But they are unwilling to set themselves off from the dominant white majority, to which they have made such strenuous efforts to belong. So they generally keep their views to themselves—which causes further uneasiness. As Rudolph M. Lowenstein says in *Christians and Jews,* "as much guilt is felt for unrealized intentions as for deeds actually committed." Because the thoughts they harbor on the race issue differ from those of the majority of their white neighbors, they feel "disloyal" to Southern attitudes and institutions.

Nevertheless, though Virginia Jews accept the idea of desegregation in principle, in practice their viewpoint is not far different from that of the general white population. The Jew frequently owns a grocery, appliance store, dress shop, or other business in the Negro section of town or where the Negro trades. He sees at first hand the poverty, disease, and lower cultural standards that are the lot of the poor Negro. While he understands their causes and acknowledges the responsibility of the white man in creating and perpetuating such conditions, he does not want the sins of the past visited on his own children. As one Norfolk Jewish businessman told me, "When integration comes, you know, our kids won't be going to school with Ralph Bunche's." There is also a small group of Jews who earnestly fear the dangers of "mongrelization" and the encroachments of the Federal government on states rights. But, unlike such states of the Deep South as Mississippi, there is not, to my knowledge, a single Jewish member of the Citizens Councils in Virginia.

The question of desegregation as such, in the minds of Jews, tends to be secondary to the possible effects of race violence on their own place in Southern society. The history of anti-Jewish persecutions tells them that an atmosphere of tension and conflict is not "good for the Jews," and they fear that any Jewish involvement on the side of the Negro—whether by a Jewish Senator from New York, a Jewish defense agency, or one of their own leaders or organizations—will bring reprisals. The degree to which this fear is economic has been exaggerated; one is hard put to it to find a half-dozen Jews in the South (let alone in Virginia) who have been hurt by boycotts resulting from the segregation fight. Rather, Virginia Jews are worried about their community status. Many have spent years work-

*See Harry Golden, "Jew and Gentile in the New South," COMMENTARY, November 1955.

ing in Community Chest and Red Cross drives and other civic activities because of their natural interest in social improvement and in an effort to show their Christian neighbors that they "belong." If Jews now stand apart from the dominant white group, they fear, they may jeopardize the position and prestige they have worked so hard to secure. Besides, many ask, what good can the Jews do the Negroes? They can only bring hostility down on themselves without, they believe, significantly advancing the Negroes' cause.

VIRGINIA Jewry's new fear of anti-Semitism is legitimate. There have been no bombings in Virginia, but the Old Dominion has become a prime dumping ground for anti-Semitic leaflets, magazines, and pamphlets which pour into the state from the North and West. George Lincoln Rockwell, who has had contacts with two of the men indicted in the Atlanta temple bombing, prints handbills and other literature in his native Arlington for his "National Committee to Free America from Jewish Domination." The theme of this literature, whatever its source, is that desegregation is a Zionist-Communist plot to mongrelize the white race so that the Jews can take over.

Last spring, there was a series of anonymous mailings of racist and anti-Semitic pamphlets and letters to seniors at Washington-Lee and Wakefield High Schools in Arlington.* In recent months, Norfolk and Newport News business and professional people have been receiving hand-written envelopes with Los Angeles postmarks which contain literature published by Frank L. Britton, editor of the rabidly racist *American Nationalist*. ("The time has obviously come," says one such piece, "for white Americans to take action if this Jew-inspired program for compulsory mongrelization is to be defeated.")

On the eve of the opening—or, rather, the closing—of half a dozen junior and senior high schools in Norfolk last fall, an estimated 15,000 pieces of hate literature were distributed door to door in many sections of the city, including those heavily populated by Jews. There had been earlier distributions of such material in smaller quantities. The literature included copies of Conde McGinley's bitterly anti-Semitic *Common Sense*, published in Union, N. J.; reprints by the Norfolk Chapter of the Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties of an *Atlantic Monthly* article entitled "Mixed Schools and Mixed Blood"; and copies of a monthly magazine called the *Virginian*.†

The *Virginian* began in 1955 as a four-page segregationist newsletter published by two young men in Newport News. It is now an ably written, slickly produced magazine with a format similar to *Time*. Its message is racial and religious hate, and it attacks organizations like the American Jewish Committee for allegedly leading the "integration conspiracy." Though only 7,000 copies of the *Virginian* are distributed, its very existence at a time of tension is a source of concern.

The organized segregationist movement in Virginia takes three forms. There is the Commonwealth of Virginia Association of Citizens Councils, consisting of units in the Arlington, Brunswick, Lunenburg, Mecklenburg, Fairfax,** and Peninsula areas, which

*See William Korey and Charlotte Lubin, "Arlington—Another Little Rock?" COMMENTARY, September 1958.

†One of the men distributing this material stopped to discuss flowers with a former German Jewish refugee working in her garden. He left some of the literature with her when he moved on. She became ill when she saw it. The material created so much concern among Norfolk Jews that the Jewish Community Council wrote to its members urging calmness and recounting the steps it had taken.

**The Fairfax Citizens Council has widely distributed a publication called *The Shocking Truth About Northern Virginia's Parent-Teacher Groups*. This publication contains an organization chart showing the "interrelationship" of groups labeled "Fairfax County PTA," "Zionists," "B'nai B'rith," "UNESCO," and the "Southern Regional Council," the latter described as a "Communist Front." *The Shocking Truth* recently turned up at the fall convention of the State Congress of PTA's in Richmond and has been distributed at public meetings of the Richmond Chapter of the Defenders. It was also used in interrogating witnesses by the now defunct Thompson Committee of the Virginia legislature.

Can people like this be sued for libel?

has demonstrated little strength or influence. Another, even smaller, organization is the Seaboard White Citizens Council established by John Kasper in Washington, D.C., and active in Northern Virginia. The handful of fanatics in this group are violently anti-Semitic as well as anti-Negro. In the summer of 1955, Kasper set up a unit in Charlottesville, but its members lost interest when they learned that Kasper had danced with Negro women in New York before he became a racist. However, since the closing last fall of the Lane High School and Venable Elementary School in Charlottesville, this group—or at least its leader, George Cason—has begun to stir. (On October 14, Kasper himself said he planned no activity in Virginia: "I believe that, now that the state government and the Governor have taken such an admirable position in defending the people, we truly have no business coming into Virginia.")

The most important of the organized segregationist groups is the Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties. Founded in 1954, it claims some 12,000 members. Unlike the Citizens Councils and Kasper's group, the Defenders have attracted to their ranks prominent business and political leaders—among them Congressman William M. Tuck, a former Governor sometimes mentioned as Byrd's successor, and Congressman Watkins M. Abbitt, a Byrd lieutenant. Virginia Jews are uncomfortably aware that many of their co-workers in local civic undertakings are members of the Defenders.

With the growing school crisis, an increasing preoccupation with Jews and Jewish organizations became discernible among the Defenders. The February-March 1958 issue of their official organ, *Defenders' News and Views,* carried a picture of Thurgood Marshall, NAACP special counsel, receiving a plaque from Kivie Kaplan of Boston, described as co-chairman of the NAACP's Life Membership Committee, and Arthur Spingarn, NAACP president. The caption went on to note, "THE NAACP IS NOT A NEGRO ORGANIZATION and never has been." In more recent issues, the publication has urged its readers to obtain copies of "Our Nordic Race," a pamphlet written by a former field representative of the Defenders in Richmond. The pamphlet's theme is Anglo-Saxon "racial purity," and it concludes with a discussion of the "agitation Jews" who, "in close cooperation with a group of Nordic Race Traitors, are almost wholly responsible for the destructive 'one race, one creed, one color' Marxist campaign that has brought strife and disunity to our country and to the rest of Western civilization."

In spite of these indications of religious bigotry, it would be incorrect to characterize the Defenders as an anti-Semitic movement.* Actually, it is a loosely structured organization composed of diverse people joined together in the common purpose of seeking to maintain segregation. There is no reason to believe, for example, that Congressman Tuck, who has manifested his friendship for Jews by his support of Israel, has ever read *Our Nordic Race* or even knows of its existence.

LAST July 7, an editorial appeared in the Richmond *News Leader* entitled "Anti-Semitism in the South." The South, said the editorial, has honored such outstanding Jews as Bernard Baruch, Admiral Strauss, and, in Civil War days, Judah P. Benjamin. Recent manifestations of anti-Semitism, it went on, must be traced to the activities of the Anti-Defamation League. "By deliberately involving itself in the controversy over school segregation, this branch of B'nai B'rith is identifying all Jewry with the advocacy of compulsory integration." It cited the distribution of "pro-integration materials" by the League's Richmond office to a Charlottesville NAACP workshop as evidence to "embattled whites" of activity that has nothing to do with defamation of Jews. "Such inquiries, once bruited about," the editorial went on, "will be seized upon by the ADL as evidence of anti-Semitic feeling. And having thus stirred up defamation

*The Norfolk Defenders in November adopted a resolution censuring the door-to-door distribution of "hate literature" by one of its members.

of the Jews, ADL can lustily combat defamation of the Jews. 'Look how much anti-Semitism there is!' " The editorial concluded with an invitation to Jews in the South to get rid of "an organization that foments hostility to Jews."

The *News Leader* is a highly respected newspaper, and its editorial was promptly reprinted elsewhere in the South. Its editor, thirty-eight-year-old James Jack Kilpatrick, is one of the most outspoken and influential segregationist spokesmen. It was he, in a previous series of editorials, who revived the old constitutional doctrine of "interposition" —that a state can block the application to its citizens of Federal laws and court decisions —and sold it to seven state legislatures and, apparently, Governor Orval Faubus of Arkansas.

Kilpatrick's editorial on "anti-Semitism" set off worried phone calls, hurried meetings, and other manifestations of alarm among Richmond Jews. Two views emerged from the Jewish discussions of the editorial. Some agreed with it, and said that Jewish organizations should not involve themselves in the integration struggle. Others read the editorial as a veiled threat of blackmail: if Southern Jews did not silence Jewish agencies working in the field of human relations, "embattled" segregationists would strike back at them. (Many Jews also wondered why Kilpatrick, a Roman Catholic, had not held the specter of anti-Catholicism over the heads of his co-religionists, whose parochial schools are integrated throughout the state.)

The theme first stated publicly by the *News Leader* was quickly picked up by the Arlington Defenders, the most extreme of the Defender chapters, who chose as their target Rabbi Emmet A. Frank of Alexandria, a suburb of Washington. In a Yom Kippur sermon from the pulpit of one-hundred-year-old Beth El Congregation, Rabbi Frank had charged that Senator Byrd and Governors Faubus and Almond had wrought more disunity in the nation in the last few years than U.S. Communists ever had. The Rabbi, sharply critical of Virginia's "massive resistance" laws, had urged Jews not to remain silent to injustice against anyone. There is only one word, he said, to describe the "madness" of segregationists: "Godlessness, or to coin a new synonym—Byrdliness. . . ." The Arlington Defenders demanded that the Jewish community of Northern Virginia openly condemn Rabbi Frank's "slanderous statements and innuendoes." His remarks, they said, "will cause irreparable damage to the hitherto friendly relations between Jews and Christians unless Jewish congregations . . . move quickly to refute and condemn Rabbi Frank. . . ." A number of newspapers joined their attack on Rabbi Frank. Soon afterward, the Unitarian Church in Arlington had to be emptied as a result of a bomb scare just before Rabbi Frank was to occupy the pulpit.

Northern Virginia Jews remained relatively unmoved; they are mostly Federal government employees of Northern origin and, as such, less susceptible to the pressures that trouble Jews in other parts of the state. Elsewhere, there was considerable anxiety. One Jewish group briefly considered—and rejected—a move to have the organization apologize to Senator Byrd. A number of Jews did write to him, declaring that the Rabbi did not speak for them.

THE Kilpatrick and Frank incidents have helped to focus public attention upon the Jewish community. Many white Christians are beginning to look more closely at Jewish neighbors whom they had taken for granted. A Jewish community recently debated whether former Senator Herbert Lehman should be invited to take part in a purely communal affair, since he has been a forthright advocate of civil rights legislation. A Jewish businessman was recently invited to lunch by his dentist, who wanted to know "what the Jews think" about integration, and whether they are the real force "behind" the Negroes. Another Jewish businessman wondered if he should accept a public post if it involved having his picture in the newspaper.

Virginia Jews have joined other Southern Jews in demanding that national Jewish organizations discontinue making public statements on the race issue or the problems

growing out of this question. Recently, a national Jewish agency called a meeting of Virginia Jewish leaders to ask whether it should file a friend-of-the-court brief in the case of a Northern Virginia printer, a Quaker named David Scull, who had refused to answer questions put to him by a legislative committee because he believed its purpose was to harass pro-integration organizations. The local leaders succeeded in blocking such action, even though most of them recognized the civil liberties issues involved in the case. They argued that Scull was adequately represented by counsel and that intervention by a Jewish agency was therefore unnecessary and might be harmful to Virginia Jews.

In the face of pressures both outside and within the Jewish community, most of the outspoken Jewish integrationists in the South have, since 1954, retreated into positions of silence. In this respect the Jew is no different from the white Protestant liberal or moderate in Virginia—though he has more cause for inaction. Nevertheless, Jews in Virginia do not live in anything resembling a state of terror. Life, in fact, goes on very much the same for most Virginians. Nor have all Jews surrendered to their fears. A number have been active in Norfolk and Charlottesville pressing for the opening of public schools. Rabbi Malcom Stern of Norfolk publicly urged a city referendum on public school closings last spring, while Rabbi Frank continues to air his opposition to massive resistance. Other rabbis are working through ministerial associations and other groups in efforts to head off violence and mediate the racial struggle.

Nor is there evidence of any appreciable rise in anti-Semitism, as distinct from anti-Semitic activity. Recent temple bombings in other parts of the South have horrified Virginians. Early in November, Governor Almond told Milton Friedman, Washington correspondent of the Jewish Telegraphic Agency, that elements seeking to promote violence and anti-Semitism "are not friends of the South" and were hurting the states rights cause. A Virginia Congressman mailed a check for $50.00 to a prominent Jew in his community to help pay for the restoration of the "Jewish church" in Atlanta.

But Jews in Virginia remain worried nonetheless. And neither their own silence on the race issue, nor the silence of national Jewish organizations, can end that worry. When a society is experiencing crisis, pressures on its Jews usually increase. Virginia Jews can expect peace only when Virginia finds peace—that is to say, when leaders of the Old Dominion recognize the futility of "massive resistance" and begin to adjust their state's practices to the law of the land.

Savannah (Ga) Morning News
Monday, June 22, 1959

Violence
Rept. file

Copy to W. Carey Poag
J. Price W. Carey Poag
Geo. B. Moffett, Jr.
Geo. B. Moffett, Sr.

The South Is Due an Apology

EVERY RESIDENT of the eleven Southern states from Virginia to Texas is due a personal apology from three organizations which united to publish a slanderous and prejudicial document purporting to show that there has been a general breakdown of law and order in the South in the past four years.

The 30-page booklet, entitled "Intimidation, Reprisal and Violence in the South's Racial Crisis" was published jointly by (1) Southeastern Office, American Friends Service Committee of High Point, N.C.; (2) Department of Racial and Cultural Relations, National Council of Churches of Christ in the United States of America, of New York City; and (3) the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta.

The purpose of the tract, obviously, was to amass a box score of real or alleged "incidents" from newspaper clippings, and to present the total listing largely out of context without benefit of any statistical comparisons on which it could be properly judged or evaluated, in an effort to prove that the South is fairly wallowing in race riots and anarchy.

FROM THE RESULTING conglomeration came a "news release" announcing widespread "erosion of individual liberties" in the eleven Southern states involved, attested to by a list of 530 specific cases of "violence, reprisal and intimidation" in the four-year period. The story made page 1 of New York papers last Monday. Editorials of condemnation followed. Declared the South-hating *Washington Post & Times Herald:* " . . . there is little hope for the South to shake off this trend toward violent eruptions until its own basic thinking about adherence to the law as defined by the courts is straightened out."

Thus, the three groups responsible for the publication have, for reasons best known to themselves, contrived through a misleading document to fan the fires of sectional animosity.

LET'S TAKE A LOOK at the report itself, which covers the period from Jan. 1, 1955 to Jan. 1, 1959, during which 530 specific cases of violence, intimidation or reprisal were cited. How many cases occurred in the four years from 1951 to 1955? This is not listed, but if twice as many occurred, it could be said that conditions in the eleven states are improving. More important, what would the box score show for the same period in eleven Eastern or Midwestern states, of any eleven chosen at random with the highest Negro-white ratios of population, if a similar count were made? Would the South show *more* cases—or would it show *less?*

Since no attempt was made to give such a comparison, the motive of the joint endeavor may be taken for granted—namely, to hold the South up to scorn and contempt.

DOES A TOTAL of 530 "incidents" in eleven states over a four-year period show a general breakdown of law and order? This would average out to about a dozen incidents per state per year.

Last year a congressional committee investigated more than 800 specific incidents of violence *(not including* intimidations and reprisals) during the same period of time in one labor dispute in Kohler, Wis. And this was by Walter Reuther's union—we don't even have to get into the statistics from the real bad boys such as Jimmy Hoffa. Does this indicate a widespread erosion of individual liberties in Wisconsin? And if so, why was this not included in the report?

On race incidents, what about Cicero, Ill., or Levittown, Pa., or Dearborn, Mich.? What about New York, Washington, Baltimore, Philadelphia and Chicago? The box score, had one been kept, of similar incidents, would have shown a greater number in New York or Chicago during the four-year period than the 530 total for eleven Southern states!

IN FACT, when we consider that the Southern states have the highest proportion of Negro population to white, we'll bet our last dollar that an honest survey would prove race relations in the South to be better and more amicable than any other area of the country where there is an appreciable Negro population.

The organizations responsible for this report have done an irresponsible thing that will not help the cause of better race relations in the South or elsewhere. Their report, itself, admits "this is not a comprehensive survey . . . It describes only their angry, violent side." We ask them—Why? We think the South is *due* an explanation.

Hold On, Senator

SEN. PAUL DOUGLAS of Illinois has leveled a broadside against retired military officers who accept positions with industry. He said that when firms seeking defense contracts "hire former officers of high rank to negotiate with their former fellow officers—some of whom they have promoted—the potential and actual abuses are magnified."

But before we look at them, it will be useful to understand, if we can, the historical situation in which the issues have been posed.

Since the war which ended 15 years ago Franco-American relations have been based on a premise which was never openly avowed but has always been assumed both in Paris and in Washington. The premise has been that France, though it is counted among the victors, was in fact defeated, and that her colonial empire is in the process of dissolution, and that she is no longer a first class power. The chronic instability of the post-war governments in France, the budgetary and monetary disorders, supported this view.

LIPPMANN

Our government acquired a habit of not consulting France regularly and genuinely, and indeed of treating her with less intimacy and confidence not only than Great Britain but even West Germany. On two recent occasions which might have led to a war involving France—the landing in Lebanon and the affair at Quemoy—there was no full consultation with Paris.

* * *

THE ADVENT to power of Gen. de Gaulle was bound to mean, as it has meant, that France would not accept the lower position which she has occupied. She has been regarded not only as not so great a power as Russia and the United States, but not even as being in the second rank with Great Britain or even with Adenauer's Germany.

We must never forget that Gen. de Gaulle, to his everlasting honor, is the Frenchman who never surrendered and who never accepted defeat, and it is a kind of historic justice that he should be the man who now insists that France must not be treated as a defeated and inferior power.

In this context we may look at the issues. They were raised diplomatically last summer and then in a note addressed to President Eisenhower and Prime Minister Macmillan on Sept. 24, 1958. This note has never been published. But it is said to set up three French objectives.

* * *

ONE IS THAT NATO, which is now a regional pact, shall become a global alliance in which France, Britain, and America have the same policy and the same

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UNFOUNDED ATTACK UPON GOOD NAME OF PEOPLE OF THE SOUTH

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, I yield to the Senator from Georgia.

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, last week three organizations dedicated to racial agitation resorted to an irresponsible, unfounded, and slanderous attack upon the good name of the people of the South. The American Friends Service Committee of High Point, N.C., the National Council of Churches of Christ in the United States of America of New York City, and the Southern Regional Council of Atlanta, Ga., joined in publishing a 30-page booklet entitled "Intimidation, Reprisal

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and Violence in the South's Racial Crisis," in which they sought by innuendo, distortion, association, and half-truth to conclude from a series of 530 unrelated so-called incidents spread over a 4-year period that law, order, and harmonious race relations no longer exist in the 11 States of the South.

This studied effort to indict a whole region of our Nation is wholly one-sided and makes no pretense at comparison with other periods or regions, nor does it attempt in any way to report on the manner in which these so-called incidents have been dealt with under due process of law in the States and localities where they occurred. The hypocrisy which motivated so biased and inflammatory a publication is unspeakable and deserves the condemnation of all fairminded Americans, regardless of their place of residence.

Two of Georgia's outstanding newspapers—the Savannah Morning News and the Augusta Herald—have replied editorially to this attack with the indignation which it warrants. The Herald's editorial appeared in its issue of June 17, 1959, and was entitled "Unqualified Report on Crime in South Slanders Entire Southern Population." The Morning News' editorial appeared in its issue of June 22, 1959, and is entitled "The South Is Due an Apology." Mr. President, I endorse every word of these two editorials, and ask unanimous consent that they be printed herewith in the body of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the August Herald, June 17, 1959]

UNQUALIFIED REPORT ON CRIME IN SOUTH SLANDERS ENTIRE SOUTHERN POPULATION

Three all-seeing agenices have pointed sneeringly at the South as a hotbed of racial violence, reprisal and intimidation since the U.S. Supreme Court handed down its school integration decision in 1954.

The reports of these groups—the American Friends Service Committee, High Point, N.C.; the Department of Racial and Cultural Relations of the National Council of Churches of Christ, New York; and the Southern Regional Council, Atlanta—are a barefaced slander upon the South, not for what they told, but for what they did not tell.

Basing their study upon newspaper reports of crimes in the South from January 1, 1954, to January 1, 1959, they reported 530 killings, beatings, bombings and mob actions in the South as indications of widespread erosion of individual liberties.

These agencies, supposedly working for the betterment of race relations, have not taken the trouble to assess this average against the national figure for similar crimes.

They have not sought to determine, through the northern press, the number of racially motivated crimes in the North during the same period. In this they may, to a degree, be pardoned, since the northern press does not have the honesty to call a Negro a Negro or a race incident a race incident.

Instead, they have ferreted out a few instances of anti-Jewish acts in the South and magnified them by implication into a marked outbreak of anti-Semitism, without any reference to the same ugly cancer that gnaws perpetually at the vitals of the North.

Instead, they have sought to tie this average to 132 cases of race violence a year squarely to the Supreme Court decision, suggesting in the most cowardly manner possible that legislative and executive policies of evading and defying Federal court decisions may have set an example whose contagion is uncontrollable.

May we suggest that, conversely, these things may not have set any such example—that no part of this country can enter the arena of argument over racial discrimination with clean hands—and that what has happened in the South is but one part of what was happening long before the Court's decision, throughout the United States.

These reports are, we contend, examples of the most despicable sort of distortion. They are loaded statistics taken out of the national context and fed to a northern readership whose enormous gullibility is expected to give them currency.

This newspaper and its morning contemporary, the press of the South generally, and by far the vast majority of its population, abhor race violence in any form. They have said so in the past, and will do so in the future.

But they also abhor cowards. Cowards who, for lack of any better argument, resort to slander, half-truths and distortions of fact simply to vilify one-fourth of a nation and make plaster saints out of the other three-fourths.

[From the Savannah Morning News, Monday, June 22, 1959]

THE SOUTH IS DUE AN APOLOGY

Every resident of the 11 Southern States from Virginia to Texas is due a personal apology from three organizations which united to publish a slanderous and prejudicial document purporting to show that there has been a general breakdown of law and order in the South in the past 4 years.

The 30-page booklet, entitled "Intimidation, Reprisal and Violence in the South's Racial Crisis" was published jointly by (1) Southeastern Office, American Friends Service Committee of High Point, N.C.; (2) Department of Racial and Cultural Relations, National Council of Churches of Christ in the United States of America, of New York City; and (3) the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta.

The purpose of the tract, obviously, was to amass a box score of real or alleged incidents from newspaper clippings, and to present the total listing largely out of context without benefit of any statistical comparisons on which it could be properly judged or evaluated, in an effort to prove that the South is fairly wallowing in race riots and anarchy.

From the resulting conglomeration came a news release announcing widespread erosion of individual liberties in the 11 Southern States involved, attested to by a list of 530 specific cases of violence, reprisal, and intimidation in the 4-year period. The story made page 1 of New York papers last Monday. Editorials of condemnation followed. Declared the South-hating Washington Post and Times Herald: "There is little hope for the South to shake off this trend toward violent eruptions until its own basic thinking about adherence to the law as defined by the courts is straightened out."

Thus, the three groups responsible for the publication have, for reasons best known to themselves, contrived through a misleading document to fan fires of sectional animosity.

Let's take a look at the report itself, which covers the period from January 1, 1955, to January 1, 1959, during which 530 specific cases of violence, intimidation, or reprisal were cited. How many cases occurred in the 4 years from 1951 to 1955? This is not listed, but if twice as many occurred, it could be said that conditions in the 11 States are improving. More important, what would the box score show for the same period in 11 Eastern or Midwestern States, or any 11 chosen at random with the highest Negro-white ratios of population, if a similar count were made? Would the South show more cases—or would it show less?

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The organizations responsible for this report have done an irresponsible thing that will not help the cause of better race relations in the South or elsewhere. Their report, itself, admits "this is not a comprehensive survey. * * * It describes only their angry, violent side." We ask them—Why? We think the South is due an explanation.

WINTER ON THE SEAWAY—LETTER

Mr. LANGER. Mr. President, I have just received a letter from the Honorable Lester P. Barlow, who is a very excellent engineer, inventor and one of the leading experts on explosives in the United States.

He writes me and states that he wrote a letter to Business Week some time ago after they had published a story about the Great Lakes and the St. Lawrence Seaway not being available for commercial shipping during the 5 months of winter. He noted that he was "kidding" Business Week about backing the "birds" to go to the moon to plant tomatoes, but forgetting that some of the brains should give attention to keeping our inland waterways open the year around.

Mr. President, on several occasions I have inserted remarks into the RECORD relating to the importance of the opening of the St. Lawrence Seaway and the impact that it will have on shipping in the Great Lakes area and land transportation west from the Great Lakes into Minnesota, the Dakotas, and points west. I have also brought to the attention of Congress a bill cosponsored by the Senators in the North Central States, asking the Office of Defense Mobilization to make a survey of transportation and industry in the areas contiguous to

THE TRUTH THAT SHOULD BE PRINTED

The White Sentinel

P. O. BOX 9013 FORT LAUDERDALE, FLORIDA

Vol. X Nos. 2 & 3 — *Racial Integrity - Not Amalgamation* — February-March, 1960

TROTSKYITES BEHIND LUNCH COUNTER DEMONSTRATIONS

CORE Picketing Woolworth Five and Dime Store

The current sit down strikes and demonstrations being held throughout the South is no mere coincidence, but was planned by the Reds to influence "Civil Rights" legislation and to furnish the Kremlin with propaganda, thus aiding Russia in her cold war against the United States.

It is also no mere coincidence that Martin Luther King was picked to lead these demonstrations. When King attended Morehouse (negro) College he came under the influence and direction of Benjamin Mays, President of Morehouse. Mays saw potentialities in King, as he showed a radical tendency and was given special treatment and instructions to mold him into a rabble-rouser. King could not have had a more qualified teacher than Mays. His activities include Board of Directors, NAACP and he is connected with a number of Communist fronts and subversive organizations listed by the Attorney General. (Subversive organizations in bold type).

American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born; Civil Rights Congress; National Federation for Constitutional Liberties; United Negro and Allied Veterans of America. *23 Communist front citations.*

Rev. Martin L. King, Jr., mugged and finger printed by Montgomery Alabama police

While studying at Crozier Theological Seminary, King came under the influence of Mordecai Johnson, President of Howard (negro) University, who interested King in the Mohandas K. Gandhi, passive resistance (a smoke screen to hide their real intent). Johnson has a record of Communist affiliations and Communist front citations.

National Federation for Constitutional Liberties; Southern Negro Youth Congress. *14 Communist front citations.*

In 1956, King led the Montgomery, Alabama bus strike with Bayard Ruskin, negro, identified by *The Daily Worker* as King's secretary. Ruskin was arrested in San Diego, Calif., in 1953. He was charged with the violation of penal code section 288, a lewd vagrancy (homosexuality). Ruskin was sentenced to 60 days in jail when he pleaded guilty.

Ruskin serves on the Advisory Board of 'Congress' of Racial Equality (CORE); He served as a missionary for the American Friends Service Committee, a left-wing organization; College secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, a Communist front; Served as secretary of the War Resisters League, whose slogan is "to unite men and women who have determined to give no support to any war, irrespective of the reason." *The Daily Worker* lists Bayard Ruskin as one who attended the 1957 convention of the Communist Party, U.S.A.

In 1957 King attended Highlander Folk School at Monteagle, Tennessee, known as a Communist training school. King attended all its workshops and addressed the assembly.

In 1958, King's name appeared in *Fellowship*, the official publication of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, he serves on the Advisory Board.

Pictured here (foreground) is Abner W. Berry of the Central Committee of the Communist Party. On the first row are Reverend Martin Luther King (right) Aubrey Williams (2nd from right) president of the Southern Conference Education Fund, Inc. and Myles Horton (3rd from right) the director of Highlander Folk School.

These "four horsemen" of racial agitation have brought tension, disturbance, strife and violence in their advancement of the Communist doctrine of "racial nationalism".

The Nashville Tennesseean, one of the South's leading newspapers on Oct. 15th, 1939, after a thorough investigation declared: **"It is a center, if not the center for the spreading of Communist doctrine in 13 Southeastern States."**

Picture above taken at Highlander Folk School Seminar

The largest left-wing pacifist group in the United States is the Fellwoship of Reconciliation. For years, A. J. Muste was the executive secretary of this organization.

In 1933, Muste deserted both the Church and pacifism for Trotskyist Communism.

The Fellowship of Reconciliation claims to have been the parent of many left-wing organizations which have worked to further the interests of the Communist conspiracy in the United States. In its official history, the Fellowship has the following to say about itself: "Out of its activities and the concerns of its members and committees have grown such diverse organizations as the *National Conference of Christians and Jews*, the *American Civil Liberties Union*, the *Religion and Labor Foundation*, the *Workers Defense League*, the *Committee on Militarism in Education*, the *Congress of Racial Equality* the *National Council Against Conscription*, the *Society for Social Responsibility in Science*, the *Church Peace Mission*, and most recently, the *American Committee on Africa*."

The Fellowship of Reconciliation is officially on record as urging its members to join "political movements which aim at the replacement of private capitalism by a system of collective ownership." This broad category is enough to include the Communist movement as well as the Socialist.

The current and official appartus of the Fellowship was well represented in the composition of the Cleveland Conference of the Red National Council of Churches. From the early years of the Federal Council of Churches, its personnel was extensively interlocked with that of the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

King was also made a member of the Advisory Board of the Congress of Racial Equality.

Fellowship of Reconciliation is the parent of Congress of Racial Equality. Some of its officers serve both CORE and Fellowship. According to their pamphlet, *This Is CORE:* "The Sit-In technique being used can be justifiably called the CORE technique because CORE was a pioneer in this method." (according to our files, this statement is true. They have been agitating and stirring up trouble for a number of years). Their aim, the pamphlet states, to integrate not only in hotels, but in swimming pools, barber shops, restaurants, and all other places of public accommodations. The pamphlet further states: "A Sit-In is CORE's oldest and most widely used technique. The CORE group, often divided into three units - one negro, one White, and one inter-racial - demonstrates at an eating place shortly before the busiest hour, sits down and waits to be served.

In its official publication, *Core-Lator* suggested reading: Martin L. King's book *Stride Toward Freedom*, subtly written to inflame negroes. *Core-Lator* is edited by the atheist Jim Peck. Peck was the editor of the Communist front Workers Defense League's *News Service*, he is a columnist for the left-wing *Independent*; a contributor to *Liberation* another left-wing publication and author of *We Who Would Not Kill*.

Officers of CORE

CHARLES R. OLDHAM - Chairman. Unsuccessful lawyer, now attorney for the Garbage Workers, St. Louis, Mo.

Charles Oldham

George Houser

GEORGE M. HOUSER - Regional Representative. Was Racial Industrial Secretary, *Fellowship of Reconciliation*; Executive Director, *American Committee on Africa;* Sponsor, *National Religion and Labor Foundation*.

ANNA HOLDEN - Secretary. Born in Ocala, Florida. She was research and information assistant with the Communist front *Southern Regional Council* from 1951 to 1955. Since then she has been a research associate at Fisk (negro) University, Nashville. In 1957 she became chairman of the Nashville CORE.

E. STANLEY JONES - Advisory Board. *2 Communist front citations.*

MARTIN LUTHER KING - Advisory Board. Record in foregoing.

WILL MASLOW - Advisory Board. *2 Communist front citations.*

ROGER N. BALDWIN - Advisory Board. Committee of 100, NAACP; **American Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born; American League for Peace and Democracy; American League Against War and Fascism; American Youth Congress; Citizens Committee to Free Earl Browder; Friends of the Soviet Union; International Labor Defense; International Workers Order; National Committee Friends of the Soviet Union; North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy.** *71 Communist front citations*

ALGERNON D. BLACK - Advisory Board. Board of Directors NAACP; **American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born; American Committee for Spanish Freedom; American Russian Institute; American Youth Congress; Citizens Victory Committee for Harry Bridges; Council on African Affairs; League of American Writers; National Council of American-Soviet Friendship; National Federation for Constitutional Liberties; United American Spanish Aid Committee; Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade; Veterans Against Discrimination of Civil Rights Congress.** *42 Communist front citations.*

ALLAN KNIGHT CHALMERS - Advisory Board. Treasurer and Board of Directors, NAACP; *7 Communist front citations.*

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH - Advisory Board. Vice President, AFL-CIO; Vice President, NAACP; **American League for Peace and Democracy; American League Against War and Fascism; American Youth Congress; Council for Pan American Democracy, International Labor Defense; National Negro Congress; Southern Negro Youth Congress; United May Day Committee.** *31 Communist front citations.*

IRA DE A. REID - Advisory Board. **American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born; American League Against War and Fascism; Citizens Committee to Free Earl Browder; National Federation for Constitutional Liberties.** *7 Communist front citations.*

ARNOLD M. ROSE - Advisory Board. Sociologist; Co-Author, *An American Dilemma*, the book the Supreme Court based its infamous *Black Monday* decision on.

LILLIAN SMITH - Advisory Board. Author; NAACP Committee of 100; **American Peace Mobilization; National Council of American-Soviet Friendship.** *7 Communist front citations.*

HOWARD THURMAN - Advisory Board. *6 Communist front citations.*

CHARLES S. ZIMMERMAN - Advisory Board. Head of AFL-CIO Committee on Civil Rights; Chairman Jewish Labor Committee; Board of Trustees, National Urban League; **American League Against War and Fascism; Testimony in 1939 before the House Committee on Un-American Activities revealed "Charles Zimmerman as a leading Trotskyite." It is noted that one Charles Zimmerman was the Communist party candidate in the 4th Assembly District, Bronx, New York.** *(Daily Worker)*; **Communist Party candidate for Municipal Court, 2nd District, Manhattan, 1929; Member, Executive Committee, United May Day Committee.** *1 Communist front citation.*

A. J. MUSTE - Advisory Board. Presbyterian Minister, New York, N.Y.; **Founder and leader of the American Trotskyites.**

In his book, *History of American Trotskyism*, James P. Cannon, said of Muste: "Trotsky was greatly interested in the personality of Muste, asked me questions about him and entertained some hopes that he would develop into a real Bolshevik later." *32 Communist front citations.*

HAROLD J. GIBBONS - Advisory Board. Vice President, Teamsters Union; **Trotskyite, visited with Leon Trotsky while in exile in Mexico;** *7 Communist front citations.*

HAROLD J. GIBBONS

Harold J. Gibbons, special assistant to President James R. Hoffa, of the Teamsters Union, was responsible for bringing CORE to St. Louis and kept it alive by giving it large donations. As Gibbons goes, so goes CORE.

Up until 1956, their average income was a little over $5,000.00. Contributions were $5,000.00 in 1956, and listing no income for membership dues. In 1958, CORE lists contributions at $22,935.82 membership dues $90.98 with sale of literature total income $24,705.26. That same year Harold Gibbons was elected (?) to Vice President of the Teamsters, [illegible] large boost in salary. In 1959 CORE lists contributions at $64,925.57, total income $62,250.01, and the same year Gibbons was made special assistant to James R. Hoffa President of the Teamsters Union, with an increase in salary. **How much of this is Teamsters money? As Gibbons goes, so goes CORE!**

In April, 1959, King was one of the original signers of the call for a Student March on Washington, which was largely sponsored and directed by the Reds. (March exposed in the March, April issues of *The White Sentinel*, 1959).

King is also a singer and sponsor of a petition to the President to end Atomic Bomb Testing, one of the newer ideas of the Reds to weaken the United States.

In testimony given by Dr. J. B. Matthews, before the Florida Legislation Investigation Committee, 1958, Dr. Matthews testified: "It is of great significance that King is in close touch with such Communists and pro Communists as were assembled at the Highlander Folk School seminar. Leading Communists have been writing enthusiastically about King's Movement."

To quote from James P. Cannon's book, *The First Ten Years of American Communism*. (A word about the author, James P. Cannon writes with authority. He is a Communist deep within the Communism movement).

"The main discussion on the Negro question took place in Moscow, and the new approach to the problem was elaborated there. As early as the Second Congress of the Comintern in 1920, 'The Negroes in America' was a point on the agenda, and a preliminary discussion of the question took place. Historical research will prove conclusively that CP policy on the Negro question got its initial impulse from Moscow.

"Everything new and progressive on the Negro question came from Moscow, after the revolution of 1917, and as a result of the revolution - not only for the American communist who responded directly, **but for all others concerned with the question.**

"The Reverend Martin Luther King did remark, at the time of the Montgomery boycott battle, that their movement was part of the world-wide struggle of the colored peoples for independence and equality. He should have added that the colonial revolutions, which are indeed a powerful ally of the Negro movement in America, got their starting impulse from the Russian Revolution - and are stimulated and strengthened from day to day by the continuing existence of this revolution in the shape of the Soviet Union and the new China."

As of today, the Communist press throughout the nation is devoting much space to the counter demonstrations by CORE and the NAACP, led by King, plotted and timed by the Reds. These manufactured demonstrations, are designed to give Russia a propaganda tool to be used against the United States and to bring pressure on the Southern States. The Communist press admits the demonstrations **aid the Communist Party** and give it new opportunity to incite racial animosity, pit race against race and inject the class struggle.

The White Sentinel on numerous occasions have exposed and opposed CORE. In St. Louis members of the National Citizens Protection Association were the only effective organization opposing this group. As far back as 1951, *The White Sentinel* exposed their leadership and red front activities and pointed out, to give in to this group would give aid and comfort to the Communist cause and enable them to recruit more followers.

As a result of our campaign over a period of years, one very prominent and influential business man said: **"Had it not been for your efforts, St. Louis would have been integrated years ago."**

The organized opposition we en masse still continues to function effectively. Several months ago, Howard Johnson restaurant on Kingshighway in St. Louis was picketed by over a hundred Whites and blacks. CORE's record was exposed and the owner of the establishment was able to obtain an injunction **prohibiting** CORE's picket line.

There is something **YOU** can do to end these demonstrations. Write to your Congressman, and Senators and demand an investigation by the Un-American Activities Committee. You can buy extra copies of *The White Sentinel* so other people may be informed as to what is behind these demonstrations.

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NEGRO BISHOP WARNS NAACP A DISSERVICE TO NEGRO RACE

From *The Methodist Challenge*
1801 S. Flower St., Los Angeles 15, California

Bishop Sherman L. Greene of Philadelphia, a Bishop in the African Methodist Church, has some "horse sense" and expresses it in this crazy hour of half-baked ideology. Here is what he is reported to have said to the Conference over which he was presiding:

"We can overdo this integration business. The greatest threat is that the Negro will produce a generation of children who believe that no Negro institution can be good and that no institution, school, church, business or profession can be worth while unless it is mixed racially. We must not promote the idea that Negro institutions for Negroes only are necessarily inferior."

Bishop Greene has said something in expressing this wholesome sentiment that certainly ought to be said. There is some thing wrong with a race that must be blended with some other race before it can be any good. The NAACP has done the African race a distinct disservice by promulgating the idea that the Negro race or any other race must be elevated by integration with the Caucasian race. As I have said over and over in these pages, the Negro race rises or falls on its own merit, its character, its quality. The very existence of the NAACP is a confession that something is wrong with the Negro race. Its very activities concede that the Negroes must be propped up. This is the one thing a respectable Negro, such as Bishop Greene is afraid of and desires to warn his fellows against.

The dark races of the world now outnumber the White races. If there must be any contest, to determine the superiority of the blacks or Whites, it must be on the basis of character. No longer will color determine superiority. The Caucasian race has won a high place in human history, not because of the color of men's skins, but because of moral and spiritual assets.

The Negroes have made tremendous advancement since slavery and certainly do not have to apologize. There is a possibility that the NAACP may become a millstone about the necks of the black races.

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14 COLLEGES BACK STUDENT LOYALITY OATH

Sixteen college and university presidents, defying the Ivy League attitude of Harvard and Yale, have declared themselves solidly behind the Student Loyalty Oath.

All of them have called for the defeat of Senator John F. Kennedy's bill which would repeal the non-subversive affidavit requirement for students receiving loans under the National Defense Education Act.

Under the 1958 act, a college student who wants to borrow money from the Federal Government to defray the cost of his education must first swear allegiance to the United States and file an affidavit to the effect that he does not belong to any organization intent on overthrowing the U S Government.

One of the presidents, George S Benson from Harding College in Arkansas, stated simply, "...A normal young man or woman should be proud to declare loyalty to country." The President of Defiance College in Ohio, Dr. Kevin McCann, said: "Dr. A. Whitney Griswold (President of Yale) has raised a standard around which many will gladly rally. I cannot "

The 14 other educational institutions in which the presidents or chancellors rallied around the oath are: Norwich University (Vermont), St. Michael's College (Vermont), University of Vermont, Houghton College (N. Y.), Le Moyne College (N. Y.) Wheaton College (Ill.) Eastern Michigan College, St. Mary's College (Ind.), De Pauw University (Ind.), Alliance (Pa.), St. Joseph's College (Pa.), Temple University (Pa.) and Villanova University (Pa.).

All have taken the position that no loyal person should consider it an affront to attest his loyalty to his country and disavow any association with the Communist conspiracy. Senator Karl Mundt (Rep. S. D.) pointed out the loans were being given as a defense measure - and defense is not promoted by aiding students who advocate overthrowing the Government.

Further information about those favoring the retention of the Loyalty Oath can be obtained by writing the National Student Committee For the Loyalty Oath, 2405 37th Street, N. W. Washington 7, D. C. The group has been organized by David Franke, a junior at George Washington University and Douglas Caddy, a senior at Georgetown's school of foreign service.

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See parts 3 + 4 attachs on Sec

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Dublin, Mississippi
April 9, 1960

Dear Student:

I am enclosing some information which I believe that you as a Methodist have a right to know. We may wish these things to be false, but I assure you that they aren't; for within my files I have proof to support every statement of fact made on these pages.

After you have read this material, won't you send it on to your parents, for they, too, deserve to know these things.

Thanking you for your time, I am

Sincerely yours,

/S/ Malcolm H. Mabry, Jr.

Place your name and address on the lines below if either you or your parents would like to be on my permanent mailing list. Mail this page back to me.

_____

_____

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MALCOLM H. MABRY, JR.

1933	Born Dublin, Mississippi
1951	Graduated Clarksdale High School Clarksdale, Mississippi
1953	Granted Local Preacher's License
1953 - 1954	Part-time Pastor Cagle's Crossing Union Church
1955	Graduated Delta State College B. S. Degree in Education
1955 - 1957	History Teacher, Marks High School
1958 - 1960	History Teacher, Como High School
1954 - 1960	Member, Board of Stewards Dublin Methodist Church
1959	Elected Charge Lay Delegate to North Mississippi Annual Conference
1960	Sunday School Teacher and Sunday School Superintendent
1960	(Summer) Will receive Master of Social Studies from University of Mississippi

D I D Y O U K N O W ?

-- PART ONE --

1) That Dr. Albert E. Barnett, a professor of New Textament at your Methodist school of theology at Emory University, is a national officer of the NAACP and has sixteen Communist affiliations.

2) That G. Bromley Oxnam, a bishop of the Methodist Church, is also a national officer of the NAACP with 36 Communist affiliations.

3) That E. Stanley, the famed Methodist missionary, is a member of the Advisory Committee of Martin Luther King's "Congress of Racial Equality."

4) That this same E. Stanley Jones said in his book "Christ's Alternative to Communism" that "When the Western World was floundering in an unjust and competitive order and the Church was bound up with it and was part of that order, God reached out and put his hand on the Russian Communists to produce a more just order..."

5) That in order to secure a teaching position at Wood Junior College a person must sign a statement agreeing to teach "any race, creed, or color" who might enroll there. (I have no tangible proof of this; only the word of a friend who taught there two years ago.)

6) That the Mississippi Methodist Advocate defended, in a sly, "round-about-way" the Castro regime in Cuba. (See the editorial page of the September 16, 1959, edition.)

7) That the Advocate refused to carry an announcement of the annual meeting of the Methodist Ministers and Laymen Association.

8) That the Methodist Church was one of the organizations which sent witnesses before Congressional Committees, urging more "Civil Rights" and anti-South legislation.

9) That the pastor of the First Methodist Church in Clarksdale said in a sermon (November 1956) that "segregation is a sin and those who believe in segregation are sinners." (I was present, and walked out in the middle of the sermon!)

10) That every Methodist Church in Mississippi has an item in its budget for the National Council of Churches. This is the organization whose president, Dr. Edwin T. Dahlberg, recently said that the time has come to eliminate such expressions as "The precious name of Jesus," "Saved by Grace," "Born of the Spirit," etc. (We in our Dublin Church have cut this item out of our budget.)

NOTE: Feel free to copy any or all of this paper (OR) write to me for extra copies.

Malcolm H. Mabry, Jr.
Dublin, Mississippi

D I D Y O U K N O W ?

-- PART TWO --

1) That Bishop Marvin Franklin signed and approved the "Bishop's Address" of the 1956 General Conference of the Methodist Church, even though (or maybe because) it contained this statement: ". . .there is no place in The Methodist Church for racial discrimination or racial segregation. . .it is our business to free our world and our nation from these evils."

2) That in the July 20, 1958, edition of the Methodist Sunday School publication for youth entitled "Twelve-Fifteen," this statement appeared: "Prejudice indicates a lack of maturity, a weakness in the personality, fear and ignorance." (page 12) (Have you glanced through your child's church school literature lately? If you haven't, then you should.)

3) That of the 95 men who wrote the Revised Version of the Bible, 30 have numerous Communist or Communist-front affiliations.

4) That a number of Methodist preachers from Mississippi attended the Human Relations Conference at Southern Methodist University in Dallas, Texas, last September; Thurgood Marshall of the NAACP was one of the featured speakers at this conference! Rev. R. L. Long of Como and Rev. J. W. Chatham of Sardis went from the Sardis District, and both of these men refused to write an evaluation of the conference when asked to do so by the Methodist Ministers and Laymen Association.

5) That I have been told by a recent graduate of the Emory School of Theology that there are several theology professors there who do not believe in the physical resurrection of Christ.

6) That upon being informed by the congregation of the Dublin Methodist Church that it was cutting several objectionable items (including Millsaps) out of its budget, the District Superintendent roundly condemned the action and said that "When people can't support the church and its institutions, then it's time for some people <u>to get out of the Methodist Church</u>!" (This occurred just this past August. I was there.)

7) That Dr. Dudley Ward of the Board of Social and Economic Relations highly recommended in a sermon to the 1959 North Mississippi Annual Conference that a good book which all should read is "The Road to Brotherhood."

8) That Dr. Harry Denman made no secret about his feelings when he said in a sermon to the same North Miss. Annual Conference that "I am for integration!" (Every Methodist ought to try to attend a session of the Annual Conference; he might be shocked at some of the things said there!)

9) That this statement appeared in an editorial in the November 19, 1958, edition of the <u>Mississippi Methodist Advocate</u>: "We Southerners can afford to be more tolerant of people <u>who do not look</u> like us. . .We have made His World a shambles as far as human relationships are involved."

NOTE: Feel free to copy any or all of this paper (OR) write to me for extra copies.

Malcolm H. Mabry, Jr.
Dublin, Mississippi

D I D Y O U K N O W ?

— PART THREE —

1) That Mrs. J. A. Burt, Administrative Assistant on the Mississippi Methodist Advocate staff was (and may still be) on the staff of the Mississippi Council on Human Relations. This council is affiliated with the Southern Regional Council, an organization which, according to the Communist Daily Worker (Dec. 1, 1954), was founded by a communist--James E. Jackson.

2) That the late Mrs. W. H. Ratliff, mother-in-law of President Ellis Finger of Millsaps, was the president of this Mississippi Council on Human Relations; and that Dr. H. G. Williamson, former Mississippi Methodist minister, was also on the Board of Directors.

3) That according to testimony presented before a Joint Legislative Committee of the Louisiana Legislature by ex-Communist Manning Johnson, the Communist-founded Southern Regional Council has its offices "in a little church office building (in Atlanta) presided over by Methodist Bishop Arthur Moore!"

4) That the book "Behind Soviet Power" by Jerome Davis was sent to 22,000 Methodist ministers by Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam, and these books were paid for with money from Methodist missionary funds. This in spite of the fact that Davis has 99 Communist and Communist-front affiliations!

5) That the Volunteer Civil Rights Commission, designed to urge Congress to pass civil rights legislation is headed by Methodist Bishop Oxnam.

6) That according to Bishop Marvin Franklin, speaking before the North Alabama Annual Conference meeting in Decatur, Alabama, on January 13, 1960, the Methodist Church lost 199,000 members last year and 1,000,000 since 1952. (I wonder why? Could it be that our church has become so liberal and steeped in preaching the "social gospel"--including integration--that people are finding spiritual guidance elsewhere?)

7) That at the National Conference of Methodist Youth meeting at Purdue University last August, the morning prayer service was conducted with a background of recorded jazz music.

8) That at this same Youth Conference Eleanor Roosevelt, Harold Stassen and others participated in a special panel discussion on world affairs.

9) That this statement appeared in the June 11, 1958, edition of the Mississippi Methodist Advocate: "When we (Southerners) claim to believe in democracy and are unwilling to share it with Jews, Mexicans, Orientals, and Negroes, we really do not believe in democracy. If we profess that every American is entitled to equal opportunity to develop, and do not work toward this end, can we say that we believe what we profess?"

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Malcolm H. Mabry, Jr.
Dublin, Mississippi

DID YOU KNOW?

-- PART FOUR --

1) That this "modern" teen-age version of the Lord's Prayer appeared on the Forum page of a recent issue of Concern. This magazine, published by the National Conference of Methodist Youth in Nashville, is referred to as "the voice of Methodist youth" and is widely circulated among Methodists of college age.

> "Oh, Daddy O, Who are the most, Hurrah for your support. My personality integrate, All physiques develop. My nervous system calm, In body and mind. Prepare me new tempo, our daily jive, and Release us from parents And other repressed victims. Lead us into more self-expression And much less boredom. For you are the coolest, Gonest and hepest drive, From now on."

2) That the Sept. 27, 1957, issue of Concern carried a race relations report containing this statement: "We recommend students and youth join and take an active part in organizations that are working in the area of race relations such as: Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Ga., Fellowship of Southern Churchmen, Crossville, Tenn., Anti-Defamation League, New York.

3) That while the Baptists of Mississippi were gaining in number by 257% during the past 50 years, Methodists increased by only one-third as much.

4) That a poll of 7,000 Methodists in the Washington, D. C. area last November showed that only 18.7% believed that all discrimination and enforced segregation should be abolished now. (This, mind you, in Mr. Eisenhower's model city", 5 years after the schools were desegregated. Evidently the leaders of the Methodist Church do not voice the sentiments of Methodist people, either North or South, when they advocate integration.)

5) That this statement appeared in an editorial in the February 17, 1960, edition of the Mississippi Methodist Advocate: ". . .they (all the members of the United Nations) had an overwhelming desire for peace, they had the same legal system high cultural attainment and many things in common." (How ridiculous! Who believes that Communist Russia has ever had an "overwhelming desire for peace"? And who would be so stupid as to say that the Communist countries had the same legal system as such great law-respecting nations as the United States and Great Britain? I wonder what warped mind wrote this Advocate editorial?)

6) That G. Bromley Oxnam, radical integrationist and pro-Communist Methodist bishop, was featured in the October 1959 issue of the MYF (Methodist Youth Fellowship) program book Roundtable, as being a man whose life should be an inspiration to young people. On page 29 Oxnam is quoted as saying: "It is not enough to prohibit segregation by legislation and judicial decision. The spirit that breeds segregation must be driven from the heart; the Church must undergo the cleansing of conversion."

7) That according to a news bulletin of the Federal Council of Churches (now called the National Council of Churches): ". . .some pioneer spirits should take advance steps in that direction (intermarriage). . .mixed marriages may be highly socially desirable." (And the Methodist churches of Mississippi support the National Council of Churches through the "Interdenominational Fund" Item in their budgets. WHAT FOOLS WE ARE TO SUPPORT SUCH AN OUTFIT!!)

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Malcolm H. Mabry, Jr.
Dublin, Mississippi

D I D Y O U K N O W ?

-- P A R T F I V E --

THAT ALL OF THE FOLLOWING QUOTATIONS WERE TAKEN FROM METHODIST PUBLICATIONS !

1) "The Methodist Church is officially pioneering toward the blending of all its members into a body undivided by racial segregation. Perhaps your own church has such an environment that on its doorstep is a chance to make a fine move toward integration. If this is true, you would do well to remind your fellow churchmen of their responsibility as pioneers." (WESLEY QUARTERLY, Jan. 3, 1960, page 17)

2) "Every church should be for all people. . .to divide the church simply on the basis of color is completely artificial." (LESSONS FOR INTERMEDIATES, May 10, 1959, pages 22-23)

3) "The idea of white superiority in our own country leads us to try to justify prejudice and segregation and hence makes second-class citizens out of millions who have also committed themselves to the idea of freedom for all. It is this conflict of ideas which lies at the heart of the racial strife and difficulty evident everywhere in our country. . .Many people talk about freedom and yet try to make laws restricting the freedom of certain groups." (ROUNDTABLE, Sept, 1959, pages 24-28)

4) "That all feasible steps be taken toward abolishing racial discriminatory clauses in fraternities and sororities. We commend those fraternities and sororities which are earnestly seeking to eliminate discriminatory clauses in their Constitutions and By-Laws. . .That racial discrimination be abolished in entrance, participation, or employment practices in any Methodist institution, agency or project (for example, colleges, universities, hospitals, homes, camp and assembly grounds, etc.). (CONCERN, Sept. 27, 1957, page 15)

5) ". . .a step towards Communism," is the way the March issue of the monthly magazine of the Mississippi Methodist Youth Fellowship referred to the church bill recently passed by the state legislature. (I wonder who, and what, has been poisoning the minds of our Mississippi youth?)

6) "Strangers began moving into the neighborhood. They were a different kind of people. We wanted the church to be for 'our kind.' So, of course, we didn't welcome these other people. One day Janice shocked us by bringing the children of one of these 'different' families to Sunday church school. "I just couldn't help it," she explained. "They ought to be in church school and ours is near them." We liked these children. We invited their parents. Later others came. Now the church has changed. We have many of the new families among us. But we have changed in another way. We've learned what it means to be the children of God. We've learned how to be together in Christ." (You can easily guess the race to which these "strangers" belonged. (BIBLE LESSONS FOR YOUTH, Nov. 8, 1959, page 25)

Write for extra copies of this paper.

Malcolm H. Mabry, Jr.
Dublin, Mississippi

D I D Y O U K N O W ?

-- PART SIX --

1) That I have been reliably informed that a professor at Millsaps refers to Christ and his Apostles as "J. C. and the boys", and to the Trinity as "Big G, Little Daddy G, and Sputnik".

2) That Dr. Harry Denman, executive secretary of the General Board of Evangelism of the Methodist Church, in a chapel speech to the students of Millsaps College on March 24, urged that all people be treated alike regardless of their color. He also went on to defend Fidel Castro as being a man who is "for the people", and "an idealistic young man."

3) John Mood, former Wesley Director at Ole Miss and now a resident of Oklahoma City, referred to his year spent in Mississippi as a "one-year sojourn be behind the Magnolia Curtain." (CONCERN, Nov. 14, 1958) Mood is still listed in the North Mississippi Conference Journal as being a member of this conference.

4) In spite of a Congressional report of July 7, 1953, which stated that Dr. Harry Ward, founder of the Methodist Federation for Social Action, is a socialist-Marxist clergyman, the Mississippi Methodist Advocate defended him in a recent editorial as a "fine old Christian gentleman". (Page 3, March 16, 1960, issue.)

5) CONCERN, published by the National Conference of Methodist Youth, in Nashville, came to the defense of the recently closed Communist-infiltrated and integrated Highlander Folk School in an editorial in the March 11, 1960, edition. (Highlander was closed by court order on February 16.)

6) The Board of Social and Economic Relations of the Methodist Church issued this statement on March 15: "We commend participating Negro students for the dignified, non-violent manner in which they have conducted themselves...(in sit-in demonstrations)...We regret that many citizens of our country are denied basic human rights."

7) That Miss Alice Cobb, teacher at Scarritt College (now on leave and on the staff of Highlander Folk School) said in an article appearing in THE SOUTHERN PATRIOT, official publication of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, that "If I had children I'd want them free to go home with other nice children, regardless of color, and bring these children to our house to play or stay all night or for supper. If my daughter wanted to marry a Negro (and if he wanted to marry her), I would want the right to hold her wedding in the church we belonged to and to have her fiancee's little sister as a member of the wedding."

8) That the publication CONTACT, which is sponsored by three World Service agencies of the Methodist Church, devoted four pages of its July 1, 1959, issue to the listing of the state advisory committee of the U. S. Civil Rights Commission.

NOTE: Please feel free to copy any or all of this paper (OR) write to me for extra copies.

MALCOLM H. MABRY, JR.
DUBLIN, MISSISSIPPI

D I D Y O U K N O W ?

PART SEVEN

FACTS ABOUT THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES

1) "...719 of the officers whose names appear on the rolls of the National Council of Churches have records of Communist affiliation, many of them more than 100 times each in public support of pro-Communist or Communist projects, fronts, and publications." (American Mercury, January, 1960, page 66.)

2) On one occasion Sen. James O. Eastland said of those organizations supporting the war on segregation that they "run from the blood red of the Communist Party to the almost equally red of the National Council of Churches.

3) The present head of the NCC, Dr. Edwin T. Dahlberg, has been affiliated with eleven notorious Communist front organizations such as "Citizens Committee to Free Earl Browder" (Browder, a convicted Communist), and the "National Committee for Defense of Political Prisoners." Dahlberg also was a signer of an open letter to the late Pres. Franklin Roosevelt asking that a deportion order against Communist Harry Bridges be set aside.

4) This statement (one of many like it) appeared in a report issued by a Study Conference of the NCC (then called the Federal Council of Churches) which met in Detroit, Michigan, in February of 1950: "The Church must attack the atheism of orthodox communism...and also such practical atheism as is present in contemporary capitalism."

5) The official position of the NCC on segregation was set forth in a report written by its so-called "race relations expert," Dr. J. Oscar Lee, which was released on December 17, 1957. The release stated that, "The new race relations program of the 1954 World Council of Churches (big sister dominated and controlled by NCC) is that 'segregation is contrary to the Gospel and is incompatable with the Christian doctrine of man and with the nature of the Church of Christ."

6) The policy making body of the National Council of Churches, meeting in Hartford, Connecticut, in February of 1959, asked Congress to repeal the "loyalty oath" requirements for students applying for Federal scholarship aid as being a "useless" effort to "coerce loyalty" in a free society.

7) This same group urged in an eight-point resolution on non-segregated housing that Christians "sign and make public covenants which commit them to support open occupancy housing in their neighborhoods," regardless of race.

NOTE: Feel free to copy any or all of this paper (OR) write to me for additional copies.

MALCOLM H. MABRY, JR.
DUBLIN, MISSISSIPPI

PROOF THAT THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES IS WRONG IN SAYING COMMUNISTS HAVE NOT INFILTRATED OUR CHURCHES

"We will find our most fertile field for infiliration of Marxism within the field of religion, because religious people are the most gullible and will accept most anything if it is couched in religious terminology."

-- Nikolai Lenin

On March 26, 1947, the director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, J. Edgar Hoover, appeared before the House Committee on Un-American Activities and gave testimony under oath regarding the communist infiltration into the various phases of our society. Here is a part of his testimony:

> "I would have no fears if more Americans possessed the zeal, the fervor, the persistence, and the industry to learn about this menace of Red facism. I do fear for the liberal and progressive who has been hoodwinked and duped into joining hands with the communists. I confess to a real apprehension so long as communists are able to secure ministers of the Gospel to promote their evil work and espouse a cause that is alien to the religion of Christ..."

Later, in the February, 1949, issue of Redbook magazine, Mr. Hoover made the following remarks in an article entitled "God or Chaos":

> "It is ghastly to see the monster atheism being nourished in the churches which it seeks t6 destroy. Many communist fronts have operated under the guise of some church commission or religious body. Church leaders can stop this infiltration by taking vigorous action in the boards and commissions under church supervision. Individual ministers and church members can avoid being hoodwinked if they will stay close to the fundamentals of their faith."

In July, 1953, issue of the American Mercury magazine a very startling revelation was made by Dr. J. B. Matthews--then a member of Senator McCarthy's Government Operations Committee. Dr. Matthews is an ordained Methodist minister, a graduate of two of Methodism's largest institutions, the holder of three degrees in theology and a returned missionary from the Far East. In this Mercury article he said: "The largest single group supporting the Communist apparatus in the United States today is composed of Protestant clergymen."

On July 6, 1953, speaking under oath before the House Committee on Un-American Activities, Herbert A. Philbrick, former undercover agent for the FBI within the Communist party, gave this testimony:

> "The Communist party has many levels of operation and many types of people who are members of the organization. I discovered many shocking facts during my nine years in the party, but I can say in all sincerity to this committee the most shocking discovery I made during the entire period of time was this particular aspect of Communist infiltration, the fact that they were indeed not infiltrating the Christian movement and using it, but were planting these hardened, disciplined communists who would not pose as ministers of the Gospel... the communist party is having a vast amount of success in using church people..."

In conclusion: Thus, when the hierarchy of the hierachy of the National Council of Churches in America attempts to repudiate charges that the communists have infiltrated our Protestant churches, please remember what you've read in this paper. All too often the "holy garb" only serves the same purpose as does the proverbial sheep's clothing on the back of the wolf.

NOTE: (1) This material was taken from a booklet entitled " How the Communists are Penetrating our Churches" by Captain Edgar C. Bundy of Wheaton, Illinois.

NOTE: (2) Please feel free to copy any or all of this paper (OR) write to me for extra copies.

MALCOLM H. MABRY, JR.
DUBLIN, MISSISSIPPI

St. Mark's Methodist Church

Louisville, Tennessee

April 24, 60

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave.
Atlanta, 3, Ga.

Gentlemen:

I am currently under attack by some of my church members as being pro-communist because of my liberal views on race. They plan to link me with the reds by naming organizations I support etc.

It would help me to have all the facts to answer with. Could you take a minute to let me know whether the SRC has ever been cited as red, by whom, when, and for what stated reasons. Also, any rebuttal data you have on hand.

Naturally, I won't use any of this unless your group is specified in the attack. Would appreciate this at your earliest convenience.

Sincerely,

Roy DeLamotte

Rev. Roy DeLamotte
Box 11, Louisville, TENN.

Enclosures:
HCF ltr. of June 28, 1957 to Thomas Waring
Editorial "SRC and Red Records" from News and Courier
McCarthyism Under the Magnolias
Congressional Record Reprint - Julyu26, 1957"Origins of SRC"

April 26, 1960

Rev. Roy DeLamotte
Box 11
Louisville, Tennessee

Dear Mr. DeLamotte:

We are pleased to enclose materials which should help you effectively refute any arguments concerning the Southern Regional Council having any connection with Communism.

The Council has never been cited as being Communist. This fact could be verified by anyone who would care to write the Justice Department, the Attorney General, or any other source within the Federal government.

If this issue becomes an important one, we will be happy to supply you with additional material addressed to any particular argument raised.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

PA/mf
Enclosures

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LEWIS H. WEINSTEIN
A. L. WIRIN

July 7, 1961

Dear Colleague:

Mississippi continues to be a focal point in the struggle for civil rights in the South. Consequently a large part of this letter will be devoted to recent developments in that State.

Freedom Riders. The Jackson, Mississippi Police Court continues to hand out sentences to whites and Negroes coming there to defy segregation in bus and railroad terminals. The arrests have now reached the figure of 177, of whom 170 have been convicted on breach-of-the-peace charges since late in May.

The continuation of this form of protest against clearly illegal segregation laws is understandable and, in my opinion, entirely commendable. Indeed, it was disappointing that the Southern Regional Council recently chose to issue a statement critical of the Freedom Riders on the ground that they were mostly "outsiders". The Council sought to differentiate on this ground between the Freedom Riders and Southern students who have provided the manpower for sit-in demonstrations at lunch counters.

To attempt to make such a distinction seems to me to be utterly unsound. The right which the Freedom Riders are seeking to vindicate is the right to travel in interstate commerce without discrimination or segregation. This right is one which belongs not only to those who live in Jackson, Mississippi or, indeed, in any of the Southern States, but also to every person in this country. If there were any logic in the criticism by the Council, one would suppose that the Council would refrain from accepting contributions from individuals and foundations located north of the Mason-Dixon Line, which provide a very substantial part of the funds necessary for the Council to carry on its work in the South.

It is also disappointing that none of the Freedom Riders appear to have appealed the convictions so as to secure

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ISIDOR TEITELBAUM, New York

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a ruling by the United States Supreme Court. It would seem that at least some of those who have chosen to avoid prison by paying their fines would, instead, have posted bond and have taken such an appeal. It is understandable, therefore, that Thurgood Marshall, Chief NAACP Counsel, lamented in a recent address before the 18th Annual Race Relations Institute at Fisk University upon the lack of planning and coordination on the legal front in Jackson.

While no appeals appear to have been taken by the Freedom Riders, one of them did seek to obtain her release by way of a habeas corpus proceeding in the United States District Court. It was to be expected that United States District Judge Sidney Mize should dismiss the application. It is well settled that the validity of such a conviction cannot be tested in a collateral proceeding but must be attacked by direct appeal. Nevertheless, Judge Mize went out of his way in his decision on Monday to commend the use of the Mississippi breach of-the-peace statute as having prevented the occurrence of bloodshed. These observations on the part of Judge Mize were both unnecessary and unsound.

Parks Are For White People. The color line in Jackson is by no means limited to bus and railroad stations. On Wednesday four Negroes were arrested on charges of breach of the peace because they refused to obey police orders to move from a bench in the City park usually used by white persons. Those arrested were among a dozen Negroes who entered the area normally used by white persons as picnickers. Afterwards they strolled around the swimming pool area where they were turned away from the ticket booth. Apparently four of them went too far when they chose to sit down.

Negroes Cannot Vote. Yesterday the Department of Justice filed two suits in Mississippi charging that Negroes had been denied voting rights in two counties. In Forest County, a majority of the 22,000 eligible white persons are registered to vote but only 25 of the 7,495 Negroes. While a substantial majority of the 6,000 white persons of voting age in Clarke County are registered, not one of the Negro residents is registered. This situation, the Justice Department asserts, is a result of a "clear-cut pattern of discrimination", which takes the form of applying different and more stringent standards to Negro applicants, refusing to register Negroes with qualifications similar to those of registered whites and arbitrarily denying Negroes the chance to register.

Both suits were brought in the United States District Court for the Southern District of Mississippi and seek temporary and permanent injunctions against discrimination. August 7 has been set for a hearing. Gov. Ross Barnett, to the surprise of no one, immediately denounced the suits as "an invasion of local self-government". Similar suits, also brought under the Civil Rights Act of 1957 against voting registrars, are pending in Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana and Tennessee.

Welfare a la Newburgh. My last letter reported the promulgation of a plan by Newburgh, New York, to deny public assistance to needy children on the grounds of illegitimacy and/or because their homes are "unsuitable". It was noted that the majority of the children affected are Negro.

Yesterday a Subcommittee of the New York Social Welfare Board conducting a public hearing on the Newburgh Plan, found it to be violative

both of the State's Aid to Dependent Children Program and the Federal Social Security Act. Under the latter legislation, Federal funds cover 47.6% of the cost and the Federal contribution, in 1960, amounted to $65,569,000. There is no doubt that the full Board will uphold the findings of the Subcommittee.

Newburgh officials have, however, indicated that they will defy the Board's ruling. Three alternatives have been suggested for dealing with such defiance.

Under the first proposal, the State would withhold its contribution of 50% of the cost of the local welfare program. Such action would, in my opinion, create a situation where the remedy would be worse than the disease. It would mean even greater deprivation to the children in Newburgh who need public assistance.

The second proposal is for the Board to seek court action to enjoin the Newburgh Plan now scheduled to go into effect on July 15. Unless a preliminary injunction were granted immediately, this course might well involve delay of days and even weeks while needy children were denied assistance.

A third suggestion has been proposed by Louise Wise Services upon my recommendation as its Counsel. Louise Wise Services is a social agency which for the past 45 years has provided not only child adoption services but also shelter care for hundreds of unmarried mothers each year. It has urged that Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller invoke his powers as the Chief Executive of the State and notify the public officials of Newburgh that their defiance of the decision of the Board will result in the removal of those officials from public office.

In its telegram to the Board and to the Governor, Louise Wise Services urged that the Newburgh Plan violates every precept of child welfare and denounced as utterly unsound the notion that the denial of aid to dependent children is a constructive way to deal with the social phenomenon of illegitimacy. This problem, Louise Wise Services pointed out, is by no means limited to any particular economic, social, religious or ethnic group in the population. That a very high proportion of those seeking public assistance in Newburgh are Negroes is, as noted in my last letter, a natural consequence of, among other things, the lower economic status of the Negro in the community.

Discrimination Against Muslims. Prisoners sentenced by the courts of the District of Columbia are sent to the United States Reformatory at Lorton, Virginia. Thirty-eight inmates are Negroes professing Islam and are known as Muslims. They brought suit in the United States District Court charging discriminations and deprivations because of their religion. They claimed, among other things, that they were deprived of institutional privileges, including medical attention, kept in isolation, required to sleep on concrete floors, provided with little to eat and "forbidden to wear medals symbolic of their faith, although that privilege is accorded to Catholics, Baptists, etc." In addition, their complaint charges that they were denied an opportunity to communicate with their religious advisers, recite their prayers, or receive desired publications without fear of being persecuted. Efforts to obtain redress from the Board of Commissioners of the District of Columbia, which has general supervision over the Superintendent of the Prison, were, they asserted, frustrated by the persistent refusal of the Superintendent and other prison officers to transmit any complaints.

The District Court granted the Government motion to dismiss the complaint on the ground that the judicial branch of the Government should not interfere with the executive function involved in the maintenance of discipline in the prison. Accordingly, the only question before the Court of Appeals for the Fourth Circuit, to which the case was appealed, was whether the complaint alleged facts which, if proved, required judicial intervention and whether, therefore, the complainants were entitled to a hearing. The Court of Appeals unanimously reversed in an opinion written by Chief Judge Simon Sobeloff. He pointed out that "It is beyond dispute that certain rights and privileges of citizenship are withdrawn from prisoners, but it has never been held that upon entering a prison one is entirely bereft of all of his civil rights and forfeits every protection of the law." In answer to the argument that if a hearing is ordered in this instance it will encourage a flood of such complaints, Judge Sobeloff said, "Our answer must be the same as that given by the Second Circuit: 'We must not play fast and loose with basic constitutional rights in the interest of administrative efficiency.'"

Movie Censorship in Chicago. Last January, the United States Supreme Court, in a 5-to-4 decision, upheld the constitutionality of the Chicago Censorship Ordinance, which makes it unlawful to show a movie without a permit from the Police Commissioner. In the Times Film case, the exhibitor paid a license fee but refused to submit the film "Don Juan" for examination. When the license was refused, the exhibitor sought an injunction on the ground that censorship constituted, in and of itself, an infringement of the freedom of expression protected by the Constitution.

Last month the United States Court of Appeals for the Seventh Circuit in the Zenith case had before it a situation in which the Police Commissioner and his Sergeant in charge of the Police Censor Board refused to license "The Lovers" unless the entire fifth reel was expunged. The exhibitor was simply told that this reel was immoral and obscene. As a matter of fact, the only group that saw the entire film was the Film Review Board, a group appointed by the Police Commissioner as his advisers.

The Court of Appeals reversed on the ground that the Times Film decision does not provide carte blanche authorization for unfair, arbitrary municipal licensing procedures. It ruled that, under the standards set down by the Supreme Court in the Roth case involving alleged pornographic literature, "It is as a whole that a work must be judged, not merely by plucking isolated scenes or passages from such work." The Court of Appeals also cited the Roth case as having "set the criterion for obscenity, not at an individual, subjective level, but at the benchmark of a general objective determination whether a work appeals to the pruriant interest of the community at large." Consequently, the Court ruled the action of the Police Commissioner was invalid because he, the only responsible official, had never seen the entire film and had not granted the exhibitor an opportunity at a formal hearing to offer evidence to show that the film did not offend against contemporary community standards.

It will be interesting to observe the results of the Zenith decision. Certainly it will be quite a novel experience to observe the Police Commissioner of the City of Chicago conducting his censorship activities in such a way to meet the requirements of due process of law. Nevertheless, it must be said that the entire notion that movies should be subject to censorship marks an irrational and indefensible exception to the freedoms granted by the First and Fourteenth Amendments.

Sincerely yours, Abe Fortas

August 11, 1961

Mr. Grover Hall, Jr., Editor
The Montgomery Advertiser
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Mr. Hall:

This is to correct several errors in well-known facts which Advertiser Columnist W. J. Mahoney, Jr., has written in his column, "As I See It."

On May 21, Mr. Mahoney wondered "what is the Southern Regional Council on Mental Health Training and Research," for which the Alabama Legislature had appropriated "thousands of dollars annually?" This seems a curiously helpless question from a veteran newspaperman with ready access to the answer. (The Council on Mental Health Training and Research, as you are doubtless aware, is an agency of the Southern Regional Education Board, set up by the Southern Governors Conference.)

Mr. Mahoney's May 21 column proceeds to quote the American Legion's Firing Line to indicate connection between the Southern Regional Council and the SREB Council on Mental Health Training and Research and the Firing Line's erroneous statement that the Southern Regional Council emerged from the Southern Conference on Human Welfare. There was no organizational connection between the Council and the Conference.

On June 19, Mr. Mahoney quoted a wire from Governor Buford Ellington of Tennessee, chairman of SREB, that "there is absolutely no connection and never has been between this Board's Council on Mental Health Training and Research and the Southern Regional Council, a private race relations organization also located in Atlanta." We are somewhat bemused at the circumstances that Mr. Mahoney found it necessary to confirm this familiar fact with a wire from Governor Ellington.

On June 18, Mr. Mahoney wrote, with a similarly surprising innocence or disregard of fact, that "incorporators" of the Southern

Regional Council have never "denied publicly" the Communist Daily Worker's claim that "the Worker's Negro editor" was a founder of the Council. This charge, also from the Firing Line, has been repeatedly denied and disproven, very publicly, indeed, in one instance by the Richmond Times-Dispatch in the attached editorial reprint.

It is a matter of considerable astonishment here that Mr. Mahoney regards the Daily Worker, a notoriously unreliable Communist paper, as a source of information.

We recognize Mr. Mahoney's right to entertain whatever opinions and weirdly dark implications he may draw from a similarity and confusion of names. We do, however, protest his flagrant misstatement of long-established, publicly repeated, and easily ascertained facts about our Council and the SREB's Mental Health agency.

Sincerely yours,

Margaret Long
Director of Information

ML/sm
Enclosures

bc: Jose Anderson
Norman Jimerson
Joe Haas

LWD 3239 Gilmer Ave.
Montgomery, 5
Ala.
June 21, 1961

Dear Paul:

I thought you might be middly interested in the enclosed clippings. I talked on the telephone to Mr. Mahoney and quoted Mr. Virginius Dabney's correction of some statements that appeared in his own newspaper in 1958.

He made no comment on that but started lashing out in all directions and at Ralph McGill in particular and asked why he didn't set the record straight. He claimed that he would be willing to print a

denial by Mr. McGill of the allegations. 2

Mr. Mahoney appears to be psychopathic and if somebody gave him the written facts he might distort them and do further harm. I hate to see him go unchallenged though. It's possible that a reproach might reach him through Grover Hall, the editor of the Advertiser. Mahoney's column appears daily in the Journal and on Sundays in the Advertiser-Journal.

Hope you are well. Sorry we couldn't come to New Orleans to hear you perform. There is a possibility that we may move to

Washington, D.C. so we are rather "upheaved" right now. I was invited the other day to attend a meeting of people who call their group "Project Alert" to be held tomorrow. Navy officers appear to be the movers of the group. Firstly, an Admiral Goldthwaite (I think that's right) in Pensacola and a Captain (naval) McCluskey at Maxwell. It appears to be a part of this right-wing anti-Communist movement inspired by high-ranking officers. I don't think I have the stomach or the self-restraint needed to attend, although I might find out something.

You probably know about it. I thought I would mention it. I guess Mr. Shapiro already knows about it.

Hope to hear from you sometime.

Yours—

Joe A.

Advertiser
Montgomery, Ala., Su

As I See It

By W. J. MAHONEY, JR.

What is the Southern Regional Council on Mental Health Training and Research?

It must be an important thing, for out of the hard-pressed tax moneys of the people of Alabama, the Legislature of the state of Alabama has been appropriating thousands of dollars a year for it. And Senate Bill 150 proposes "$8,000 annually" for the next two years "for the support of the Council."

Are we, through that, helping foot the bill for our own destruction? We'd better know.

Ten years before the Supreme Court's impudent school desegregation order of 1954, the "Southern Regional Council" was incorporated. The black Rufus E. Clement, president of Atlanta University, and the white Ralph McGill of the Atlanta Constitution were two of the five incorporators, while The Worker proudly proclaimed that its Negro editor, then youth director of the Communist Party, subsequently Moscow's propaganda czar in this country, "founded" the Southern Regional Council.

How Closely Akin?

The National Americanism Commission of the American Legion, through its bulletin, "Firing Line," declared the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, "exposed as a Communist front organization . . . began to wither and was finally dissolved," and linked it closely to the Southern Regional Council through such names as white Aubrey Williams, black Benjamin E. Mays (president of Morehouse), black H. Council Trenholm (president of Alabama State).

What is the Southern Regional Council on Mental Health Training and Research?

Within months after the school desegregation order, the Southern Regional Council issued a jubilant paperbound volume titled, "Answers For Action—Schools in the South," in which it boasted that "no citizen, fitted by character or intelligence" to sit on the U. S. Supreme Court could have voted any other way than for school desegregation.

Brags Of Efforts

Sunday
June 18th

Advertiser
Montgomery, Ala., Su

As I See It

By W. J. MAHONEY, JR.

Sometimes you can't afford the name and stay in the game.

Two great American names of English origin are Benedict (meaning blessed) and Arnold (meaning ruler), but you'll never find them in combination, no matter how diligently you comb the nation's directories.

The adjective "Southern" is objectionable to some people, but in combination with "Regional" it has been anathema to loyal Southerners ever since a curious assortment of blacks and whites incorporated the "Southern Regional Council" seventeen years ago for the avowed purpose of speeding race integration in the South.

Early in the life of the current Legislature, Senate Bill 150 was introduced. It would appropriate financial support for the "Southern Regional Council on Mental Health and Research."

The name likeness is in escapable.

Born In Moscow?

Neither the black nor the white incorporators (among the latter being Ralph McGill, the Atlanta columnist who once said "there never has been in this country's history any such thing as states rights") have ever denied publicly the claim of the Communist newspaper mouthpiece in this country, The Worker, that they were a mere "front" for The Worker's Negro editor, Moscow's propaganda czar, who was the real "founder" of the Southern Regional Council.

Sometimes you can't afford the name and stay in the game.

Four weeks ago today, this column asked if there were any connection at all between the incorporated "Southern Regional Council" and the "Southern Regional Council for Mental Health and Research," sponsored by the Southern Governor's Conference.

There Isn't!

I asked Atty. Gen. MacDonald Gallion if there were any link, and he sent me an answering telegram from Tennessee's Gov. Buford Ellington, chairman of

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Brags Of Efforts

The book then proceeded to brag of the preliminaries to integration by such "specialists" as Harry S. Ashmore, who can now put an "ex" before his title of Little Rock editor; to boast gleefully that there "are various 'souths,'" so that the opposition is without unity; to instruct the integration enthusiasts in the niceties of their program so they can influence P-TAs and teacher organizations, can form discussion groups, can work in churches, civil groups, service clubs, labor organizations and the like to "help foster a healthy climate of opinion."

"There is much truth," it declares, "in the saying that if school integration were left to the children there would be no problem."

Our national government is in the hands of irresponsible reformers.

So far as the South is concerned, we had as well be left to the tender ministering of the Thaddeus Stevenses, the Ben Wades and others who early showed their violent hatred and abyssmal ignorance of the South in their fight on Lincoln and his moderate reconstruction plans.

That Loyalty Oath

In the Senate it was Wade, in May, 1864, who led the unsuccessful demand to strike the word "white" from Lincoln's provision to enroll "all white male citizens" to take the loyalty oath.

If the South would survive under its present social structure, a gentlemanly and restrained resistance to the more obvious elements of abuse is not enough. "Moderation" will betray us as certainly as the kiss of Judas.

If the money our Legislature is asked to continue appropriating in Bill 150 is for "the support of the (Southern Regional) Council," then one wonders at the lengths to which we will go to compound our own destruction. It should be ample proof of the sound, narcotic sleep from which the South may never awaken.

Any Other Name?

Without exploring the possible dangers of any "mental health" program in the hands of an irresponsible national government, someone might wonder if there is any connection at all between the "Southern Regional Council" and the "Southern Regional Council on Mental Health Training and Research."

If not, then the latter's identity by any other name would smell much sweeter!

The bite of Africa's tsetse fly induces the dread sleeping sickness. The South suffers from a sleeping sickness at least as deadly. Somewhere there must be an antidote.

And the antidote won't be found in maudlin sympathy for boys nipped by the dogs they teased.

Neither the black nor the white incorporators (among the latter being Ralph McGill, the Atlanta columnist who once said "there never has been in this country's history any such thing as states rights") have ever denied publicly the claim of the Communist newspaper mouthpiece in this country, The Worker, that they were a mere "front" for The Worker's Negro editor, Moscow's propaganda czar, who was the real "founder" of the Southern Regional Council.

Sometimes you can't afford the name and stay in the game.

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There Isn't!

I asked Atty. Gen. MacDonald Gallion if there were any link, and he sent me an answering telegram from Tennessee's Gov. Buford Ellington, chairman of the Southern Regional Education Board, which is the overseeing agency for the mental-health program.

"This is to inform you," said the telegram, "that there is absolutely no connection and never has been between this Board's Council on Mental Health Training and Research and the Southern Regional Council, a private race relations organization also located in Atlanta."

The Tennessee Governor goes on to say that the Southern Regional Education Board "is devoted to improving higher education in the South through interstate cooperation under an interstate compact ratified by 16 states. It is governed by an eighty-man board, including the Governor of each state.

Our Members

"In addition to Governor John Patterson, Alabama board members are Senator Dave Archer, Hon. Ralph Draughon (president of Auburn), Hon. Frank Rose (president of Alabama). The board supervises the work of the Mental Health Training and Research Council which is devoted to training more mental health personnel. Mr. Karl Harrison is Gov. Patterson's representative on the Mental Health Council.

"In light of these facts, I am sure you agree that this is an unfortunate confusion caused by the similarity in name. If you have further questions, please advise me."

A like letter, disclaiming any connection between the two organizations, came to me from Dr. Winfred L. Godwin, 130 Sixth Street, N.W., Atlanta, Southern Regional Education Board director.

Delete 'Regional'

On Wednesday, Nov. 21, 1934, a group of Governors of States of the Southeast met at Warm Springs, Ga. with President Franklin D. Roosevelt. In the group was Governor-elect Bibb Graves of Alabama. And it was there that the Southern Governors' Conference was born. To the original thirteen states subsequently were added, at their own request. Maryland and West Virginia 15 years ago, and Delaware (two of its three counties are located south of the Mason-Dixon line) in 1951.

Its original purpose, to combat Northern discriminatory freight rates, has been expanded into the broad program it has today.

The unfortunate use of the phrase, "Southern Regional Council," has jeopardized support of the 16-state program, and may quite conceivably be responsible for beclouding any mental-health objectives.

And so the Governor of Alabama, John Patterson, has advised me that he will move to eliminate the word "Regional" from every part of the program of the Southern Governors at their September Conference.

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ALABAMA JOURNAL
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AUG 26 1961

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL CONFUSION

Editor, Alabama Journal:

With reference to: A letter from The Director of Information, Southern Regional Council, Inc., 5 Forsyth St., N. W., Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Editor, in response to Margaret Long's letter to the editor which appeared in the Montgomery Advertiser, Aug. 20, 1961, I would like to state that Mr. Mahoney was not the only person (I know of quite a number) who wanted to know, "What is the Southern Regional Council on Mental Health Training and Research for which the Alabama Legislature appropriated thousands of dollars annually?"

It is not unfair or unwise for Alabamians to want to know what our tax dollars are being used for. Margaret Long seems to think, by the tone of her letter, that everyone should know the simple answer to this question in Mr. Mahoney's May 21st article. However, I spent some time and made a nmuber of inquiries, including a call to the attorney general of Georgia before I could find that this so-called council (the one we give money to) is part of the Southern Regional Education Board. In fact, one of our own senators did not know the correct title of the SREB when I first inquired about the above mentioned Southern Regional Council. The appropriation bill does not mention SREB, only the Southern Regional Council.

To my knowledge, it hasn't been explained exactly what the functions of the Southern Regional Council on Mental Health Training and Research are or how the appropriated money is spent. Perhaps Margaret Long could inform the people who want to know.

The Southern Regional Council, as I know it, did emerge fom the Southern Conference on Human Welfare and as Governor Buford said in his wire (Mahoney's Column — June 19) the Southern Regional Council is a race relations organization. I believe, contrary to what Margaret Long says was disproven publicly by the Richmond Times-Dispatch, that a James Jackson, wanted by the F.B.I., did help organize this Council. (Mentioned in the foregoing paragraph). With James Jackson, others who contributed to or helped found this same organization were equally questionable.

Margaret Long expresses astonishment that the Daily Worker would be quoted as a news source. This does not warrant "astonishment" at all for the Daily Worker did at times tell more about the Communist than other newspapers if you know how to read it.

I suggest that the SREB discard the Southern Regional Council title and call their program the SREB Mental Health Training and Research Program. This would eliminate part of the widespread confusion.

MARGARET S. BEAULIEU.
2019 Gorgas Ave.

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PRESS CLIPPING BUREAU
165 Church Street – New York

JACKSON, MISS.
STATE TIMES
D 24,784 S 24,170
AUG 27 1961

They Predicted Violence But Jackson Upheld Law

By OLIVER EMMERICH

Violence should be accepted for what it really is. And the laws protecting people against violence must be applied rigidly.

There are reasons to believe that the South is growing less tolerant of violence and acts of intimidation. Leadership in the South is pushing harder toward the goal of tighter law enforcement.

When it can be said that the courts of the South, North, East or West prevail over violence and prejudice, the cause and the concepts of America are respected. This applies particularly in the realm of race—to the Orientals of California, the Mexicans of Arizona, the Portuguese of New York, the Indians of the West and as well to the Negroes of the South.

★ ★ ★

The *Wall Street Journal* recently reported instances to show that Southern people are becoming less tolerant of violence. While we find satisfaction in this recognized trend, we wonder why the Southern Regional Council quoted in the article, would single out Jackson, Mississippi, as the center of potential violence.

★ ★ ★

The Wall Street Journal says:

No one is willing to predict that the worst of such events is over, particularly with another round of school desegregation coming up and the tense situation in Jackson, Miss., resulting from "freedom rider" pressure. But an offiical of the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta says, "There has been real improvement in this and other areas of race relations." The council is a privately-supported group whose aim is to improve race relations in the South.

A basic reason for the current change is suggested by a Southerner who has watched it carefully. "You don't have mobs unless they are tacitly, or sometimes more than tacitly, supported by people in authority," he says. "There is lessened interest on the part of such people in employing violence. The proof is that no violence occurred in Jackson, Miss., when the freedom riders arrived. If there is anywhere in the country that you would expect violence to get out of control it would be Mississippi."

★ ★ ★

We seriously question the Southern Regional Council's observation: *"If there is anywhere in the country that you would expect violence to get out of control it would be Mississippi."*

Mississippi is the fourth ranking state in the Union as measured in obedience to law.

Our crime ratio is far below that of practically all of the states in the Union.

Why should the Southern Regional Council hold that greater odds for violence exist in Mississippi than in South Chicago where widespread violence is a nightly occurrence? It is unsafe for people to walk on the streets of Chicago after dark because of the danger of violence.

★ ★ ★

Why should it consider that violence has a greater ratio of expectancy in Mississippi than in New York where thousands of police are maintained around the clock to curb the threat of violence by murderous teenagers who often are beyond control?

Why should the Southern Regional Council center on Mississippi when just recently more than 3,000 youths got out of control along a California beach and attacked police, destroyed property and raped women promiscuously?

We editorially commend any effort to curb violence. The law of the claw and fang—the law of the jungle—must not prevail in any civilized society. But in its effort to oppose violence the Southern Regional Council should not join with provincial propogandists.

If violence was expected in Mississippi, then someone was grossly mistaken.

★ ★ ★

Jackson today, because of an invasion of freedom riders, is in the news headlines of the day. But law and order prevail in Jackson. The truth is that no city of considerable size in the United States can boast a better record for law and order. And as to violence—this city has a record for other cities to emulate.

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As I See It

By W. J. MAHONEY, JR.

"If you can't convince 'em, confuse 'em," a present day Machiavelli admonished.

Last May 21st this column suggested that the startling similarity between the names, "Southern Regional Council" and "Southern Regional Council for Mental Health Training and Research," could not be ignored by Alabama's white Legislature.

It could not be ignored for the simple reason that the "Southern Regional Council" is a militant race-integration organization, incorporated by a mixed group of blacks and whites ten years prior to the U.S. Supreme Court's capitulation; and for the further simple reason that Alabama's pro-segregationist Legislature was asked to appropriate $8,000 a year to support the "Southern Regional Council for Mental Health Training and Research."

'A Sweeter Smell'

If there were no connection between the two, this column concluded, "then the latter's identity by any other name would smell much sweeter!"

Four weeks later, on June 18th, this column carried a telegram from the Governor of Tennessee, chairman of the Southern Regional Education Board, the division of the Southern Governors' Conference that directs the destinies of the Southern Regional Council for Mental Health Training and Research, disclaiming any link with the race-blending organization incorporated as the Southern Regional Council.

The same column quoted Alabama's Gov. John Patterson as saying he would "move to eliminate the word 'Regional' from every part of the program of the Southern Governors at their September Conference."

Phone Challenge

In the week after that column's publication a British-born Montgomery lady telephoned me to "challenge" some of the statements made in that column and in the earlier one, published four weeks before. Reduced to simple language, the challenge centered on a quotation from the official Communist organ, "The Worker," which claimed that the real "father" of the race-blending Southern Regional Council was its Negro editor, then youth director of the Communist party in the United States, subsequently Moscow's director of the Communist party in the United States, subsequently Moscow's propaganda czar in this country.

"The Richmond Times-Dispatch repudiated that false statement weeks ago," she informed me triumphantly.

"But what," I wondered aloud, "would Virginius Dabney, the editorial page editor of the Times-Dispatch know about it? His name appears nowhere among the incorporators of the Southrn Regional Council, although you will find the white Ralph McGill, of The Atlanta Constitution, and the black Rufus E. Clement, president of Atlanta University, among

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By Horse's Mouth

Our conversation ended with my suggestion that a denial from either Mr. McGill or from Dr. Clement, that Communist Negro Editor Jackson had any part in founding the Southern Regional Council, would be more appropriate.

That was all until Sunday, Aug. 20th — another two months later.

Then a letter to the editor, captioned "Poor News Sources," undertook to "correct several errors in well-known facts" in the two columns, two months old and three months old respectively. The letter was signed by "Margaret Long, Director of Information, Southern Regional Council."

It smiled benignly on the confusion of names, inaccurately quoting this column about the Legislature appropriating "thousands of dollars annually."

Atlanta 'Confused'

The next paragraph, saying that this column quoted "the American Legion's Firing Line to indicate connection between the Southern Regional Council and the SREB Council on Mental Health Training and Rsearch," is flatly false. There is no such quotation. If the American Legion's Firing Line ever heard of the latter organization, it makes no mention of it.

Finally, as a clincher, Race Intergrationist Director of Information Margaret Long, of the Southern Regional Council, declares:

"It is a matter of considerable astonishment here that Mr. Mahoney regards the Daily Worker, a notoriously unreliable Communist paper, as a source of information."

The Communists and the Southern Regional Council have one common goal, the racial integration of public schools in the Deep South. We can congratulate them on an Atlanta victory, where they've gotten several black feet in the doors of the white schools. Atlanta has been confused for a long time.

File ~~attacks~~ Critics

September 6, 1961

Mr. Julian L. Connell, Editor
The Ocilla Star
Ocilla, Georgia

Dear Mr. Connell:

The column "Politics on Parade" by Sid Williams which appeared in the Star on July 20 contains serious errors. The second paragraph of this column states: "Miss Long has become director of information for the Southern Regional Council, that subversive organization which has been cited time after time as following the Communist line. She fits right in with this radical crowd."

Mr. Williams has a right to hold any opinion he wishes about Miss Long or the Southern Regional Council. He has no right to spread libelous falsehoods. The Council is a group of responsible Southerners whose dedication to democracy and the United States Constitution is beyond question. Further, the Council has never been "cited" by any agency of the national government concerned with subversive organizations.

If there are specific questions or concerns which the Star or Mr. Williams have about the Southern Regional Council, we shall be happy to answer them. In the meantime, we call to your attention this extremely serious matter of labeling persons with whom you disagree as "subversive".

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mbb
cc: Mr. W. S. Bradford, Jr.
Publisher

(To be routed in order numbered)

Date

PLEASE CHECK, DATE AND FORWARD

JM ~~HCF~~ JR

GH

PA ✓ GN

MA

LWD

MM

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SM ✓

PR

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JF ~~LBC~~

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JUL 20 1961

POLITICS ON PARADE

By Sid Williams

"Politics on Parade" congratulates the Atlanta Journal for finally seeing the light and getting rid of the radical Margaret Long as a columnist. But, as everybody knows, the Journal acts with a lot more common sense than its little brother, the Atlanta Constitution.

Miss Long has become director of information for the Southern Regional Council, that subversive organization which has been cited time after time as following the Communist line. She fits right in with this radical crowd.

Miss Long, incidentally, was quoted recently as saying that she is opposed to the House Un-American Activities Committee of the U. S. Congress. She thinks it ought to be abolished. In this, she follows the exact thinking of the Communist Party in America.

Miss Long's daughter, Margaret Leonard (that's Miss Long's married name) was among those arrested in Jackson, Miss., as a "freedom rider". Recently, she was freed on bond. A picture taken of this girl showed her in the midst of the "riders", several of whom are known Communists. Miss Long is very much upset because her daughter's picture has appeared in several newspapers, but she ought to have thought about such adverse publicity when she taught her to disregard the laws of the various states.

This girl, also, was among the radicals taking part in the demonstrations in New Orleans against parents who wanted to preserve segregation of the Louisiana schools.

* * *

Speaking recently to the Georgia Association of County Welfare Directors, Alan Kemper, the Director of the State Department of Public Welfare, "took the hide off" the Atlanta Constitution and its "hatchet man", reporter Jack Nelson. Judge Kemper said, in part: "I picked up the Atlanta Constitution this morning and on the first editorial page they were quarreling about the Welfare Department and on the second editorial page they were peddling whiskey. You and I know that many of the major problems of the Welfare Department are caused by people peddling whiskey to people who should not drink.

"They have a hatchet man at the Atlanta Constitution by the name of Jack Nelson. Jack Nelson has one of the most vivid imaginations of any person in Georgia. William Shakespeare, the great dramatist, and Edgar Allen Poe, the father of the modern short story, could have well utilized the imaginative talents of Jack Nelson. You have heard that there is a little bad in the best of us and a little good in the worst of us, but Jack Nelson can take a little of the bad in the best of you and make you look like the worst of us. . . .

"The Atlanta Constitution has taken out after me and my popularity has increased many-fold. If I can get Khrushchev and the Daily Worker to criticize me, along with the Atlanta Constitution, I will be one of the most popular individuals in Georgia."

PA ✓
BM (Buffalo show here when he is here today)
ML ✓
MBB - file

Criticisms

State Times

P. O. BOX 1819
JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI

Sept. 29, 1961.

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar,
Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth St., NW
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I appreciated your letter in which you commented on the editorial reference to the statement in the Wall Street Journal. I would have written you earlier but I did not save the column from which I quoted.

At my first opportunity I plan to go to the Library and recheck the quotation. We certainly do not want to do you an injustice and accordingly I will follow up on this and recheck our comment and the statement to which I referred.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

J. O. Emmerich
Editor

September 12, 1961

Mr. J. Oliver Emmerich, Editor
Jackson State Times
Jackson, Mississippi

Dear Mr. Emmerich:

I have just had an opportunity to read your editorial in the State Times of August 27 in which you attribute to the Southern Regional Council the statement: "If there is anywhere in the country that you would expect violence to get out of control it would be Mississippi."

From my reading of the paragraphs of the Wall Street Journal article which you reproduced it appears that the remark was made by "a Southerner", unidentified.

I happen to have been the "official of the Southern Regional Council" who was quoted in the preceding paragraph as saying, "There has been real improvement in this and other areas of race relations." I am unaware of any official of the Council having given the statement about Mississippi which followed.

The Council has been particularly impressed, as, I think, all observers of the southern scene have been, with the public order which has prevailed in Mississippi during recent months.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mbb

bcc: Ben Muse

****
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SECRETARY-TREASURER

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAdams 2-6764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date September 8, 1961

To: Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar From: BM

Subject: Letter to J. Oliver Emmerich

Would it be possible to address something like this to the editor of the Jackson State Times?

Mr. J. Oliver Emmerich
Editor, Jackson State Times
Jackson, Mississippi

8 August 27

Dear Mr. Emmerich:

I have just had an opportunity to read your editorial in the State Times in which you attribute to the Southern Regional Council the statement: "If there is anywhere in the country that you would expect violence to get out of control it would be Mississippi."

From my reading of the paragraphs of the Wall Street Journal article which you reproduced it appears that the remark was made by "a Southerner," unidentified. I am unaware of any official of the Southern Regional Council having ~~made~~ the statement which you quoted.

~~This~~ Council has been particularly impressed, as, I think, all observers of the Southern scene have been, with the public order which has prevailed in Mississippi during ~~the trying experience of~~ recent months.

Very sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

I am anxious to 1) keep Emmerich's friendship
2) encourage Mississippi pride in law and order, and
3) keep SRC in a favorable light.

We shall arrive at the Piedmont in Atlanta Friday evening, September 15. I will phone to arrange our schedule for Saturday. We hope to get a glimpse of Peggy. Could she come to lunch with Beatriz?

Ben

They Predicted Violence But Jackson Upheld Law

By OLIVER EMMERICH

Violence should be accepted for what it really is. And the laws protecting people against violence must be applied rigidly.

There are reasons to believe that the South is growing less tolerant of violence and acts of intimidation. Leadership in the South is pushing harder toward the goal of tighter law enforcement.

When it can be said that the courts of the South, North, East or West prevail over violence and prejudice, the cause and the concepts of America are respected. This applies particularly in the realm of race—to the Orientals of California, the Mexicans of Arizona, the Portuguese of New York, the Indians of the West and as well to the Negroes of the South.

★ ★ ★

The *Wall Street Journal* recently reported instances to show that Southern people are becoming less tolerant of violence. While we find satisfaction in this recognized trend, we wonder why the Southern Regional Council quoted in the article, would single out Jackson, Mississippi, as the center of potential violence.

★ ★ ★

The Wall Street Journal says:

No one is willing to predict that the worst of such events is over, particularly with another round of school desegregation coming up and the tense situation in Jackson, Miss., resulting from "freedom rider" pressure. But an offiical of the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta says, "There has been real improvement in this and other areas of race relations." The council is a privately-supported group whose aim is to improve race relations in the South.

A basic reason for the current change is suggested by a Southerner who has watched it carefully. "You don't have mobs unless they are tacitly, or sometimes more than tacitly, supported by people in authority," he says. "There is lessened interest on the part of such people in employing violence. The proof is that no violence occurred in Jackson, Miss., when the freedom riders arrived. If there is anywhere in the country that you would expect violence to get out of control it would be Mississippi."

★ ★ ★

We seriously question the Southern Regional Council's observation: *"If there is anywhere in the country that you would expect violence to get out of control it would be Mississippi."*

Mississippi is the fourth ranking state in the Union as measured in obedience to law.

Our crime ratio is far below that of practically all of the states in the Union.

Why should the Southern Regional Council hold that greater odds for violence exist in Mississippi than in South Chicago where widespread violence is a nightly occurrence? It is unsafe for people to walk on the streets of Chicago after dark because of the danger of violence.

★ ★ ★

Why should it consider that violence has a greater ratio of expectancy in Mississippi than in New York where thousands of police are maintained around the clock to curb the threat of violence by murderous teenagers who often are beyond control?

Why should the Southern Regional Council center on Mississippi when just recently more than 3,000 youths got out of control along a California beach and attacked police, destroyed property and raped women promiscuously?

We editorially commend any effort to curb violence. The law of the claw and fang—the law of the jungle—must not prevail in any civilized society. But in its effort to oppose violence the Southern Regional Council should not join with provincial propogandists.

If violence was expected in Mississippi, then someone was grossly mistaken.

★ ★ ★

Jackson today, because of an invasion of freedom riders, is in the news headlines of the day. But law and order prevail in Jackson. The truth is that no city of considerable size in the United States can boast a better record for law and order. And as to violence—this city has a record for other cities to emulate.

State Times

Published Each Evening and Sunday at Jackson, Mississippi, by STATE TIMES PUBLISHING CORP.

O. A. ROBINSON, Publisher

J. OLIVER EMMERICH, Editor
ROBERT E. WEBB, Associate Editor
JIMMIE McDOWELL, Sports Editor

PAUL TIBLIER, Executive Editor
ROBERT BAEHLER, Advertising Director
JOHN W GRAY, Mechanical Supt.

September 13, 1961

The Rt. Rev. George M. Murray
Bishop Coadjutor
Carpenter House
521 North 20th Street
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Bishop Murray:

In response to your inquiry of September 8, we are pleased to enclose a complete list of the officers and members of the Southern Regional Council. You will note that Mr. Williams is not a member of the Council.

Mr. Williams was a member of the Council from 1945 to 1950. Since 1950 he has not been associated with the organization. This charge undoubtedly arises out of the confusion which sometimes exists between the Southern Regional Council and the Southern Conference Education Fund, an organization with offices in New Orleans, which is the successor to the now extinct Southern Conference on Human Welfare. Mr. Williams has been the president of SCEF for some years.

In stating these facts we do not imply criticism of Mr. Williams or of the Southern Conference Education Fund since the Council tries very hard to avoid passing judgment on individuals or organizations working in the field of race relations at this difficult time in the South.

Incidentally, neither the Council nor any of its members have at any time been listed as "subsersive" by any agency or bureau of the Federal government concerned with these matters.

Also enclosed are a brief statement on the origin and aims of SRC and an editorial from the Richmond Times Dispatch which you may find of interest.

We deeply appreciate your inquiry and the interest and concern which it indicates. Please call on us at any time that we may be of help.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

PA:A
Enclosures:
Officers and members, SRC
Editorial, Richmond Times-Dispatch
Origins and Aims, SRC

W. L. SNELL

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Printers & Lithographers • TRinity 5-7081

PA

pls reply - being careful
~~that~~ you do not imply
any disapproval of Dubey

William

CARPENTER HOUSE
HEADQUARTERS, EPISCOPAL DIOCESE OF ALABAMA

OFFICE OF THE BISHOP COADJUTOR
THE RT. REV. GEORGE M. MURRAY, D.D., LL. D.
BISHOP COADJUTOR

521 NORTH 20TH STREET
BIRMINGHAM 3, ALABAMA
TELEPHONE FA 4-7639

September 8, 1961

The Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

As you know, there is a considerable rash of accusations being made in these days against organizations and individuals with whom the accusers disagree, particularly trying to link them with communist activity.

Today I ran into a new one. I was informed that the head of the Southern Regional Council is one Aubrey Williams, who used to be a newspaper editor in Montgomery until he was run out of town, and that he is on the Attorney General's list of subversives.

I was under the impression that Mr. Lester Dunbar was the Director of the Southern Regional Council.

I would appreciate it if you would let me know whether Mr. Aubrey Williams has any connection with the Southern Regional Council. I would also appreciate it if you would let me have a list of officers and directors of the Southern Regional Council if that is available - perhaps it is on some printed circular so that it could be used to show that Mr. Williams did not stand in a position of leadership there, unless it is true that he does.

I am anxious to defend the Southern Regional Council in this matter because our Episcopal Church does make an annual contribution to it.

Very best wishes always.

Sincerely,

George M. Murray

GMM/cg

See attached
Left on Jordan's
door in
lobby
between 7-
7:30 AM
June 27, 1962

LIVE LIKE MARTIN LUTHER KING AND HARRY BELAFONTE

The United Klans of America, Inc., KKKK, are seeking the poorest and largest Negro family in Georgia for an expense paid week-end vacation in Atlanta. They will stay in the Atlanta Cabana Motel (it's reported Belfonte slept here).

SWIM IN ONE OF THE MOST MODERN AND BEAUTIFUL POOLS IN AMERICA!

Have breakfast, lunch, dinner at a large integrated Restaurant. Between meals you will be served snacks at motel swimming pool . . . in the event of rain snacks will be served in the motel lobby.

To qualify for this Expense Paid Atlanta Cabana Motel Week-End Vacation, you must have a large family (children ages from birth to sixteen years old) and be very poor. Do not fail to write the United Klans of America, Inc., if you think you and your family can qualify as the poorest Negro family in Georgia.

Do not be afraid! Mayor Allen and the Atlanta Police Department will protect you night and day . . . he welcomes you, the Motel Manager welcomes you, the United Klans welcomes the opportunity to be able to give you and your family an Expense Paid Week-End Vacation in one of the most modern, finest, beautiful integrated motels in America.

WRITE TODAY . . . and let us know the size of your family and that you want the Klans' Expense Paid Atlanta Vacation.

Write to:

GRAND DRAGON
UNITED KLANS OF AMERICA, INC., KKKK
P. O. Box 10753
Atlanta, Georgia

YOU AND YOUR FAMILY **MAY BE** CHOSEN!

WB ✓
PA ✓
MJS - file
Criticisms

Federal Judges Taking Orders, Claims Perez

LAKE PROVIDENCE — Blasts against the Kennedy administration, federal judges, Negro leaders, and Communists were leveled Monday night by segregationist Leander Perez at a barbecue here celebrating his 71st birthday.

The East Carroll Parish Citizens Council sponsored the affair, which was attended by about 300 persons.

Federal judges are carrying out orders of the U.S. Justice Department, Perez said, and "are not masters of their own souls."

He predicted some North Louisiana parishes could be "overwhelmed by a black cloud" brought on by the administration's determination to register every Negro adult in the South and declared that "somebody, somewhere along the line will have to stand up and test the power of government by injunction."

Khrushchev knew what he was talking about, Perez said, when he predicted future American generations will live under communism. "We have virtually lost our country to the leftist and so called liberal organizations."

He said the most important groups in Washington today are the Urban League, the NAACP, and the Southern Regional Council.

Baton Rouge Morning Advocate
7/18/62

WJ - file Defense materials 1960s

THE NEW YORK TIMES, WEDNESDAY, DECEMBE

DEFENSE DATE SET IN RED-LINK CASE

Advance Youth Seeks to Bar Communist-Front Label

The Subversive Activities Control Board has directed the Advance Youth Organization to begin its defense here next Wednesday against being labeled a Communist front.

Mrs. Mary M. Kaufman, counsel for Advance, said yesterday she had been notified by Robert L. Irwin, the hearing examiner, that her motion to dismiss the case had been rejected.

Dismissal had been sought on the ground that Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy had improperly hurt the defense last week when he petitioned the board to require two officers of Advance to register as Communist party members. The two —Mike Stein, president, and Marvin Markman, vice president—are to be major defense witnesses in the Advance case.

The case is the first initiated by Attorney General Kennedy to have an organization declared a Communist front. The Attorney General charged last January that Advance, with headquarters at 80 Clinton Street, had been set up by the Communist party to promote its aims and prepare candidates for party membership.

Front Charge Denied

If the Government action succeeds, Advance will have to register its members and report its activities to the Attorney General.

Advance has denied that it is a Communist-front organization. Mr. Stein described it in October as a "Marxist-oriented" New York City group of 200 young people.

Its members have taken part in "Freedom Rides," conducted civil rights meetings, picketed the Department of Justice in Washington, and demonstrated in this city against the security treaty between the United States and Japan.

The Government presented its case against Advance at 19 hearings here between Sept. 30 and Oct. 31. Mr. Irwin took testimony from 19 witnesses, of whom 11 were paid informers for the Federal Bureau of Investigation who had infiltrated the youth organization. Several witnesses swore they had known Mr. Stein as a Communist.

The hearing was adjourned to Nov. 18, when it was postponed to Dec. 2. On Monday, Mr. Irwin postponed the hearing pending his decision on the motion to dismiss.

The defense hearings, in the Federal Office Building at 641 Washington Street, are to continue to Dec. 20. If they are not completed by then, the schedule calls for a recess with resumption of the open hearings on Jan. 6.

Tax Chief Hates to Pay Taxes

LONDON (UPI) — Leonard Barford, who becomes chief British Inspector of Taxes in February, said recently that he found the job "fascinating, but I can sypathize with all of you. "I dislike paying income tax as much as anyone," he said.

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

SRC GENERAL - Attacks

REGARDING

Letter to Mr. McGill 7/7/66 (McGill letter being held by P.A. as of 7/8/66)

DATE

7-7-66

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

NEWSPAPERS, ET. AL. - ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

"Congress shall make no law . . . abridging the Freedom of speech or of the press . . ." —1st Amendment, Bill of Rights, U. S. Constitution.

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BIRMINGHAM INDEPENDENT

BIRMINGHAM'S NEXT DAILY PAPER

INDEPENDENT.NON-PARTISAN.CONSERVATIVE

VOLUME 4 . NUMBER 49 | BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA - FEBRUARY 1, FEBRUARY 8, 1967 | SINGLE COPY 10 CENTS

LBJ ORDERS SANCTIONS AGAINST RHODESIA FOR HANOI

Powell Receives Communist Salute

Through the years the news media and Congressional leaders have seemingly not compiled or treated the most serious phase of the Rev. Adam Clayton Powell, Jr. record. Few Americans have appeared in support of such a wide range of national and international pro-Communist causes.

In so far as we have observed, Powell has not denouced or re-nounced any of these causes which were supported by his position as clergyman. The American Negro dilimma cries for solution - (not incitation avoidance by any person; or vote exploitation by either party. Powell has over 30 communist front affiliations.

JUSTICE
by Assassination
by
SUZANNE LA FOLLETTE

* * *

Ala. Council On Human Relations Another Arm Of The "Radical Left"

The Alabama Council on Human Relations is probably the most important single left wing organization in this state. It is also one of the most carefully camoflaged and least understood (by the general public) organs of the left.

The Alabama Council on Human Relations receives its financial support and organizational directives from the Southern Regional Council on Human Relations in order to "encourage the development of action groups at state level: recruit and develop state lead-

or the subversive Southern Conference on Human Welfare. (That is, they held the same offices in both organizations.)

All existing evidence indicates that the Southern Regional Council is controlled and directed by the Southern Conference Educational Fund, an identified Communist front.

Dircetives laid down by the Southern Conference Educational Fund (with offices formerly located in New Orleans, now located in Louisville, Ky.)

They are relayed through the Southern Regional Council to the

Y.M.C.A; and more recently, the Center Street Congregational Church. (This same outfit met last week at the white St. Andrews Episcopal Church.)

The Dircetors of the Birmingham Chapter of the ACHR were listed in the Birmingham News, January 17, 1957. They included Perry Daugherty, Dr. Roger Hanson (a teacher at the University Medical Center), Robert Johnson, Dr. Beryl McLasky, William Mitch (Mitch has quite a long Communist front record. He is active in the Jefferson County Mental

According to an article in the Post Herald, the Johnson administration has barred all U.S. bomber flights within a five mile radius of Hanoi. The new order issued in the past week by the Joint Chiefs of Staff has the effect of imposing a sanctuary over a ten mile diameter area over the Viet Cong capitol. It appears that Johnson has succumbed to the pressure from the Left-Wing extremist who support the Viet Cong. This virtually provides a sanctuary wherein the Britist can supply the Viet Cong with oil and Russian made ammunition to be used to killed American G. I.'s. This is the pointed goal of the communist. The Johnson administration is giving aid and comfort to the enemy.

US Pilots Ordered Not To Return Fire On Reds

Don't Offend the Communists

Washington, January 14 -- Syndicated columnists Robert Allen and Paul Scott, writing in

been lost as a result of these Red Chinese attacks, the columnists point out. Several aircraft have been damaged. Allen

Powell Receives Communist Salute

Through the years the news media and Congressional leaders have seemingly not compiled or treated the most serious phase of the Rev. Adam Clayton Powell, Jr. record. Few Americans have appeared in support of such a wide range of national and international pro-Communist causes.

In so far as we have observed, Powell has not denouced or re-nounced any of these causes which were supported by his position as clergyman. The American Negro dilimma cries for solution - (not incitation avoidance by any person; or vote exploitation by either party. Powell has over 30 communist front affiliations.

Editors note: Watch for this salute, you just might see it used by interesting people at interesting places.

Note Lee Oswald's upraised, clenched fist, the Communist symbol of the triumph of Marxism by revolutionary violence.*

Ala. Council On Human Relations

Another Arm Of The "Radical Left"

The Alabama Council on Human Relations is probably the most important single left wing organization in this state. It is also one of the most carefully camoflaged and least understood (by the general public) organs of the left.

The Alabama Council on Human Relations receives its financial support and organizational directives from the Southern Regional Council on Human Relations in order to "encourage the development of action groups at state level: recruit and develop state leadership and seek to remold and articulate public opinion through the radio, press, speakers and publications..."

Records of the American Legion's Americanism Commission reveal that the past directors and presidents of the Southern Regional Council have held essentially the same offices in the Communist Southern Conference Educational Fund and/or the subversive Southern Conference on Human Welfare. (That is, they held the same offices in both organizations.)

All existing evidence indicates that the Southern Regional Council is controlled and directed by the Southern Conference Educational Fund, an identified Communist front.

Dircetives laid down by the Southern Conference Educational Fund (with offices formerly located in New Orleans, now located in Louisville, Ky.)

They are relayed through the Southern Regional Council to the Alabama Council on Human Relations where they are put into action by local members.

The Birmingham Chapter of the Alabama Council on Human Relations was organized by an assorted group of left wingers in 1956.

Meetings have been held in various places including the Chamber of Commerce Building, Miles College, the Negro Y.M.C.A; and more recently, the Center Street Congregational Church. (This same outfit met last week at the white St. Andrews Episcopal Church.)

The Dircetors of the Birmingham Chapter of the ACHR were listed in the Birmingham News, January 17, 1957. They included Perry Daugherty, Dr. Roger Hanson (a teacher at the University Medical Center), Robert Johnson, Dr. Beryl McLasky, William Mitch (Mitch has quite a long Communist front record. He is active in the Jefferson County Mental Health Assn. and local labor groups), Rev. J. L. Ware, Rev. J. C. Wilson, Mrs. H. C. Bryant, Peter Cowin, Juntine Barker, Dr. Fredrick Kraus (Unitarian; teacher at the University Med. Center, and active in mental health) Mrs. James Battle, Arthur Shores and others.

On February 14, 1957, the Alabama Council on Human Re-

Continued on page 2

the Johnson administration has barred all U.S. bomber flights within a five mile radius of Hanoi. The new order issued in the past week by the Joint Chiefs of Staff has the effect of imposing a sanctuary over a ten mile diameter area over the Viet Cong capitol. It appears that Johnson has succumbed to the pressure from the Left-Wing extremist who support the Viet Cong. This virtually provides a sanctuary wherein the Britist can supply the Viet Cong with oil and Russian made ammunition to be used to killed American G. I.'s. This is the pointed goal of the communist. The Johnson administration is giving aid and comfort to the enemy.

US Pilots Ordered Not To Return Fire On Reds

Don't Offend the Communists

Washington, January 14 -- Syndicated columnists Robert Allen and Paul Scott, writing in Human Events, report that U.S. planes have been fired upon more than a dozen times in recent months by Red Chinese warships in Haiphong harbor. Although no U.S. planes have been lost as a result of these Red Chinese attacks, the columnists point out. Several aircraft have been damaged. Allen and Scott also make clear that "these unannounced Chinese Communist attacks have been one - sided. Under ironclad White House orders, U.S. pilots have not returned the fire from the Communists' ships."

McNamara's Miscalculations

Washington, January 13 -- Representative Otis G. Pike (D.-N.Y.) charges that the U.S. Navy and Air Force face a serious shortage of attack planes because Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara was "so afraid to make a mistake" that theDefense Department has delayed in buying needed planes, and has taken too long to procure them once it was decided to begin procurement. "We put our money into missiles," says Pike, "and our enemies recognized this and put their efforts into guerrilla warfare." The New York Democrat, a Marine dive bomber pilot in World War II, was chairman of a special armed services subcommittee that staged a series of closed hearings into tactical air power late lat year. He hopes to organize another subcommittee this year to probe aircraft shortages.

Red Air Bases Are Safe

Washington, January 13 -- General Earle G. Wheeler, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, declares that four major Communist air bases in North Vietnam are safe from U.S. bombing attacks in the foreseeable future. Just back from a week's inspection visit to Vietnam, Wheeler tells reporters: "We've managed to deal rather effectively with MIG's, I think. There may come a time when we will have to do something more about that, but it isn't now." U.S. officials have estimated that the North Vietnamese air force has nearly 100 Soviet MIG jets, most of which are based in the vicinity of Hanoi.

BIRMINGHAM INDEPENDENT EXCLUSIVE

Interview By An Independent Reporter With Michael Lisanti Concerning Charges Made Against Judge Frank M. Johnson, Richmond Flowers, Joe Breck Gantt, And Others

BY J. P. BENJAMIN

When Mr. Lisanti filed a petition for a Writ of Error Coram Nobis in the Covington County Circuit Court regarding a recent courtroom litigation of his, he accused Judge Frank M. Johnson, Richmond Flowers, and Joe Breck Ganntt (Assistant Attorney General under Flowers) of numerous state and federal level crimes. This is the second of four parts of the interview which took place last month, in Florala, Ala. In last week's Last week Mr. Lisanti accused Gant and his father of peonage and Richmond Flowers of ciminal negligence. This week, Mr. Lisanti goes into the theft of $21,000 worth of government owned tung oil and shows the connection between the Commodity Credit Corporation (the government corporation with which Billy Sol Estes was able to work most of his "deals") and the current accusations made in the petition.

Q. Mr. Lisanti, what does Judge Johnson's, Hartwell Davis's, and Richmond Flowers' criminal negligence have to do with your petition?

A. Obviously, Judge Frank M. Johnson Jr., Hartwell Davis, and Richmond Flowers were guilty of criminal negilgence by failing to prosecute Gantt. Therefore, since these people were already guilty of a crime, they were not qualified to act on any of my court litigations.

Q. Your petition mentions the theft of $21,000 worth of government owned tung oil by Tom Stromsen. Who owned the oil where was it stored before its theft?

A. The oil was owned by the United States Department of Agriculture and stored by Alabama Tung Mills.

Q. Are Alabama Tung Mills still in operation?

A. No. The Alabama Tung Mills were sent into receivership by C. H. of the Commodity Credit Corporation.

Q. C.h. Moseley sounds familiar to me. Wasn't he involved in some sort of scandal a few years ago?

A. Yes, He was involved in the Billy Sol Estes case.

Q. Back to Alabama Tung Mills. You said they had been sent into receivership by Judge Johnson. Why?

A. The Alabama Tung Mills were short several hundred thousand dollars worth of Tung Oil owned by the US Department of Agriculture and under the personal supervision of the C. H. Moseley.

Q. Who was the receiver appointed by Judge Johnson?

A. His former law clerk, George Azar.

Q. You said in your petition that Tom Stromsen stole $21,000 worth of Tung oil. Was any legal action taken?

A. Yes. Stromsen was indicted for the theft by a Covington County Grand Jury and his trial is still pending.

Q. How were Judge Johnson, Richmond Flowers, George Azar, and Joe Breck Gantt involved in this matter?

A. They attempted to obstruct justice by preventing the matter from coming to court.

Q. How did that happen?

A. On August 19, 1963, I swore out a Warrant for the arrest of George Azar for receiving and selling the tung oil stolen by Stromsen.

Q. What happened after that?

A. On October 2, 1963, since Azar was a US District Court Official the case was transferred from a state court to Judge Johnson's Federal court

Continued on page 2

GOP Eyes Wallace

NEW ORLEANS—While an air of exuberance hung over the annual meeting of the National Republican Committee meeting here this week as GOP leaders mapped plans to take on President Johnson in 1968, an uneasy feeling nagged in the minds of some delegates.

The uneasiness was due to the potential threat to GOP chances posed by Alabama's George Wallace and his third party movement.

The impact that a presidential move by Wallace would have on Republican chances in 1968 is taken lightly by some committeemen, but Charles Chapman, the na-

Continued on page 2

45 Communist Goals Revealed In Congress

The following list of current Communist goals appeared in the Congressional Record January 10, 1963.

1. U. S. acceptance of coexistence as the only alternative to atomic war.

2. U. S. willingness to capitulate in preference to engaging in atomic war.

3. Develop the illusion that total disarmament by the United States would be a demonstration of moral strength.

4. Permit ree trade between all nations regardless of Communist affiliations and regardless of whether or not items could be used for war.

5. Extension of long-term loans to Russia and Soviet satellites.

6. Provide American aid to all nations regardless of Communist domination.

7. Grant recognition of Red China. Admission of Red China to the U. N.

8. Set up East and West Germany as separate states in spite of Khrushchev's promise in 1955 to settle the German question by free elections under supervision of the U.N.

9. Prolong the conferences to ban atomic tests because the United States has agreed to suspend tests as long as negotiations are in progress.

10. Allow all Soviet satellites individual representation in the U. N.

11. Promote the U. N. as the only hope for mankind. If its charter is rewritten, demand that it be set up as a one-world government with its own independent armed forces.

12. Resist any attempt to outlaw the Communist Party.

13. Do away with all loyalty oaths.

14. Continue giving Russia access to the U. S. Patent Office.

15. Capture one or both of the political parties in the United States.

16. Use technical decision of the courts to weaken basic American institutions by claiming their activities violate civil rights.

17. Get control of the schools. Use them as transmission belts for socialism and current Communist propaganda. Soften the curriculum. Get control of teachers' associations. Put the party line in textbooks.

18. Gain control of all student newspapers.

19. Use student riots to foment public protests against programs of organizations which are under Communist attack.

20. Infiltrate the press. Get control of book-review assignments, editorial writing, policy-making positions.

21. Gain control of key positions in radio, TV, and motion pictures.

22. Continue discrediting American culture by degrading all forms of artistic expression.

23. Control art critics and directors of art museums.

24. Eliminate all laws favoring obscenity by calling them "censorship" and a violation of free speech and free press.

25. Break down cultural standards of morality by promoting pornography and obscenity in books, magazines, motion pictures, radio and TV.

26. Present homosexuality, degeneracy and promiscuity as normal, natural, healthy.

27. Infiltrate the churches and replace revealed religion with "social" religion. Discredit the Bible and emphasize the need for intellectual maturity with does not need a "religious crutch."

28. Eliminate prayer or any phase of religious expression in the schools on the ground that it violates the principle of "separation of church and state."

29. Discredit the American Constitution by calling it inadequate, old-fashioned, out of step with modern needs, a hindrance to cooperation between nations on a world-wide basis.

30. Discredit the American Founding Fathers. Present them as selfish aristocrats who had no concern for the "com-

Continued on page 2

Buchanan Hits "Wasteful" Contracts Policy Of Defense Dept.

Washington, D. C. -- Congressman John H. Buchanan, Jr. of Alabama's Sixth District today assailed the "wasteful" military contracts policy of the Defense Department and its Secretary, Robert McNamara.

The Congressman quoted from Congress by the General Accounting Office (GAO), which accused the Defense Department of "wide-spread failure" to comply with the so-called "truth-in-negotiations" act of 1962.

"Following a thorough Congressional investigation," said Congressman Buchanan, "the Defense Department was directed to follow logical, cost-reducing procedures in its dealings with military suppliers. However, the GAO report revealed that of 185 prime and sub-contracts issued in the last four years the required cost and pricing data had been supplied on only 20 of them.

Congressman Buchanan continued: "While the Report does not estimate how much this failure to comply has cost the American taxpayer, the contracts reviewed totalled $600 million.

"This wasteful conduct contrasts most peculiarly with the economies claimed by Mr. McNamara in closing down some 14 Army installations, including the IV U.S. Army Corps headquarters in Birmingham.

"I have requested the Secretary of the Army to give me the specific ecomonies involved in the closing down of the Birm-

Continued on page 2

PATRONIZE OUR ADVERTIZERS

See Criticisms-gen.

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

CRITICISMS - General

REGARDING

Smear radio station ~~WXXX~~ WDIX editorial of July 1, 1967 attaching HUNGRY CHILDREN Report, released 6-25-67

DATE

7-7-67

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

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Regional Director

SOUTHEASTERN REGIONAL OFFICE

Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith

41 EXCHANGE PLACE, S. E. – 523-3391 – ATLANTA, GA. 30303

July 31, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony, Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Enclosed is a copy of a little flyer handed out a while back in Memphis about a notorious revolutionary organization with which I believe you have some familiarity.

EPOC appears to be a John Birch Society front which is distributing a large quantity of literature about civil rights leaders and organizations operating in the Memphis area.

I thought you would like this for your scrapbook.

Sincerely,

Paul

Paul Wahrhaftig
Community Consultant

PW/bw

WHAT AND WHO IS THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL ?
and WHO is Baxton Bryant, Executive Director of the
Tennessee Council on Human Relations?????

A. The following is testimony given under oath at Hearings of General Legislative Investigating Committee - State of Mississippi 1962 Regular Session. Manning Johnson and Dr. J. B. Matthews testifying on the Southern Regional Council.

TESTIMONY OF MANNING JOHNSON: 10 years in the Communist Conspiracy in the Southeast - rejected Communism and began testifying in behalf of the United States of America.

SENATOR RAINACH: The Chair orders that Exhibit WJ-3 be made a part of the record of this committee (see page 152)

MANNING JOHNSON: I would like also- to save a little time - to introduce that article from the Daily Worker of March 9,1955,pg.4, which contains the names of the leaders of the Southern Regional Council, and I would like to say that the Southern Regional Council was formed by this fellow Jackson who was a member of the Communist Party. I would like to say it wouldn't have been as successful as it was if it were not for the fact that the little church office building presided over by Bishop Arthur Moore of the Methodist Church allowed them to have headquarters there at 63 Auburn Avenue.

QUESTION: Did I understand you to say that Jackson was the founder of the Southern Regional Council?

ANSWER: That's correct, according to the Daily Worker.

QUESTION: And they have offices - where did you say?

ANSWER: In a little church office building presided over by Bishop Arthur Moore of the Methodist Church.

QUESTION: That's in Atlanta, Georgia. Is that correct?

ANSWER: That is correct.

Note: The above testimony can be found on page 73 - Hearings of General Legislative Committee - State of Mississippi, 1962 Regular Session.

Note: According to FBI file # 85-441A - James E. Jackson, Jr. Southern Regional Director Communist Party USA and wanted for Conspiracy to Advocate the Violent Overthrow of the Government.

B. TESTIMONY OF DR. J. B. MATTHEWS: (a foremost anti-Communist) page 18 Hearings of General Legislative Investigating Committee State of Mississippi 1962 Regular Session.

DR. MATTHEWS: Now, these three organizations which I have referred to, namely, the Southern Regional Council, the Southern Conference Educational Fund, the Southern Conference for Human Welfare were characterized by interlocking personnel. I will read you the names of the individuals who were in the top bracket among officials in the Southern Regional Council and have also been affiliated with the Southern Conference for Human Welfare and or the Southern Conference Educational Fund.

Now, you may ask yourselves the question, how do these individuals manage to get into all of these organizations? Will W. Alexander, Rufus Atwood, Mrs. Daisy Bates, Mr. F. Woods Beckman, President A.D.Beittel, Rabbi Stanley Brau, Charlotte Hawkins Brown, Mrs. Myra J. Bryant, Louis E. Burnham, Mr. Hodding Carter, Paul R. Christopher, Rufus E. Clement, James McBride Dabbs, Frank Daniels, A.W.Dent, Albert D'Orlando, T.H. Easom, J. M. Ellison, Clark Foreman, Charles Gomillion, S.L. Greene, C.H. Hamlin, Gordon B. Hancock, H. C. Trenholm, Don West, Aubrey W. Williams and Marion A. Wright.

I have named individuals who were on the Board of Directors at one time or another of the Southern Regional Council and also were affiliated with the Southern Conference for Human Welfare and/or the Southern Conference Educational Fund.

(end of Dr. Matthews testimony)

C. Southern Regional Council is the recipient of Ford, Fund for the Republic grants of $497,000.00 Fund for the Republic grants began with the Ford Motor Company. Southern Regional Council is the parent organization of 12 statewide Councils on Human Relations operated only in the Southern States. Southern Regional Council has been able to exploit the facilities of religion and education because of a quasi-religious status afforded by occupancy of space in a building owned by a huge church. The leadership of few units of the Communist apparatus have records of Communist affiliations which exceed those of present and past directors of Southern Regional Council.

Distributed by EPOC (Enlighten People on Communism)

File
~~Defense Attacks~~
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gen

August 13, 1968

Mr. Paul Wahrhaftig
Community Consultant
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
41 Exchange Place, S. E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Forgive me this delay in thanking you for the flyer from Memphis. I very much appreciate your sending it to us.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

EXTRA...

The Daily Record Statewide Weekend Edition

Vol. 1, No. 28 LITTLE ROCK, ARK., FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER, 1968 Extra

Rockefeller-Backed Council Makes Trouble For Schools

SNIDE BARS

By BART ENDER

Rockefeller v. Bernard?

Reports are that the W. Rockefeller people are carrying on an extensive program of voting-procedure instruction in areas of substantial Negro population. It is said the registrants are being advised that in order to avoid confusion, they should simply put their "X" in the Rockefeller box on the ballot and forget all the rest of the candidates.

Such reports, if accurate, would indicate that the governor is something less than concerned about Republican Senatorial Candidate Bernard's efforts to unseat Bill Fulbright. Bernard's chances of victory would diminish to zero in the absence of extremely heavy support by Negro voters.

"Gazette Press Services"

Because they serve clients having many different kinds of axes to grind, the two big national wire services, Associated Press and United Press International, make an attempt to play so-called hard news down the middle without too much bias in any direction. That, however, apparently doesn't suit the purposes of "committed" newspapers such as the Arkansas Gazette.

Too small to be able, like a New York Times or Chicago Tribune, to field a team that would report national news in terms of its own editorial policy, the Gazette makes do with rewriting AP and UPI dispatches so that certain aspects of the news may be emphasized and others either given scant notice or ignored altogether.

Thus, above articles about national politics or racial matters, particularly those involving rioting and attacks on police, campus disorders and the like, Arkansas Gazette readers are likely to see this line of type: "From Gazette Press Services." That line indicates the ensuing article was prepared by a Gazette employee whose livelihood depends on his seeing things the way the editors of the newspaper want it to be seen.

'News'—Slanted, Seldom Straight

Public disclosure by the Federal Communications Commission that Chet Huntley, the NBC "news" broadcaster who has been sounding off against the new federal meat inspection law, had ranching and cattle feeding interests provides just one more small glimpse into the back-room management of news.

Millions of Americans are thoroughly disgusted with the brazenly slanted and tendentious manner in which television and newspaper reporters have used their media to blacken the image of police, certain public officials, selected candidates for office, corporations—in fact, anyone or anything smacking of "conservatism." Contrariwise, many have worked unceasingly to build up and promote rioters, demonstrators, subversives and their ilk. The public revulsion against this sort of thing alone is sufficient to explain the phenomenal growth of support for a politician such as George Wallace who gives expression to it

Warrant of Week

(Note: This is not intended as criticism in any sense; the purpose is to broaden the knowledge of taxpayers.)

It is costing the Governor's Office $100 per month to have the office cleaned up, warrants written against the maintenance appropriation show. The services of the Capitol's maids and clean-up corps operated from the office of Secretary of State Kelly Bryant were dispensed with and a North Little Rock firm, Peterson, Inc., hired the second week of July.

Warrant 32610 for $60 paid the July bill; No. 45584 paid $100 for August service.

About the same time A. E. Linzel and Son, Little Rock locksmiths, installed three locks, changed one combination, and supplied 20 keys. The bill, paid with warrant 32609, came to $57.20.

Also charged recently to the Governor's appropriation was $104.43 travel expense for Bob Scott (warrant 42615) to reimburse $93.63 spent "in conjunction with attendance at the 98th Annual Congress of Correction" at the San Francisco (Calif.) Hilton Hotel and $10.80 for mileage on two trips to Tucker Farm when "all state-owned vehicles were in use." Air-Land-Sea Travel Agency received warrant 42616 to pay the $208 air transportation cost.

$17,000 Used To Draw $76,000 Federal Money

The Governor's Contingency Fund was tapped again July 15 to set up another state agency with a $1,500 a month job for the head man.

This time the Governor's proclamation, noting the federal government was supplying $76,000 for the purpose, drew upon the Contingency Fund for an additional $17,062 of state funds, whereupon the Governor's Council on Early Childhood Development was in business.

Of the $17,062, $12,600 was earmarked for salaries. From July 1 to date the $1,500 a month for the new agency's director, Dr. Walter L. Hodges, plus $250 a month for one D. M. Dixon, have been the agency's only expenditures from state funds except for $276.65 paid I.B.M. Corporation for rental on a typewriter and a selectric composer, and two payments to the State Retirement Matching Fund to match deducts from the two employes' salaries.

Purpose of the Council as set forth in the proclamation:

"...will not only coordinate efforts of various public and private agencies and aid in the development of a continuity of services...but also will be charged with responsibility of advising Governor in such areas as identifying problems in meeting health, educational and social needs of the children of Arkansas..."

Dr. Luck Demands Retraction; Did WR's 'Outlook' Apologize?

OUR STATEMENT

In its September 13 issue, this newspaper published an article containing the following statement:

"Two years ago, Dr. H. D. Luck of Arkadelphia with his 'Democrats for Arkansas'—and with at least $10,000 from Winthrop Rockefeller—laid the ground work for the 'Democrats for Rockefeller' who spent lavishly to build up Rockefeller's big Pulaski County majority."

DR. LUCK'S RETORT

From Dr. Luck comes the following letter:

"In the September 13, 1968, issue of The Daily Record (Statewide Weekend Edition) you have made a very serious error which I insist must be clarified in the next issue of your newspaper.

"The offending material as printed on the front page of your paper is as follows: 'Two years ago, Dr. H. D. Luck of Arkadelphia with his 'Democrats for Arkansas'....and with at least $10,000 from Winthrop Rockefeller laid the ground work for the 'Democrats for Rockefeller' who spent lavishly to build up Rockefeller's big Pulaski County majority.' I think that such a statement can be politically injurious to me and my future in the Democratic Party. Rockefeller did not contribute $10,000 to Democrats for Arkansas, nor did he contribute through anybody else. The largest single contribution to DFA was $50.00, with most of the contributions being $25.00 or less. There is no record of any contribution from Winthrop Rockefeller. Not even a dollar.

"The statement in your newspaper is false and I must insist on a retraction published in a place of equal conspicuousness."

REPUBLICAN VERSION

In February 1966, the "Outlook," Mr. Rockefeller's Republican house organ stated;

"Mr. Rockefeller gave Dr. Luck $10,000 for the voter registration effort...Dr. Luck believed Mr. Rockefeller had the best interests of Arkansas at heart when he asked for help ..."

See pages 4 & 5 for WR's Council propaganda.

FREEDOM, INC. Seeks Members To Aid Schools

"The governed," scorned by the U. S. Supreme Court, ignored by a majority of the Congress and treated with contempt by the federal bureaucracy, are making themselves heard in this political year.

First there was the surge of rebellious Democrats, disillusioned Republicans and hopeful independents to the banner of George Wallace for President.

Then came the initial steps for a nationwide organization bearing the name FREEDOM, INC., dedicated to recovering and protecting for the people the control of their local schools.

In this organization rests the best, and perhaps last, hope for saving the public schools of many areas from the fate that has befallen those of Washington, D. C., and New York City.

FREEDOM, INC., must have the means for employing the best legal talent available to intervene in behalf of local school systems wherever they are attacked in the federal courts—and that's just about everywhere, directly or indirectly.

On page 6 is FREEDOM, Inc., policy statement.

Governor Adds $8,000 Yearly to Foundations' Aid

Behind the turmoil threatening orderly administration of public schools in this state is the Arkansas Council on Human Relations.

It is an organization with few members, money from tax-exempt foundation sources, a well-paid staff and virtually unlimited access to the news columns of the Arkansas Gazette and Arkansas Democrat.

Behind the Human Relations Council are the Rockefeller and Ford Foundations, which channel their grants through the Southern Regional Council of Atlanta, Ga.

Supplementing that financing is $8,000 a year from Gov. Winthrop Rockefeller which he allocates from the Rockefeller Brothers Fund. (This Fund should not be confused with the much-larger Rockefeller Foundation.)

The $8,000 annual gift attributable to the governor was revealed in a report to a subcommittee of the House Select Committee on Small Business.

From 1959 through 1966, Winthrop Rockefeller put $3,939,591 into the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, but only $1,108,300 came back to Arkansas as grants.

From 1961 through 1966, the gifts to the Human Relations Council totaled $48,000—averaging $8,000 a year. However, in 1964, year of WR's first campaign for governor, he let the Council have $10,000, but cut the 1966 grant to $6,000, thus maintaining the $8,000 average.

An Ashmore Creation

The Human Relations Council was incorporated late in 1954 and became active in 1955 under the guidance of Harry S. Ashmore, then the executive editor of the Arkansas Gazette and an agent of the Ford Foundation.

Through the ensuing years, the Council has conducted several membership drives, but recently let it be known that it has only 1,149 members, including 13 outside the state.

In Little Rock, with 426 members, of whom 155 are new, it is devising ways of applying pressure to the School Board, the City Board of Directors and the City Civil Service Commission in an effort to assure for Negroes, not equality but preferential treatment.

In North Little Rock, with 37 members, of whom 28 are new, the Council is imposing its will on the city administration in various ways.

During the period of Winthrop Rockefeller support, the Council has been instrumental in planning and executing many demonstrations, including the recent march on the courthouse.

It collaborated with the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee before that outfit's public commitment to outlawry made further open support inadvisable.

Turn to pages 4 & 5.

WE DON'T MIND TELLING...

Since we are soliciting subscriptions for the campaign period, it is only fair to state where we stand.

Our ballot shall be cast for Marion Crank and the entire Democratic ticket. There is no alternative to the Rockefeller rule which has:

(a) brought the state government to the brink of insolvency;

(b) used inherited wealth to overwhelm impressionable voters, and to corrupt many;

(c) created racial frictions where none existed before with resultant disorders and harassment of school boards and local government.

Like many others, we would have enjoyed voting for David Pryor for governor, but he did not run. If Ted Boswell had not sounded more and more like a Rockefeller disciple as the campaign progressed, we might have been in his camp.

However, since the immediate problem is to re-establish fiscal responsibility, Mr. Crank doubtless will be in position to serve the state more effectively than any who were mentioned as potential candidates.

As for the "old guard" label, it applies more to Rockefeller than to Crank. The former was a member of the Faubus administration—"machine"—for nine years. Crank was an elected representative, not a Faubus appointee, during that period.

Count 'em—84-1/2 inches of Propaganda in Wednesday's Gazette . . . . Inspired by WR's Arkansas Council on Human Relations. It has only 1,149 members in State . . 426 in Little Rock But it cracks Whip Over Governor, City Officials and School Boards

If you lacked time for a thorough brainwashing September 15 from WR's Human Relations Council and the Gazette, you'll find the whole treatment in the shaded area on these pages.

The patronizing attitude of the Council, its financial "angel" Winthrop R. and the Gazette relegates the Negro to "second class citizen" status. Many discerning members of that race resent it. For example, see the letter at the top right which was published in the Memphis Commercial Appeal.

Relations Council Reports Fewer Negro

By DOUG SMITH
Of the Gazette Staff

In most Arkansas school districts that have desegregated their faculties, the result has been fewer Negro teachers in the district, according to the Arkansas Council on Human Relations.

The Council has just completed a statewide study of faculty desegregation. The study says, in conclusion, "We suggest that there is a serious lack of professional leadership on the part of the state Department of Education, local school administrators, boards of trustees and others having to do with public education in the state of Arkansas. These people, as we see it, have not prepared and at present are not making any serious efforts to prepare the community to accept full desegregation of student bodies and faculties.

"If the present trend of faculty desegregation continues in the state, we are likely to, in the next 10 years, find ourselves fighting the same kind of desegregation fight as happened in the North before the 1954 Supreme Court decision when there were very few Negroes who taught in the public schools outside of the Northern ghetto," the Council said.

The Council said that although there had been a measurable degree of student desegregation in most districts in the state, "faculty desegregation through 1967 was almost nonexistent," in spite of guidelines issued by the federal Health, Education and Welfare Department. The Council said the 1965 guidelines called for integrated staff meetings in the first year of faculty desegregation and the 1966 guidelines required active desegregation of the school staff.

Small school districts have not yet fully complied with the 1965 guidelines, the Council said. "These districts, for the most part, hold one desegregated faculty meeting at the beginning of the year and nothing more is done that suggests any kind of faculty desegregation until the next year," the Council said.

Says Trends Followed, Not the Guidelines

As for the guidelines requiring actual staff desegregation, the Council said it appeared that most districts had followed trends that came out of the Fort Smith and Morrilton Districts.

"In 1966, when the Fort Smith School District desegregated the secondary schools, there were 21 teachers and the principal at the all-Negro junior-senior high school," the Council said. "Of this number, only seven have been retained as junior and senior high school instructors and the two teachers in the senior high school hold positions as librarian and counselor. Other teachers in the District were offered positions that were inconsistent with their training and experience. For example, the principal whose training and experience had been in school administration, was offered a position as a classroom teacher. As a result, the principal and 14 other teachers chose to leave the public school system in Fort Smith.

"This is similar to the situation that developed in the Jonesboro public schools, where the principal, despite his training in school administration, was offered a position as a classroom teacher," The Council said. "In Carthage, Arkansas, where the principal had more thn 15 years tenure and 10 or more of these as a school administrator, he too was offered a position as a classroom teacher and subsequently left the state to take an administrative position in the state of Oklahoma. These cases, we feel, represent a clear violation of the spirit and letter of the 1966 guidelines of the Office of Health, Education and Welfare."

The Council said that when the Morrilton schools were desegregated in 1966, there were seven Negro teachers and one principal in the predominantly Negro high school who were qualified to teach in Arkansas public schools by the Education Department. The Arkansas Teachers Association filed suit to seek retention of two of the teachers and the court held that the two teachers, with others who had not been awarded contracts, were entitled to contracts and to damages where they could be proven. Only one of the teachers chose to return, the Council said.

Assert 1954 Decision Also Affected Faculties

"We cite the Morrilton case because we believe that this decision should have suggested to other school boards that were to desegregate later that the intent of the 1954 Supreme Court decision did in fact mean faculty desegregation as well as student desegregation," the Council said.

However, that has not been

Resources Council Advises the Police On the Proper Way to Make an Arrest

Ozell Sutton, director of the Governor's Council on Human Resources, has sent two memoranda on the police and community relations to officials and leaders in principal Arkansas cities.

The first was addressed to "Mayors, City Managers, and Chiefs of Police" and gave recommendations for improving police-community relations, with special emphasis on minority groups. Included was a suggested "Code of Conduct" for the police.

Sutton said in the memorandum, "It is safe to say that most racial or ethnic conflicts during the past several years have been triggered by police action. This memorandum makes no effort to assess blame for these conflicts, but suggests some ways by which conflicts of a racial nature might be reduced in number and intensity. All Arkansans, I am sure, are aware of the need to improve the relationship between law enforcement officers and private citizens, especially minority citizens."

In the introduction to the "Code of Conduct" Sutton said, "The primary objective of law enforcement officers is to give substance to those guarantees which promise every person his right to pursue his lawful business and pleasure in an orderly and tranquil society. The lawful exercise of police power accomplishes this by respecting the dignity of the individual.

"A police officer must be moderate, tolerant, impersonal and exercise self-restraint in daily contact with the public. Verbal abuse is no less reprehensible than physical abuse. Profanity and or derogatory terms relating to a person's race, color, creed, or national origin have no place in police work and are forbidden," the memorandum continued.

"Policemen must act, speak, and conduct themselves in such a manner as to treat all persons with complete courtesy and with that respect due every person in recognition of his creation in the image of God," the memorandum said.

"Policemen are forbidden to use such derogatory terms as 'Wop,' 'Krout (sic),' 'Dago,' 'Kike,' 'Nigger,' 'Boy,' 'Girl,' 'Burrhead,' 'Jig,' 'Redneck,' 'Shine,' 'Spook,' 'Polock (Sic),' 'Chink,' and the like," the memorandum said.

"Policemen are instructed to refer to all women as Mrs. Lady, or Madam and all men as Mr. or Sir," the memorandum said.

Rules Outlined On Use of Force

Officers should use "only the amount of force needed" in making an arrest, the memorandum said. "Officers will remain calm and controlled under the provocation of verbal abuse."

"When force is used an officer must:

"1. Be acting officially within the bounds of the law.

"2. Have sufficient cause as would appear reasonable to a prudent man, to fear for his personal safety.

"3. Make certain that the force employed is not such as a prudent man would consider excessive, unreasonable, or unnecessary."

"4. Feel that there is no acceptable alternative."

The memorandum said, "There shall be no application of force once a person has submitted to arrest or complied with legal police orders * * *. The policeman's job is to prevent crime and to detect and apprehend offenders, not to punish. The policeman must remember that the impartial administration of justice is the foundation of liberty."

Right to Counsel Is Explained

The memorandum concluded by giving rules for informing suspects of the charge against them, their rights to communicate with and procure counsel, and their rights to request preliminary examination when charged with a felony. "A person arrested has, from the moment of arrest, a right to procure and confer with counsel and to use a phone or send a messenger for the purpose of communicating with relatives, friends, or counsel," the memorandum said. "An arrestee has the right to refuse to give any information other than name, address, etc."

"A complaint of brutality against an officer is a serious charge and should not be used lightly by the general public. Such charges, however, will be thoroughly checked. If the charge is substantiated by the evidence, the officer will be dealt with accordingly. In any case, the charges will be examined and a report given to those citizens lodging the charge, the "Code of Conduct" ended.

Second Deals With Minorities

The second memorandum was addressed to "Officials, Civic Leaders, and Concerned Persons" and Sutton said it had been sent to leaders in principal Arkansas cities, as well as some civic and fraternal groups and chambers of commerce in the cities. Its subject was "Communicating with Minorities."

The memorandum said that race relations were America's oldest unsolved problem, and that they were now at a stage of crisis. It said that better communications between racial groups could be a step to finding solutions to racial problems, and gave three recommendations to the leaders of ways of establishing better communications.

These included setting up a series of meetings of white and Negro leaders where critical problems might be discussed and solutions sought, inviting of concerned and articulate Negro leaders to speak before civic, community welfare, religious, and fraternal groups so whites could hear from Negroes how Negroes view the problems, and establishing of an official, properly constituted human relations commission to work towards identifying and solving problems that tend to cause racial tension and conflict.

The memorandum gave assurances that the staff of the Human Resources Council would be available to help communities in their efforts to achieve racial peace and equality.

Sutton said he sent the memoranda which he said were "simply suggestions," out on his own, and that the governor had not seen them. He said he had been engaged in research for the police "Code of Conduct" for some time, and had read several cities' codes before writing his own.

Parsons Says a Zoning Plan Is Only Way to Desegregate Unless More Funds Received

Superintendent Floyd W. Parsons said Tuesday night that unless the Little Rock School District received more money from its patrons, a plan of geographic attendance zones for each school was the only way that the District could meet federal requirements to achieve a racially unified school system.

Parsons made the statement at a meeting of the Little Rock Council on Human Relations at the Dunbar Community Center. William R. Meeks, a member of the School Board, also attended the meeting.

Federal Judge Gordon E. Young has given the School Board until November 15 to prepare a comprehensive plan for pupil and faculty desegregation that will abolish the "present dual biracial school system in Little Rock."

A member of the audience asked Parsons if there wasn't perhaps some alternative to zoning, which would likely be controversial on two counts: (1) It would require some white students to attend predominantly Negro schools and (2) some schools, such as Hall High, still would have practically no desegregation.

"Without money, we can't do anything but zoning," Parsons said. "Change always costs money."

"Little Rock has a choice to make," another member of the audience said, and Parsons quickly agreed. "Little Rock has a choice to make," he said, putting the emphasis on "Little Rock."

His Proposal Was Rejected

"We [the Board and administration] made a choice a year ago," Parsons said. "It was defeated three to one." He was referring to the Parsons Plan for school desegregation, which he prepared and which was rejected by the voters when it was put forward in the form of a millage increase to finance its proposals.

Parsons was asked what would happen if the federal court ordered a desegregation plan that would cost more money but the voters, who must approve all millage increases, still wouldn't go along. "We haven't found out yet," Parsons said.

Both Parsons and Meeks said, however, that it hadn't been decided yet whether a zoning plan or some other type of desegregation plan would be submitted to the Court. Meeks said several proposals had been made.

Meeks said he felt that the Board would want to achieve a faculty ratio of about 70 per cent white and 30 per cent Negro in each school this year, rather than doing it in some schools this year and some later. Judge Young said that if the Board didn't submit an acceptable faculty desegregation plan by November 15, he would order that the racial composition of each faculty be roughly equal to the ratio of white teachers and Negro teachers employed by the District. Parsons said he didn't think Judge Young meant that each school had to have that ratio next year, but he said the only fair way to do it was all at once. Meeks said the teacher reassignments necessary to achieve that ratio would be made by a committee, possibly consisting of representatives of the administration plus representatives of teachers' and pupils' organizations.

In answer to a question teacher reaction to the pe reassignments, Meeks sa thought there was some hension.

Governo

The throng at the Sunday afternoon come," the Negro ing ands. Gover

'This

Teachers in Desegregated Districts

e case, according to the Coun-l. It said that in nine school stricts studied, the districts ere doing about the same ing as happened in the Mor-ton case.

"When the DeWitt school de-gregated its high school, only e Negro teacher was chosen teach in the district and she s to teach in the elementary hool," the Council said. "The ackover School District total-desegregated more than 300 gro students while retaining ly 3 out of 13 Negro teachers. son, Arkansas, with a total of Negro teachers, retained only o Negro teachers. In the rthage District, where there re 10 Negro teachers and one incipal at the time the school ard desegregated its system, ere were only four Negro chers at the time of this dy. In the Kingsland District, ere there were two Negro chers, there are none now. In 7, when the Tuckerman hool District went to a unified hool system, there were seven ck teachers and one black incipal. At the present time, re is only one black teacher, o is now working in the li-ry."

The Council said that in 1963-(which it said was the last r the Education Department orted on the race of students), there were about 3,000 Negro students in the nine districts studied, with 128 black teachers and 9 black principals. In August of this year, there were fewer than 40 Negro teachers and no Negro principals, it said.

'Taken Over, Not Taken In'

The study also went into the attitudes of Negro students in the absence of Negro teachers. It said that of 300 Negro students and parents interviewed, most had the feeling that, as one student put it, "We've been taken over and not taken in."

Many students felt that although white teachers might have no outward racial prejudice, they still couldn't understand the problems of Negro students, the Council said. Some also feel that they are not considered for school activities such as dramatics and glee clubs, that they are not recognized for classroom participation and that they are ignored by the student body on the playground.

"In all these districts, what been traditionally considered school social functions have now been either deleted or held as private affairs," the Council said. "For example, most of the districts had heretofore held high school junior-senior proms; some have now reverted to junior-senior 'banquets' with no proms and others have no social functions."

State Colleges Also Criticized

The study also was critical of the state colleges and universities. It said that with the exception of Arkansas A M and N College at Pine Bluff, a Negro school, the Council was unable to find even "token" integration of the faculties and staffs of state-supported institutions of higher learning. "Possible exceptions might be one person at the University [of Arkansas] Medical Center who is primarily doing research with little teaching and a very low percentage who are teaching in the newly formed community colleges and vocational trade schools."

The Council concluded that both the public schools and the colleges and universities were using "the same old cliches that we have heard so long from private industry: 'We are willing to hire Negro teachers if we can find qualified ones.'" The Council said that in the case of the colleges and universities, a qualified Negro was one with a doctorate and several years of experience.

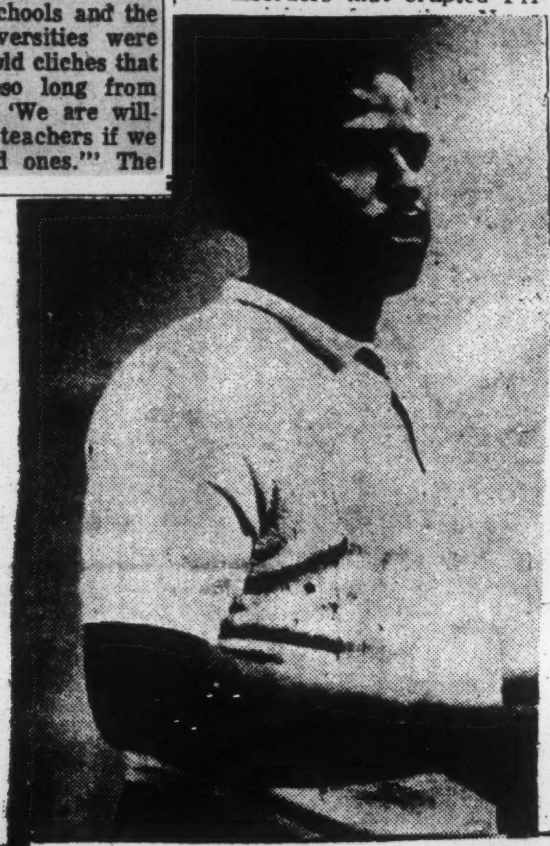
Elijah Coleman, executive director of the Council, said the study was made with a small grant from the Law Students Civil Rights Research Center, which he said was a private group that gave modest stipends to law students for doing civil rights research in the summer months.

Sun., Aug. 11, 1968.

'Heartsick,' Borchert Says About Trouble

By JIMMY JONES
Of the Gazette Staff

Mayor Borchert said Saturday that he was "heartsick" about the disorders that erupted Fri-



—Staff Photo b

Bobby Brown, the BUY leader

about ding d he ppre-

ARKANSAS GAZETTE, Mon., April 8, 1968.

—Staff Photo by Larry Obsitnik.

r and Wife Join in 'We Shall Overcome'

Capitol ended the service by singing "We Shall Over-civil rights song, and hold-nor and Mrs. Rockefeller joined in, Mrs. Rockefeller holding the hand of Lavelle Johnson, a Little Rock poverty war worker. Johnson is holding the hand of Rev. C. B. Knox Jr.

ARKANSAS DEMOCRAT • Tuesday, April 16, 1968

Democrat

Talk Is a Waste of Time'

Wed., April 10, 1968.

'Teaching Needed For Young Blacks'

To The Commercial Appeal:

I would like to take issue with Prof. Trigg on an article written by H. A. Gilliam Jr. stating that black Americans place race before country (Sept. 2).

"Breathes there the man with soul so dead, who never to himself has said: This is my own my native land." I believe most black Americans pay their allegiance first to their God, then to their country, then to mankind, then to race or ethnic groups, then to self.

The failure of the young blacks to realize the degree of importance in values is the failure of teachings.

The young black is taught that it is more honorable to own a $6,000 automobile than to own a $12,000 white trimmed brick.

To own something is to love it. God owned the world and He loved it so, until He gave His son to die on the cross for it.

The young blacks are not being taught that this country was not built on what was spent nor what was earned, but that which was saved.

The young blacks are not being taught that a seed must be saved to insure reproduction. That the seed of an "industrial country" is nothing more than the dollar. That these dollars can be planted in machines and industry.

The young blacks are not being taught that if they save a few of these seeds or dollars, and plant them in industry, they will become owners of the industries or the production of this country. Thereby becoming a part owner of this country. To own something is to love it.

The young blacks are not being taught that the 1940 Security and Exchange Act

Matthew L. Gray

of Congress provided a way for them to own a part of this country on small installments plan, the same as they buy a stereo or television set.

The young blacks are not being taught that at one time the ownership of real property was one requirement for the privilege to vote. That this could happen again.

The young blacks are not being taught that there are only two "real properties" in this country. Namely land and stock. That in the same manner land increases the productivity of a seed or grain of corn, so does the machine increase the productivity of the seed or dollar planted in it.

The irony of this teaching business is the fact that those of us who have had time to get some "economic security," have fallen for the old con game of the system, "come on and buy this or that," things which have no real value.

We find ourselves in debt up to our necks, having spent ourselves into semi-poverty. These are the examples we have set up for our young blacks to learn by.

MATTHEW L. GRAY
1816 Greenview Circle
Memphis

The Daily Record Statewide Weekend Edition

Vol. 1, No. 34 LITTLE ROCK, ARK., FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 1, 1968 —15 Cents

Crank Willing—Rockefeller Won't Reveal Campaign Cost

SNIDE BARS

By BART ENDER

Never Never Land

Far-Out Dealer Joe Clark, the Demo senator from Pennsylvania, apparently thought that just before the elections would be about the right moment for him to get out his piccolo and play a Pied Piper tune about the Great Rock Candy Mountains where everybody will be rolling in dough 'neath skies never cloudy nor gray.

So Clark issues a hundred-page report by his "Subcommittee on Employment, Manpower and Poverty," which proposes to "banish forever" the scourge of poverty from this broad land, say in ten-twenty years. How he gonna do it? Easy, man, easy.

Fust thing, he gonna raise the minimum wage to $2 an hour and then he gonna create two and a half million new jobs within two years and then he gonna pour billions (or is it trillions?) of tax dollars into the pockets of old folks, and poor folks, and all kinds of folks that wants to "escape poverty."

According to the subcommittee, poverty is income of $3,335 a year for a city family of four, $2,345 for a farm family of four. It therefore figures that some 30 millions of Americans are poverty-stricken.

Old Joe Clark is a great thinker and he thunk a great thought here. Only thing is, he didn't go strong enough. Let's make that minimum wage $10 an hour and that will give almost everybody a good raise. Then let's put all who claim they can't find suitable work on the federal payroll at a Civil Service classification of G-15. Then, let's see, the remaining millions who either don't want to work or who are physically incapable of doing so—we'll just pay each and every one of them a nominal subsistence of $100 a week out of the federal Treasury.

That ought to do it. Shucks, eradicating poverty is no sweat.

The Wages of Subterfuge

Now it's Candidate Bill Wells who is having a bit of trouble explaining how come he had so many chilluns on the state payroll. Says he gave the money to other juveniles who served briefly from time to time as legislative pages. Well, er ah . . .

The Democrat aspirant to the office of lieutenant governor blamed "hired political assassins" for bringing up such an embarrassing matter and he indignantly intimated that no ethical person would have mentioned it, much less questioned him as to who got the loot. But surely Candidate Wells is familiar with the H. Truman dictum: "If you can't stand the heat, get out of the kitchen."

This has been a rough, tough campaign at both state and national levels, with no holds barred. Anyone with a hide less resistant to abrasion than that of an alligator ought to engage in some business other than politics—especially the Arkansas variety.

The fact is that both Gubernatorial Candidate Marion Crank and Wells were simply stringing along with the crowd in tapping the state till by the device of putting members of their families on the legislative payroll. Those who did it rationalized the practice by al-

Turn to P. 2—SNIDE BARS

South-Baiters Downcast Over Rejection of Federal Control

With so many Negroes demanding segregation on their own terms in universities and in business, it's not surprising that the rapidly pro-integrationist Southern Regional Council of Atlanta, Ga. is discouraged.

Its special report entitled "Lawlessness and Disorder, Fourteen Years of Failure in Southern School Desegregation," is a bitter acknowledgment of failure. (Can the Arkansas Gazette be far behind?)

The Council's writers' bitterness is directed at white Southerners, whom it holds responsible for the failure. The report is oblivious of the extent of desegregation failures in the North, although it is there, in New York and Chicago at this moment, that crises confront school authorities.

Chief fallacy in the SRC report is its assumption that the United States Supreme Court can manufacture "law of the land" out of sociological theory without the consent of the governed. It is that consent which is lacking. The Court failed in its obligation to interpret rather than make law when it knocked out state laws

Turn to P. 7—FOUNDATIONS

Warrant of Week

(Note: This is not intended as criticism in any sense; the purpose is to broaden the knowledge of taxpayers.)

Professor Max Milam of Fayetteville, whose "Administrative Reorganization in Arkansas" study, distributed earlier this month, proposed a grandiose plan for concentrating all administrative authority at the state Capitol in the governor's office, has now turned up as a "health planning" expert, too.

The governmental reorganization study purportedly was financed by a grant from the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, but when he was wearing his "health planner" hat, Professor Milam, who, incidentally is a political science associate pro-

Turn to P. 3—WARRANT

Law's Limit On Candidate Cited In Council Action

Win or lose, Gov. Winthrop Rockefeller faces the prospect of eventually having to let the people of Arkansas know how much he has spent to influence their votes.

Senator Richard E. Griffin of Crossett, citing the law which limits a candidate's expenditures of his own funds to one year's salary, sponsored a resolution adopted by the Legislative Council Wednesday which requested candidates for all the state constitutional offices and for United States senator to make their campaign expense records available to the legislative auditor, Orvel Johnson.

Crank Willing

The word from the headquarters of Marion Crank, Rockefeller's Democratic challenger, was that he was willing to comply with the Griffin resolution.

Not so, Mr. Rockefeller. He was too busy, he told the press, to talk about such a petty matter as his political "investments." He did not say that later he would take the time; on the other hand he didn't say he would not.

But he has evaded queries as to his 1964 and 1966 expenses, so there's no reason to anticipate greater frankness on his part in the future.

Turn to P. 3—CAMPAIGN

State Tax-Take Up $9 Million In July-October

Arkansas taxpayers are a generous lot.

They keep shelling out more and more money for the operation of the state government, undeterred by the uses to which some of it is put. (See the Warrant of the Week.)

Revenue Department' October collections were nearly $4,000,000 more than in the same month of 1967; and for the first four months of this fiscal year, the increase is in excess of $9,000,000.

General Revenues, subject to allocation to schools, welfare, colleges and universities, cities and counties and other purposes not supported by Special Revenues, totaled $15,921,684 in October, compared with $13,979,776 the same month in 1967.

For the four months period, General Revenues reached $64,423,563, against $58,014,505 in 1967.

Special Revenues, mostly for the Highway Department, cities and counties, jumped to $7,852,706 in October, whereas October last year produced only $5,871,211.

The combined General and Special totals were $102,608,429 for four months this fiscal year and $93,432,361 in the corresponding period in 1967.

A Double Withholding—First from Government By Tax-Exempt Foundation, Then from White Students

(Photographic Reproduction of Ford Foundation Announcement for "blacks" only)

If these corporate profits had been paid as taxes, government—federal, state, local—could not have restricted its expenditure to white students only. How then can the Foundation legally discriminate against white students in disbursing the same money?

DOCTORAL FELLOWSHIPS FOR BLACK STUDENTS

A NEW PROGRAM OF FINANCIAL AID FOR SELECTED BLACK AMERICAN MEN AND WOMEN WHO PLAN TO:

- enter graduate school for full-time study,
- major in the humanities, the social sciences, or the natural sciences,
- continue study through the Ph.D., and
- embark on a career of college teaching.

ANNOUNCEMENT FOR 1969-1970

Approximately 40 Fellows will be named by distinguished faculty selection committees. Decisions will be based upon the candidate's seriousness of purpose, his undergraduate academic record, his scores on the Graduate Record Examinations, and the recommendations of three members of the faculty at his college. The initial award will be for one year, but it will be renewed annually for up to four additional years if the Fellow maintains satisfactory progress toward the Ph.D.

The amount of the award will vary for each Fellow each year according to individual circumstances. Each year the award will cover (a) the full tuition and fees required by the graduate school the Fellow chooses to attend, (b) an annual allowance of $200 for books and supplies, and (c) a monthly stipend to help pay the Fellow's living costs.

The monthly stipend for 1969-1970 will be $250 for a Fellow who is single, $300 if married with no children, $325 if married with one child, and $350 if married with two or more children. Each annual award will be either for nine months (academic year only) or twelve months (includes summer session).

To be eligible for consideration, a candidate must have received his bachelor degree during 1967 or 1968, or he must expect to receive that degree on or before September 1969. A student is ineligible if he is already engaged in professional or graduate study.

Each candidate immediately should make his own arrangements to take the Graduate Record Examinations. (October 8th is the registration deadline for the October 26th administration of the GRE; November 19th is the deadline for the December 14th administration.) Each candidate also should make his own plans for securing admission to the graduate school he wishes to attend.

The deadline for returning completed applications for this fellowship is January 31, 1969.

The names of fellowship recipients will be announced on or about April 15, 1969.

Interested and eligible students should request an application form immediately by writing to

DOCTORAL FELLOWSHIPS
FOR BLACK STUDENTS
The Ford Foundation
320 East 43rd Street
New York, New York 10017

See Page 3

Editorials

(Continued from page 2)

threatened, but they were shocked at the speed with which he dissipated the Treasury reserves of about $40,000,000. Happenings in the Legislative Council in recent days indicate that the lawmakers have no intention of closing their eyes to the extravagance and mismanagement that is the distinguishing mark of the Rockefeller administration.

MORE SUBSIDIZED PROPAGANDA

Frequent reference has been made in this newspaper to the Southern Regional Council of Atlanta, Ga., the recipient of huge grants from Rockefeller and Ford Foundations that have been used to incite racial conflict and at times to foment demonstrations in many cities—including Little Rock and Pine Bluff.

In Arkansas, the SRC's affiliate is the Arkansas Council on Human Relations, a particular pet of Gov. Winthrop Rockefeller who has augmented allocations from the major foundations by directing that $8,000 per year be paid the Council by the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, which is small and operates separately from, if not independently of, the Rockefeller Foundation.

Last week, the Southern Regional Council released a report, which was the basis of a dispatch published in the Arkansas Gazette, in which it stated that integration as mapped by the federal courts and the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare had been, and is, a "colossal failure."

What was not clear from the SRC report was whether it deemed desegregation a "failure" because federal interference in local affairs had not precipitated enough violence to satisfy the revolutionary urge, or because the majority of Negroes and whites are not sold on the various schemes enunciated by the courts, enacted into law by the Congress and guidelined by HEW.

The latest propaganda product of the SRC to come to our attention is a recently published book entitled "The American Negro Revolution," subtitled "From Nonviolence to Black Power 1963-67." The author is a Virginian, Benjamin Muse, a member of the Board of Directors of the Southern Regional Council. In a preface, he thanks the Rev. Aubrey N. Brown, president, Virginia Council on Human Relations; Lloyd J. Elliott, staff economist, Southern Regional Council, and Pat Watters, director of information, Southern Regional Council, for their assistance.

Obviously, it was a subsidized production, just as was Harry S. Ashmore's "The Negro and the Schools," which the Ford Foundation financed for publication in 1954. The Potomac Institute, of which the president is Harold C. Fleming, apparently was the medium through which foundation funds were provided for the Muse book. Fleming's foreword acknowledges that the Potomac Institute could "claim a share of the credit. . . for having made this book possible."

The Book is propaganda with a political purpose, and funds used for it should not be tax exempt. It professes to have Negroes' interest at heart, but it emphasizes, by examples it cites, that the SRC considers them so much election chattel, to be delivered in bloc to selected candidates. It boasts that it was Negro votes that enabled Lyndon Johnson to carry Arkansas in 1964.

It quotes a Voter Education Project (SRC) survey report of December 1966 which asserted that "the Negro vote clearly provided the margin for Winthrop Rockefeller's election as governor of Arkansas."

What is not brought out is that Rockefeller spent several million dollars, in obvious contravention of election laws, in the process of acquiring the Negro vote. In so doing, he displayed a contempt for Negroes which those with genuine pride and reason for self-respect must surely resent.

SNIDE BARS

(Continued from Page 2)

hardly-drawn conclusions of mankind over a million-year span will still be there.

Political Accusations

On the subject of campaign charges and counter charges, a newsletter recalls the allegations once made by a Florida politician against his opponent, as follows:

"Are you aware that the candidate is known all over Washington as a shameless extrovert? Not only that but this man is reliably reported to have practiced nepotism with his sister-in-law and he has a sister who was once a thespian in wicked New York. He matriculated with co-eds at the university, and it is an established fact that before his marriage he habitually practiced celibacy."

That "Rusty Knife"

All those mush-brained dimwits who are lending support, vocal or written, to Communism's worldwide operations designed to force capitulation by the United States to North Vietnam should be held by the scruff of the neck while someone reads to them an article in the November issue of Reader's Digest entitled "The Blood-Red Hands of Ho Chi Minh."

The incredibly cruel atrocities committed by the Viet Cong and the North Vietnamese as a calculated instrument of terror against helpless villages of the South reveal only too plainly the nature of our enemy. Let no one be so dumb as to imagine that the same sort of fiendishness would not be visited on Americans living in the United States if and when the Communists' guerrilla warfare in this country should achieve sufficient force and momentum.

The pinheads of "liberalism" raised a great screeching over General LeMay's remark that if he had to die, he would rather be killed by a nuclear bomb than by a rusty knife. Well, who wouldn't? About the time these caterwaulers against LeMay had some of their parts severed by the rusty knife, they would change their tune in a hurry.

Miscellany

We've said it before, will say it again: The vicious campaigning against the Nixon and Wallace tickets by large elements of the press and national television networks is stirring a public resentment that could bring on a re-examination of just how far "freedom of the press" may be permitted to go. For the campaigning has not been confined to editorial comment; it has permeated the writing and presentation of so-called hard news reports in an unprecedented manner.

In the light of today's swift coverage of events, both visual and written, there is a public utility aspect of journalism that cannot be ignored. Most cities in the U. S. have only one newspaper and in many of those that have two, both are owned by the same company. There are only two national press associations, three national tv and radio networks. The daily news fare fed to Americans is being prepared by fewer and fewer cooks. Should their personal preferences and prejudices be permitted to influence decisively the formation of national attitudes?

Well, maybe the Hump's six waterfront lots were not a "gift," but at $200 for the half-dozen they might be termed a "steal."

Regardless of whether the Viet Nam war is brought to a halt for electioneering purposes, the cessation of hostilities is not likely to be other than temporary. Communist China has no intention of letting the U. S. get out of that morass except on terms of abject surrender and will use every means to keep the fighting going while haggling continues. At least that's the opinion of this internationally famous authority on geopolitik.

Warrant of Week

(Continued from Page 1)

fessor at the University of Arkansas, was paid from tax funds—a grand total of $1,700 for 17 days "for consulting with the Arkansas Health Planning Program" between Aug. 1 and 23. Warrants 19504 for $200, 19506 for $500, 23806 for $500 and 32614 for $500 paid his consultation fees. He also drew $62.44 for travel expense to an orientation conference in Hot Springs Aug. 1 and 2, paid with warrant 54130.

The Health Planning Program is an agency operated out of the Governor's Office with federal funds and matching grants from the Governor's Contingency Fund. It has another consultant, Dr. D. Kent Rice of Fayetteville who has been drawing $375 semi-monthly from the same agency as a fee for "consultation in the development of an Information Referral System and Data Bank."

Campaign

(Continued from Page 1)

While he was unwilling to reveal his over-all expenses, his campaign manager, John L. Ward, was ready with a quick answer as to what a Rockefeller advertisement in Life Magazine cost him. He said it went in the Arkansas distribution only, and only set the campaign back $795. The Saturday Evening Post also included a Rockefeller ad.

Circumvention?

Governor Rockefeller, though not pinned down to specifics, conceded that he had used considerable of his own money in the campaign, but seemed to think he might have circumvented the legal limitation by distributing it to various committees and other organizations.

That will be an interesting question for the Supreme Court, which has been called upon by the Repbulicans to rule on many technical questions relating to the election laws in recent months.

A key point in Senator Griffin's presentation to the Council was the evidence, supplied by the Rockefeller 44-page campaign magazine and by the New Orleans postmaster that Mr. Rockefeller himself had paid $19,263.68 to mail it from New Orleans where it was printed.

The indicia on the magazine states flatly:

BULK RATE
U. S. Postage
PAID
Governor
Winthrop Rockefeller

Elsewhere on the same page, it is noted that the printing cost was paid by the Rockefeller Campaign Committee, John L. Ward, chairman. Now, though, Ward wants the credit, or blame, for paying the postage too.

Senator Griffin remarked, in laying his resolution before the Council, that too often violations of election laws are swept under the rug after the voting is over. The intimation was that he does not intend for this to happen this time.

Under the statute, a candidate spending more of his own money than one year's salary in the course of a campaign is disqualified, and could not legally serve as governor. This possibility had previously been cited by former Chancellor James Pilkinton of Hope.

The spotlight fell upon Rockefeller's tremendous campaign outlays—estimates range upward from $3,000,000 since the July 30 primaries—late in the campaign, but the development has placed the governor on the defensive.

"Thanks to Senator Griffin," one private citizen commented, "I was brought to the realization that to Mr. Rockefeller I and other Arkansas voters are just so much chattel to be bargained for and bought up in the market place."

Text of Senator Griffin's resolution:

"Government belongs to the people and they have, through their elected representatives undertaken to safeguard the integrity of the ballot and the candidates by having enacted into law Act No. 134 of 1913

Turn to P. 4—CAMPAIGN

Poll Points To Percentage Loss By WR in Pulaski

This newspaper's poll of nearly 200 persons living in various sections of Pulaski County gave George Wallace a plurality, with Richard Nixon second and Hubert Humphrey trailing far behind, in the presidential competition.

For United States senator, incumbent Bill Fulbright amassed a substantial majority.

For governor, incumbent Winthrop Rockefeller came out with 58 per cent of the total, not enough to withstand the majorities that will be turned in against him in most counties.

Two years ago, Rockefeller took 66 per cent of the Pulaski County votes, chiefly because so many Negroes preferred him to Jim Johnson, the Democratic nominee.

Johnson carried 40 counties in 1966, but was overwhelmed by the Rockefeller tide in Pulaski, Jefferson, Sebastian and Washington Counties. In all those counties, recent surveys indicate Crank pulling a much higher percentage than did Johnson.

A Rockefeller adherent confided that, while there had been defections, particularly among Negroes whose welfare checks were reduced, the governor's leaders are hoping that the heavily-financed drive to register more voters will benefit him along with Hubert Humphrey—which would shape up as an unusual combination, except in Arkansas, where the Republican Party bears only the faintest resemblance to the national GOP.

In WEEKEND EDITION'S poll, a substantial percentage of the participants were Negroes.

A Contradiction

Most significant aspect of the test vote was the large number of Wallace adherents who were for Rockefeller, despite the fact that the Rockefeller Foundation is one of the chief targets of Wallace's campaign attacks.

As Governor Wallace points out, the Rockefeller and Ford Foundations have nurtured racial troublemakers. But Mr. Crank has chosen not to raise any question as to the propriety or extent of Governor Rockefeller's involvement in the racial antagonisms that have driven many citizens into the Wallace camp.

For Convention

Surprising to this pollster was the majority which was counted for the proposed constitutional convention, which, if approved in the general election next Tuesday, will be composed of delegates to be chosen at the same time. Examination of the roster of delegate candidates shows that many represent special interests.

Other states that have spent hundreds of thousands of dollars in similar convention movements have had to write off the cost as a total loss when the people turned down the finished product. Recent instances include rejections in New York and Maryland.

The results of the poll:

For President—	
Humphrey	21
Nixon	76
Wallace	85
For Governor—	
Crank	77
Rockefeller	106
For U. S. Senator—	
Bernard	49
Fulbright	135
Constitutional Convention—	
For	125
Against	55

Record
wide
Weekend Edition
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Election Scandal Brewing After 2nd Late Count-In

Nixon Election Brightens Hope Of Curbing Racist Foundations

At the Southern Regional Council offices in Atlanta, Ga., you can be sure a dejected staff is wondering what lies in store for it and its affiliates such as the Arkansas Council on Human Relations, which in addition to its share of Rockefeller and Ford Foundation money has had an annual contribution of $8,000 for which it can thank Gov. Winthrop Rockefeller personally.

Last week, this newspaper published a part of the latest special report from the SRC, bemoaning the failure of its scheme for complete integration of Southern public schools in the 14 years that have elapsed since the U. S. Supreme Court brought forth the decision voiding all laws for racially separate schools.

A second installment will be found at the conclusion of this article.

The SRC's program—and the Supreme Court's—of enforced integration has led to disintegration of the political party structure in the nation. For the first time in history, Arkansas this year deserted the Democratic party, and consigned its electoral votes to George Wallace.

That completed the decimation of the party in the South, for only LBJ's home state of Texas was held in line. That must have taken a deal of doing, to save the President's "face."

Nixon Agent Busing

Richard Nixon, at the Republican convention, later in the campaign many times, and on TV interviews, stated that he is opposed to across-town busing of pupils, something that the Southern Regional Council has looked to for the achievement of its race-mixing goals.

Further, Nixon has declared he is opposed to the withholding of federal school aid except where a district deliberately establishes a segregation policy. This would seem to place him on the side of "freedom-of-choice," the hottest issue before the federal courts just now.

The incoming Congress, in all likelihood, will support "freedom of choice" and this may throw it into a feud with the Supreme Court. However, the Senate rejection of the Abe Fortas nomination for chief justice could cause some of the justices to have second thoughts on how far to go with the Court's dictation to school boards.

What has been lacking in the Court's actions, and in the SRC's propaganda, has been recognition of the fact that, in this country, "consent of the

Turn to P. 7—FOUNDATIONS

Foundations

(Continued from Page 1)

governed" is essential to enforcement of laws or court orders.

Nowhere in the SRC's review of the desegregation situation is there acknowledgment that "the governed" should have any voice whatever in school administration.

Continuing the SRC's commentary, with which this newspaper disagrees 100 per cent:

INSTALLMENT II

A federal district court in Alabama had issued an order (also in March, 1967) which would, in fact, result in a collision of the two branches of the federal government in the matter of school desegregation. Lee v. Marion County placed 99 of Alabama's 118 school districts under court order. These were districts that had formerly been operating under HEW guidelines. During the summer of 1967, HEW declared that the Lanett, Alabama, school system was not in compliance with the guidelines and was therefore ineligible for federal aid; Lanett school officials protested that they were now under a court approved plan, and in July the court held that it was the court's responsibility to determine whether school systems were in compliance with its order. Urging HEW to continue investigations and to report any failures to comply, the court warned, however, that HEW could only take action with its specific approval.

But meanwhile, all across the South during 1967 and the spring and summer of 1968 old school cases were reopened and new ones filed. Results were familiar to those old enough to remember Brown I and Brown II. District courts in numerous cases overthrew freedom-of-choice plans and ordered school boards to submit geographic zoning plans drawn so as to afford substantial desegregation.

In many respects the new judicial era was exactly like the old. It introduced an entirely new concept in equal education to southern whites. No less revolutionary than the Supreme Court's announcing in 1954 that separate educational facilities were inherently unequal was the idea that desegregation meant white children attending formerly "Negro" schools. Freedom-of-choice had been the interim separate but equal, not a transitional concept, but educational dogma. HEW's acceptance of gradualism was not nearly so damning as its acceptance of the southern solution. Freedom-of-choice meant Negroes, as many as could stand it, in white schools. Now, court ordered, the zone concept literally meant mixing the schools. Administrators (the South, they said, the people, simply weren't ready for it, no sir) reluctantly drew up the new plans. Through the late spring and early summer resistance grew. Just as in the first judicial era, it was mainly the cities of the South that were affected. And the resistance had a citified, sophisticated new look, not seen since the administrative experiment moved the issue to the rural South. Committees, organizations (Stand Together and Never Divide, etc.) of white parents formed (reformed, in many instances—a new generation of resisters) to fight for freedom-of-choice. Almost without exception they were victorious.

The new judicial era fell victim to many of the traps that had plagued the old one. Federal judges, admittedly not educators, were often forced to believe elaborate arguments by schoolmen that what the courts requested was simply not (immediately) possible. Redraw all school boundaries. . . 75,000 children involved. . . teachers already assigned. . . overcrowding . .undercrowding . . .BUSSING. . .You see, your honor, we would very much like to comply with the court order, and we will. . .but not now. (A federal district judge in Mississippi recently ruled that, since whites would pull out of a zone-desegregated school system, freedom-of-choice was constitutional. This bit of tortured judicial reasoning was engendered by a poll, conducted by whites, of whites in the district. The poll revealed that white parents would refuse to send their children to public schools; therefore, no desegregation would exist. So, freedom-of-choice would, at least in theory, allow more desegregation.)

Also, pressure by white parents in many locales had almost the same effect as threats by southern legislatures a decade before. These parents, through their organizations, said they would, and in some instances did, close the schools down rather than desegregate them. (In Chesterfield County, South Carolina, schools were closed for a week due to protests by white parents. They were reopened September 15, 1968, after the board reinstituted the freedom-of-choice plan.)

Mobile, Alabama, seemed to sum up the first year of the new judicial era: The Mobile case had been in court for many years. The system was operating under freedom-of-choice. In 1967 two per cent of Negro school children attended "white" schools. The Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals in March, 1968, instructed the school board to adopt a rigid (no provisions for transfers within the system to avoid attending a desegregated school) zone plan, which would have placed about 1,400 white children in formerly all-Negro schools. White parents organized (Stand Together, etc., and Whites Organized for Rights Keeping); the area's state senator filed a motion in federal court seeking to overturn the new ruling on grounds it would be unsafe for white children to attend all-Negro schools. After a summer of legal battling the federal district judge who had issued the initial order came up with a plan allowing senior high schools to operate under freedom-of-choice, requiring specified attendance zones for elementary and junior high schools, and permitting more liberal transfers within the attendance zones. When school opened in September, an estimated 3,500 Negroes were in formerly all-white schools; but very few whites were in formerly all-Negro ones.

Mississippi, as usual, was the epitome of frustration, confusion, and a certain hope. School cases in 50 of Mississippi's 148 districts are to be reopened in the fall. A spokesman for the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc., the most active agency in the legal battle for school desegregation, was confident that in most of those districts freedom-of-choice would be discarded and zone or pairing plans required. The spokesman also stated that such action would result in whites pulling out of the public schools in several districts. "It depends on the district," he said. "Where whites are proud of the schools, where the schools are good, whites will stay. In the Delta, where schools are bad, whites will probably pull out." He cited Corinth, a relatively prosperous community in northern Mississippi, as an example of a good school system's holding whites in spite of a comprehensive zone plan that would result in substantial desegregation. Though Mississippi still has a tuition grant statute, which theoretically could support private schools, there is little chance of its indefinite survival. The Legal Defense Fund spokesman, wise in the ways of Mississippi, and still hopeful, said, "Whites will probably go through the full cycle of resistance and come back to reconciliation again—just as they did before." He felt that the South might yet solve the problem of desegregation before the North began, really, to grapple with it.

The Pattern of Failure

There was the chance, a slim one, that the courts might succeed, might assure justice at last to school children in the South. But all the foregoing history indicates failure, and the results of the first year of the second judicial era bear out this gloomy prophecy. Though no official figures were available in late September, 1968, the old pattern seemed to hold. A few more Negroes in school with whites in the cities; in some instances rural "Negro" schools closed and the entire student body absorbed by the "white" ones; a minuscule number of whites in formerly all-Negro schools. The second judicial era would, it seemed, encounter the same dilemma that doomed the first one: Governor Lurleen Wallace, paraphrasing another Southerner who flouted the law when it suited him to do, said of the Fifth Circuit ruling, "They have made their decision, now let them enforce it."

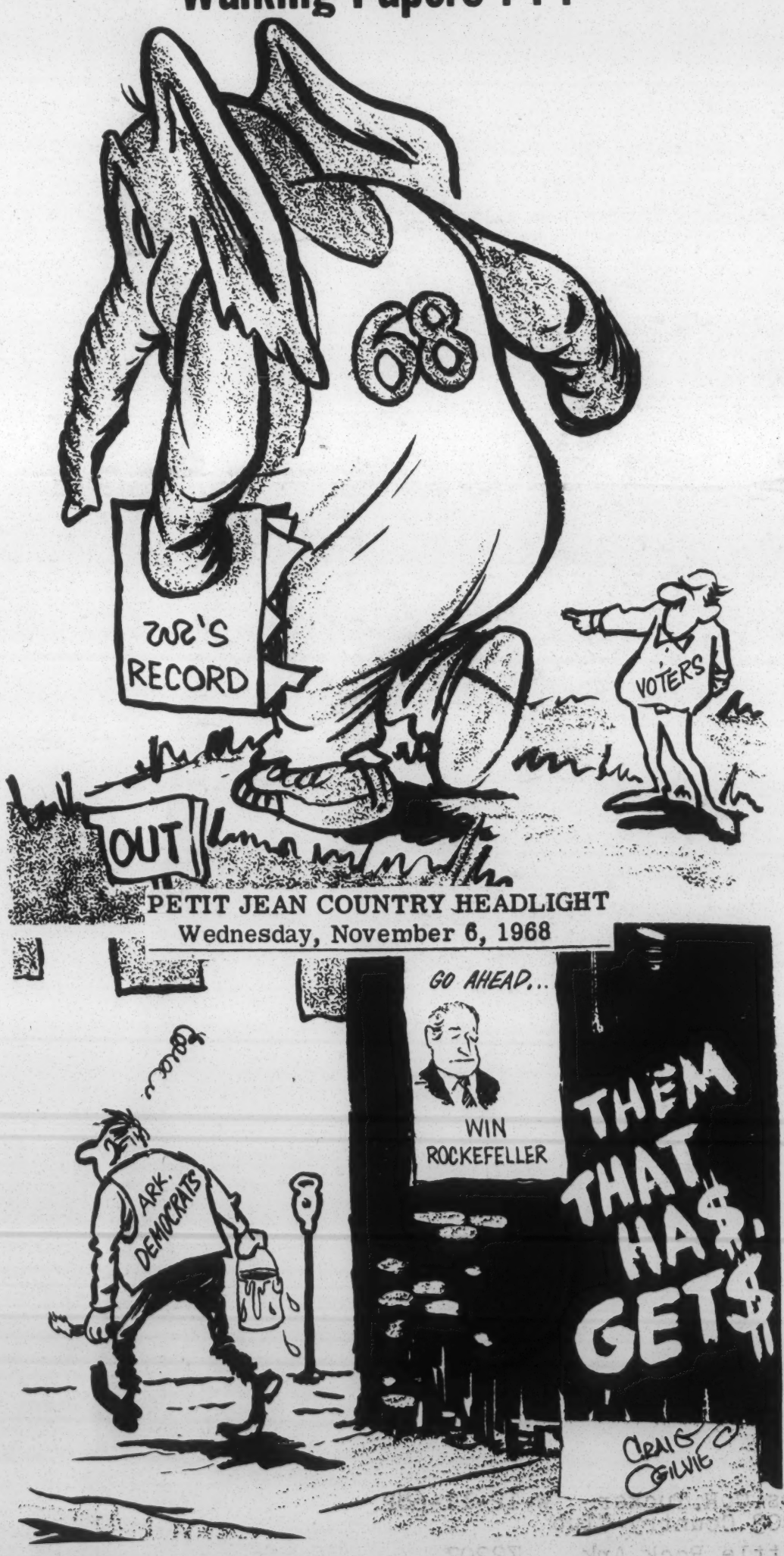
Why those who had lived through the first era, had watched the few children lifescarred for the privilege of entering a building, fanned the old hope again is probably irrelevant. But the results of fourteen long years of methodizing, legalizing, computerizing, analyzing, and finally, mortifying what is, after all, the basic right of every American child—the right to a good education, the right to enter any building to get that education—will long be felt in this nation.

We teach children, all children, that the United States of America is dedicated to law and order. We lie. We have shown a generation of American children, in the public institution closest to their lives, the schools, that this nation's fundamental law need not be obeyed; we have clearly demonstrated to them that what we expect is their conformity to lipservice to the shibboleth. What will be the awful effects of this lie upon children, black and white alike? What depths of disillusionment when they hear us say "law" and observe only "order?"

After a generation has beheld successful evasion, rationalized vaccillation, outright flaunting of the law, only a country absolutely wedded to the totalitarian concept of order without law could turn on the victims of lawlessness and accuse them of destroying the fabric of society.

One must be right . . .

Walking Papers . . .



PA - Various mentions of attacks on SRC herein. Should be appropriately filed.
HCF

RACISM

and

SOUTHERN

UNIONS

BEN SEGAL

Reprint from a series of articles in the
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by Ben Segal
Director of Education, International Union
of Electrical Workers, AFL-CIO; and Director, Trade
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"Dixie Operation"

How the South Fights Union Organization

PART I

If you were in any one of 6 counties in South Carolina and wanted to start a social club, veterans' group or neighborhood improvement association, you might have to obtain a license in writing from your county commissioners and supervisor. If you are in any of those counties and want to talk to people about organizing a union, you darn well better register with the authorities for a "solicitation permit."

Whether you get it or not is a different matter.

Scuttling union activities is the purpose behind 6 county-wide ordinances, passed as of July 1957 by the last session of South Carolina's general assembly, which require in identical wording, a "permit in writing . . . before any person shall solicit membership for any organization, union, or society of any sort which requires from its members the payment of membership fees, dues, or is entitled to make assessments . . ." A seventh ordinance, aimed at the NAACP, requires "the member of any organization . . . which has as its policy equal rights for members of any race, color or creed" to file his name and address with his county supervisor."

Throughout the South the free association of individuals for common purposes is under attack and the fundamental rights of expression are in jeopardy.

In March of 1954, Rose Staub, an organizer for the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union, was arrested, found guilty, fined $300 and sentenced to 30 days in jail by the local courts of a small Georgia town, Baxley. She had failed to comply with an ordinance passed by the city fathers immediately after the ILG came into the area to organize workers employed by the Hazelhurst Manufacturing Co. It stated: "Any organization, union or society in Baxley, Ga., that solicits members and requires a payment of a membership fee must take out a local license costing $2,000 annually and must also pay over to the town $500 for each member signed up."

To date, the ordinance has been used only against the union. The ILG, in a court case which is now before the United States Supreme Court, argues that it violates the free speech, assembly and press guarantees of the First Amendment, as well as the legal right of workers to organize.

A Spreading Disease

Similar antiunion ordinances have cropped up in nearby Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, Florida, Tennessee, South Carolina and Virginia. Members of the Textile Workers Union were arrested last June by Lyman, S. C., police for violating an ordinance which prohibits the distribution of literature on public property. In Charlotte County, Va., last year, a union organizer was arrested for failing to take out a "solicitation permit." To get it, he would have been required to supply political and financial information about himself and his union.

In Dublin, Ga., the town ordinance requires union organizers and other representatives to be licensed by the city at $2,500 a head. Conditions: applicants must prove they have lived in Dublin at least 5 years and swear they are opposed to integration.

PART II
HITTING THE CONSTITUTION

In Florida recently, Miami Mayor Randell Christmas played Santa Claus to employers contemplating an exodus from North to South. He proposed that the State, which took the lead in passing a right to work law, establish an "internal security agency made up of ex-FBI men to screen union organizers and weed out the undesirables."

Local ordinances abridging constitutional rights of workers and their legal right to organize are mushrooming all over the South. The Osceola, Ark. ordinance put it this way; "Sec. 2. Said individual, organization or association, shall pay in the sum of One Thousand (1,000) dollars per day to the City of Osceola for the privilege of doing business within the city limits of said city."

Some of these ordinances, having been passed, are lying in wait without being publicized waiting to be sprung on the first union organizer who ventures within reach.

In a Carrolton, Ga., ordinance case that was recently fought and won by the International Union of Electrical Workers, one union leader observed that the stipulation of $1,000 registration for each organizer, and a $100 a day fee would have cost the union $37,000 a year—to keep one man in town. The U.S. Supreme Court must still determine the constitutionality of the ordinances. Their net results, meanwhile, are to delay organizing drives and set back the organizing efforts of unions for years.

Violence vs. Organizers

In many other Southern communities where organizing drives have been undertaken, orderly and peaceful union spokesmen are regularly beaten up, forcibly ejected, or made victims of planned mob terror. In addition, union members are frequently denied places in which to meet, offices to rent, and are effectively refused the right of free speech by dozens of tactics of intimidation, economic discrimination or plain brute force.

Throughout the South there have been many shocking denials to union representatives of freedom of access to the channels of communication. In Gastonia, N. C. recently, for instance, the newspaper refused to publish a union advertisement urging mill owners to raise wages. In Anderson, S. C. it is impossible for the union to obtain any kind of advertising in local papers. In Greeneville, Tennessee, IUE could not buy radio time or newspaper space.

In Piedmont, Alabama, where meeting facilities were repeatedly denied the Textile Workers Union of America during a winter organizing campaign, union meetings were finally held in a tent. In Elkin, N. C. during a drive to organize workers at the Chatham blanket mills, the union, frustrated for months in its efforts to obtain a meeting hall within a radius of 30 miles, scheduled the meeting to be held in the woods. Local police set up a road block on the way to the meeting place. Many of the workers, because of fear, assumed that the police were doing this for the company.

Elsewhere, local police have openly acted as agents of the employers. There are cases where city officials have directed campaigns of violence against union organizers, where police have kept union representatives under daily surveillance, following them to restaurants and to the homes of individual members. In the files of one of the regional offices of an AFL-CIO union there is an affidavit from a North Carolina sheriff who described how he had been called in during a strike and bluntly ordered to arrest half a dozen named employees. He was told to invent whatever charge was necessary since the purpose of the

arrest was simply to break strikers' morale.

Back in 1950, a Sub-Committee on Labor-Management Relations of the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare conducted an investigation into the Southern textile industry. What they found then holds true today for many of the unions which are trying to organize in the South:

"In stopping a union organizing campaign, the employer will use some or all of the following methods: surveillance of organizers and union adherents; propaganda through rumors, letters, news stories, advertisements, speeches to employees; denial of free speech and assembly to the union; organizing of the whole community for anti-union activity; labor espionage; discharges of union sympathizers; violence and gun play; injunctions; the closing or moving of the mill; endless litigation before the NLRB and the Courts, etc. After all these fail, the employer will stall in slow succession first the election, then the certification of the union and finally the renegotiations of a contract. Few organizing campaigns survive this type of onslaught."

PART III

RAISING THE RACE ISSUE

An increasing number of southern employers have capitalized recently on the segregation issue to thwart organizing drives. In a 9-page letter sent to employes of the Adams-Millis Corp., a hosiery mill at High Point, N. C., the company wrote: ". . . unions are working day and night and pouring out the money which they collect in dues in an effort to eliminate segregation and to bring about integration in the schools and elsewhere between the white people and the colored people as rapidly and completely as possible."

In another labor campaign in Wilmington, N. C., a company vice president wrote to his workers: ". . . You may have noticed in the newspapers that the AFL-CIO at its recent convention took $75,000 of the dues paid to it by the people who are its members and gave this money to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, which is the organization aggressively working for the wiping out of all racial segregation, both in schools, manufacturing plants and elsewhere." (The grant to the NAACP was appropriated by the Philip Murray Fund from donations received from former CIO unions, not by a convention of the AFL-CIO.)

The man in the South who has probably had the most experience with this problem is Boyd E. Payton, southern director of the Textile Workers Union of America (formerly CIO). He stated recently: "In any organizing drive, you can be sure that the union efforts will be smeared by employer propaganda which identifies the union with subversive and Communist activities, as well as with the NAACP."

Aside from union activities, in other areas as well, there has been a smear attempt to link Communists with integrationists in the effort to deny liberal southerners their freedom of speech.

Phony 'Red' Scare

The school segregation camp has its followers as far north as Arlington, Va., who purposely tie in the Communist and integration issues. Recently, Miss Betty Thompson, a recent candidate for the Virginia House of Delegates, reading to the Arlington Democratic Club from which she said was a work published in 1912 by an English Communist, charged that "integration is a Communist Party dream (which) has become a stark reality just across the Potomac."

In Atlanta, Ga., Attorney General Eugene Cook, speaking before the Peace Officers Association, recently attacked the NAACP and other liberal southern groups as "part and parcel of the Communist conspiracy to overthrow the democratic governments of this nation and its sovereign states." Their activities he held can only result in "conflict, bloodshed and internal revolution, delivering this nation into the hands of internal Communism."

Smeared by Cook as a "front" organization was the outstanding and eminently respectable Southern Regional Council, the South's foremost interracial improvement agency. The SRC as well as the NAACP, Cook falsely charged, are dominated by individuals who have "long records of affinity for and participation in Communist, Communist-front and fellow-traveling left-wing and subversive organizations and activities."

Louisiana "Investigates"

While Mississippi's State Sovereignty Commission, headed up by Governor Coleman, voted to employ "secret investigators as an official arm of state government who would serve as the eyes and ears in the state's fight against integration," its neighboring state, Louisiana, last year undertook what one state senator described as "the first official investigation in the nation into Communist influences behind racial disturbances."

In the Louisiana hearings, the star witness was a paid informer, Manning Johnson from Washington, D. C., a professional ex-Communist well known to headlines some 3 or 4 years. Johnson was the prime denouncer in the loyalty investigations of United Nations Undersecretary Ralph Bunche. His accusations were discredited.

Maniacal Ravings

Flinging unbelievable, false charges throughout most of the 3-day hearing, Johnson (1) branded Howard University a "hotbed of Communism and its Negro president, Mordecai Johnson, an expounder of Communist doctrine; (2) claimed the NAACP is comprised of "liberals, philanthropists, Communists, fellow-travelers, egg-heads, idealists, socialists, Trotskyites and more" who have "one thing in common . . . their teachings are all the teachings of Marx." (NAACP units are plotting a "national Negro rebellion . . . extending from Maryland to Texas where they speak of setting up a black republic"), and (3) identified the Southern Regional Council and the Mississippi Council on Human Relations as being formed by Communists.

One of the persons named by Johnson as a board member of the Mississippi Council on Human Relations, founded in 1919 by eminent clergymen, was Mrs. D. S. Wheatley of Greenwood, Miss., the daughter, sister and sister-in-law of Episcopal ministers and herself past president of the Mississippi Episcopal Women's Organization.

Six days after Johnson's scurrilous attacks, a shot was fired into the Wheatley house late at night, piercing the dining room window, drilling through a dividing wall, and hitting the far wall of the living room. The Wheatleys, a conservative couple who have run a cotton business in Greenwood for many years, were reading, fortunately, in another room.

Rep. McMillan Impressed

However fantastic Johnson's charges, they made somewhat of an impression back in Washington. Congressman McMillan of South Carolina inserted them in the Congressional Record. "Firing Line," the bulletin of the American Legion, also publicized his accusations about the Southern Regional Council and other liberal southern groups.

A month following Johnson's testimony, Congressman Clyde Doyle (D., Calif.), member of the House Un-American Activities Committee, sent a letter to Attorney Bethuel

Webster, counsel for the Fund for the Republic. In his letter, Congressman Doyle stated that he had seen the charges against the SRC in "Firing Line" and raised the question: "What investigation does the Fund for the Republic make of the background or control of the personnel and policies of a proposed recipient of funds?" The Fund for the Republic had given the Southern Regional Council a grant to carry on its valuable community education activities.

AN EXCERPT FROM A TYPICAL LETTER BY A SOUTHERN EMPLOYER TO THE EMPLOYEES

With respect to the Union there is another matter which we want to discuss with you very frankly. All over the South today there is deep concern on the question of racial segregation versus integration. That is a matter on which each person is entitled to his or her own views. We do not consider that it is appropriate for us to try to influence you one way or another on this vital issue.

We do think, however, that you are entitled to know, and should know, what the Union's position is on this subject. The Unions are not neutral on this matter. Instead, the Unions are working day and night, and pouring out the money which they collect in dues, in an effort to eliminate segregation and to bring about integration in the schools and elsewhere between the white people and the colored people as rapidly and completely as possible.

In the case that was before the United States Supreme Court on this question the CIO filed an official document in which it stated emphatically and positively that the Union "supports the elimination of racial segregation . . . from every phase of American life." Further the Union urged that segregation should be ended "forthwith" rather than by "gradual adjustment." The document further states that where the "Unions have their way, there is likewise no segregation in the use of plant eating places, locker rooms, rest rooms, etc."

You may not have noticed in the newspaper that the AFL-CIO at is recent convention took $75,000.00 of the dues paid to it by the people who are its members and gave this money to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, which is the organization aggressively working for the wiping out of all racial segregation, both in schools, plants and elsewhere.

PART IV

Race Issue in NLRB Vote

Forty hours before the 377 workers of the Bay Springs, Miss., Neco company plant were to vote to decide whether to form a union, their employer threw racist fear and hate full in their faces.

Until then, the Northern Electric Products Corp. (Neco) campaign against the International Union of Electrical Workers (AFL-CIO) was no more than typical of determined antiunionism in the deep South.

Neco owners Ed and Sam Russell, Chicagoans, had saved the race theme to spring in the final hours. Essentially this is a case history of how a northern employer tried to panic a southern community and used racial prejudice to maintain his feudal relationship with employes working at substandard conditions. Following this, the election, under auspices of the National Labor Relations Board, was anticlimactic. The union (IUE) lost out by a vote of 291 to 86.

The chief incitement of fear prior to the balloting was a speech by Ed Russell. It was arranged by calling the workers — most of whom are women—from their jobs into the plant lobby. With few preliminaries Russell began shouting that the union was "nigger-loving" and its president, James B. Carey, was a "nigger-lover." And for that matter, so was the IUE's Mississippi-born organizer, Joe Thornton.

Russell didn't dwell solely on race. He also managed to imply the union "outsiders" would foment violent strikes, shootings, killings and Communism.

He kept returning to race agitation, however, and waved the "evidence" in front of his captive audience. He brandished a full-sized copy of the June 4 issue of the Jackson, Miss., Daily News—months old but good as new—and pointed to a huge —column photograph centered at the top of page one. It showed IUE President James Carey dancing with a young Negro lady.

What He Didn't Tell

Russell didn't tell his listeners the photo had been taken in Geneva during an official party given by the Swiss government for delegates to an International Labor Organization conference in 1956. Russell didn't mention that Carey had been a U. S. delegate and the young lady was a Nigerian union representative's wife.

Perhaps it wouldn't have made any difference.

The Bay Springs situation is becoming increasingly typical. Numerous employers throughout the South are finding the race theme a handy and potent additional weapon against labor organization. Unions always have found the South difficult to organize, but the recent magnification of the race theme has added to their problems.

Before the 1954 Supreme Court decision outlawing compulsory race segregation in public schools, many unions were quietly and slowly doing away with segregation in meetings, at conferences and even on some of the jobs. After the court decision, the race issue took the headlines, arousing latent fears.

A Closer Look

Since Bay Springs illustrates this so blatantly it's worthwhile to study it more closely. The town has 1,800 inhabitants in agricultural Jasper County in southeast central Mississippi. The city fathers several years ago decided to induce industry to locate in Bay Springs. They offered incentives which attracted the Russell brothers.

The 2 "parent" Neco plants remain in Chicago with the sales headquarters; they have another small plant in Jamestown, Ky. Neco makes electric blankets, heating pads and the component parts for same. Wholesaling is done directly mainly to 2 national chain stores, Sears Roebuck and Rexall Drugs, each of which has its own brand name.

Through a series of negotiations which seemed to have the Bay Springers at a decided disadvantage, the Chicagoans were persuaded to open a Mississippi plant.

In return, Jasper County taxpayers gave them: (1) An arrangement which results in virtually a rent-free building; (2) exemption from all county taxes, and (3) inclusion of a newly-constructed $190,000 mansion as part of the corporation's tax-free property. Just how this is done, since the mansion is in nearby Jones County, makes for curious speculation. Ed Russell uses it when he is in Mississippi, paying $25 a month as rent.

Another incentive the Russells obtained was the existence of a low prevailing wage structure. When the plant began operating in 1951, the pay was at the 75-cent hourly minimum required by the federal

Reprint From Front Page of Jackson Daily News, June 4, 1957

Wage and Hour Law. Last year Congress raised the minimum by 25 cents an hour. Since then, Neco added another 5 cents, possibly as another addition to its antiunion arsenal.

This summer a majority of Neco workers signed cards saying they were interested in forming an IUE local union. Signing such cards is customarily necessary under operations of the National Labor Relations Act. The IUE had sent native Mississippians quietly into the area to assist the Neco employes. One organizer had been born within 20 miles of the plant. They were hardly outsiders.

Pressure Builds Up

As the election date neared, the Russells became active. With cooperation from the local Chamber of Commerce, they mustered support of most town merchants to campaign against the union. Rumors were rife that the plant would shut down if the IUE came to town. There were antiunion leaflets, phone calls and even house calls by business people suggesting IUE adherents were not safe credit risks.

In rapid-fire succession, Ed Russell then sent 3 letters to each employe and gave his speeches linking the IUE insidiously to activities on behalf of equal opportunities for Negroes.

The envelopes contained photostats of union newspapers showing Negroes participating normally in IUE meetings and at conventions, and Carey's attendance at the Washington, D. C., Civil Rights Prayer Pilgrimage. There were quotations from a speech by Thurgood Marshall, counsel for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), given at an IUE convention. The charge was made that the IUE was fronting for the NAACP and gave it sums of money.

Carey, in discussing this later, said "This man Russell was ready to put a torch to the community, to set the town of Bay Springs on fire with a self-consuming explosion of hate, violence and chaos."

Copies of the Jackson newspaper were displayed in such strategic spots as washrooms, with the accompanying bylined "news" story, part of which said: "Employes of the Vickers plant who favor whites and Negroes dancing cheek by jowl as 'Brother' Carey is doing, should of course vote to let the IUE take over control of the Vickers plant and thereby give approval of 'Brother' Carey and the company he keeps."

Doesn't Always Work

As will be noted in the wording of the story, the Bay Springs campaign was not the first time the Jackson newspaper display was used against the IUE.

The previous time was in Jackson itself, and it didn't work. A majority of the Vickers plant workers, possibly more blase about the attentions of a big city newspaper, voted for the IUE despite the fact that Carey had danced with a Nigerian girl.

The race issue, to re-emphasize, is not always decisive.

In Bay Springs and at least one other instance involving the IUE, however, the union feels racism was the fatal factor. The other time was a year earlier, in the fall of 1956. The IUE lost out at the Raleigh N. C., plant of Westinghouse Electric Corp. after a campaign which saw the plant manager telling white workers that Negroes would get their jobs if the union won.

PART V

The Assault on Freedom

Outstanding among the flagrant attacks on civil liberties are the legislative steps that have been taken in 8 southern states (in varying degrees) to outlaw the NAACP and all free discussion of the segregation issue. The umbrella measures in Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina,

Texas and Virginia, bar NAACP members from all public employment, prohibit the NAACP from practicing law or initiating lawsuits, require the listing of all NAACP members and contributors, making the names a matter of public record.

These patent attempts to destroy the constitutional rights of free speech and association have led to the economic boycott of NAACP members, loss of employment from nongovernment jobs, threats, intimidations, murders and bombings of the homes and churches of NAACP members. As Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the NAACP said recently, "color-line legislation in the South has so restricted the basic freedoms of speech, assembly, petition and legal redress in the fury at the NAACP that it has endangered white Americans as well."

The Koinonia Story

A tiny Georgia community of deeply religious white and Negro ministers and farmers was so endangered through bombings, dynamitings and shootings that not even Lloyds of London will risk an insurance policy on its people or equipment. Koinonia, a cooperative farming venture 100 miles south of Atlanta, Ga., has also recently been falsely charged by a Sumter County, Ga., grand jury as a "behive of Communist activity."

The 60 men, women and children of Koinonia, the Greek word for communal brotherhood, have used only prayer, humor and a thin wire fence as their protection against a year of night-time violence. The community, started in 1942 on a 400-acre tract of eroded wasteland, now faces extinction from an economic boycott and the grand jury investigation. Led by Rev. Clarence Jordan, a pacifist, white, Baptist minister and a native of Georgia, the fellowship faces opposition to its principles from neighbors in the surrounding area who resent the fact of Negroes and whites living together in defiance of southern tradition. It is also opposed by public officials in the area, including the district solicitor, the local sheriff and Georgia Governor Griffin.

The grand jury investigation was led by Solicitor General Charles Burgamy of Sumter County, who is reported to have previously said at a states' rights meeting: ". . . what we need now is for the right kind of Klan to start up again and use a buggy whip on some of these race-mixers." In this spirit, the Sumter County Grand Jury falsely concluded that there is a "close kinship between the Communist Party and Koinonia Farm."

A further current illustration of the crude attempt to link the organizations and individuals working for integrated schools with Communism is the recommendation of the Thomson Committee that the Virginia General Assembly set up a committee which "should be given the authority to inquire into such matters as subversive activities generally, the more specifically as they relate to the question of segregation or integration in the public schools." As Benjamin Muse so aptly put it in his Washington Post column:

"It is indeed time to give frank and searching thought to the questions of who is loyal, and who is subversive, and what are the duties of a loyal citizen. The barrage of vilification and defiance of the U. S. Supreme Court with which Virginia has been bombarded in the past several years, and to which members of the Thomson Committee have contributed is certainly not loyalty—loyalty, that is, to the government of this nation. . . . The activities of the Byrds, the Faubuses and the Eastlands of the South have been far more subversive of the prestige of our government both at home and abroad than anything the puny Communist Party in this country has ever been able to accomplish. . . ."

Economic Pressures

Examples of individuals who have also found it "unwise" to support the cause of integration include an

economics professor at Alabama Polytechnic Institute, Dr. Bud Hutchinson, who was fired from that school several months ago for praising the New York school integration program. Hutchinson wrote a letter to the college paper taking issue with an editorial criticizing the New York schools. "In the light of the tensions and emotions over this question," college President Dr. Ralph Draughton is reported in an Alabama paper as saying, "I felt Mr. Hutchinson could not expect to advance his career at this institution."

A curious twist occurred recently in New Orleans, when veteran music critic Ewing Poteet was fired from his job after 7 years on the liberal New Orleans newspaper, Item, for signing a petition asking the New Orleans city officials to integrate seating on the city's bus line. Poteet was discharged, with severance pay, the day after the Item's rival newspaper, the rabidly anti-integration Times-Picayune, published Poteet's name on a long list of petition signers.

Although 41 of the 125 signers were clergymen, the Picayune singled out for special notice the names of 2 signers who had been questioned by the Eastland Committee, allegedly investigating Communist activities. One of the 2 had invoked the Bill of Rights in refusing to answer Eastland Committee questions.

Poteet was handed a letter by Item editor George Chaplin, which stated: "It has come to our attention that you have associated for some time with persons whose patriotism has been questioned, under circumstances which may embarrass us in our determination, firmly fixed, to maintain an independent position with loyalty to the United States ever paramount."

Vigorously protesting the implication of disloyalty and any suspicion of his associates, Poteet said he signed the petition, presented to the New Orleans city officials by 4 clergymen, as a matter of his convictions and without reference to any of the other signers. The petition, a moderately worded one, calls

for the solving of the problem of bus seating under "guidance of the highest type of moral principles."

The American Newspaper Guild local to which Poteet belongs is taking the case to court.

A Civil Liberties Fight

The NAACP's recently released annual report understated the situation when they said: "The South's attempts to resist desegregation and civil rights entered 'dangerously' into the field of civil liberties in 1956."

Unsubstantiated and wild charges of "subversion" and "Communism" have been added to the arsenal of the hate groups and others opposing school integration, unions, the NAACP and the Southern Regional Council and any other organization and individual who dares to disagree and speak out. Never has it been clearer that civil rights and civil liberties are interdependent parts of our democratic structure—one can't exist without the other.

"When some kinds of associations are prohibited and others allowed," de Tocqueville wrote in 1840, "it is difficult to distinguish the former from the latter beforehand. In this state of doubt, men will abstain from them altogether and a sort of public opinion passes current that tends to cause any association whatsoever to be regarded as bold and almost an illicit enterprise."

← AFL-CIO Policy In Practice

The Future Is In Their Hands

Conclusion

A study of the economic facts of life in the South will give us much of the answer as to why labor hasn't made more headway in organizing the South. As the 1956 chart, "Where Southern Workers Work," indicates, the heaviest concentration of workers is found in the old-type or "traditional" industries of textile, lumber, apparel and furniture.

Recent studies on southern industrialization show 4 out of 10 (or 44%) of the South's new post-war industrial plants in the traditional industries group, 3 out of 10 (or 28%) in the new type industries, and 3 out of 10 in the service industries. What it all adds up to is that 64.5% are in the nondurable and traditional industries group—and this group is the lowest paid, the most poorly organized and most difficult to organize, for in this group is concentrated the die-hard opposition to unionization in any form.

By contrast, we find in the "new-type industries" group such as electronics, chemicals, paper, electrical machinery, and aircraft, a much higher wage group and, comparatively speaking, a much more highly organized group. The contrast on all levels is so great that when speaking of unions in the South you have to think in terms of the 2 categories—the "traditional industries" and the "new-type industries."

WHERE SOUTHERN WORKERS WORK—1956

(In Thousands)

Industry	Total	Ala.	Ark.	Fla.	Ga.	Ky.	La.	Miss.	NC	SC	Tenn.	Va.
Food	271	17	15	34	39	28	32	13	24	9	29	31
Tobacco	91	—	—	9	1	11	1	—	45	2	2	20
Textile	602	48	2	1	105	3	3	5	229	135	34	37
Apparel	240	22	7	8	42	20	7	26	25	25	36	22
Pulp Paper	113	11	5	13	16	2	18	9	11	7	10	11
Printing	93	7	4	13	10	9	7	3	10	5	15	10
Chemicals	190	11	7	12	11	12	18	7	13	16	48	35
Petroleum & Coal	25	4	1	1	—	2	16	—	—	—	1	—
Rubber	16	6	—	—	1	—	—	—	1	—	6	2
Leather	35	1	4	1	4	3	—	1	2	—	13	6
Lumber	292	33	27	19	39	12	24	26	40	20	23	29
Furniture	107	3	7	6	9	6	2	5	37	4	12	16
Stone, Clay, Glass	76	9	3	9	9	6	4	4	8	6	10	8
Primary Metals	100	50	4	1	5	10	4	1	3	1	16	5
Fabricated Metals	83	11	3	11	7	12	2	2	6	1	18	10
Machinery	84	9	2	4	9	26	2	3	9	3	11	6
Electrical Machinery	41	2	1	1	2	11	2	1	11	1	8	1
Transport Equipment	99	14	1	6	33	6	9	6	2	1	4	17
Instrument	14	—	2	—	1	1	1	—	1	—	6	2
Miscellaneous	31	1	2	3	5	2	2	1	4	2	5	4
Total	2603	259	97	152	348	182	154	113	481	238	307	272

Based on U. S. Census Figures.

News about union organizing efforts in the past few months dramatizes this contrast. The IUE (International Union of Electrical Workers) announced recently it had won major representation elections at 2 General Electric southern plants. Meanwhile the Textile Workers Union of America has had a series of NLRB election losses which have forced it to abandon most organizing drives.

The Instrument of Terror

Not the least of the many reasons for the difficulties encountered by the textile union (TWUA) were the concerted, determined, and in many cases terroristic methods used by employers to block the organizing efforts. In the rare instances when the union succeeds in overcoming these initial obstacles, it then often comes up against a refusal to engage in any real collective bargaining. Such all-out bpposition was dramatically demonstrated late last year by the Deering, Milliken textile chain, one of the largest in the South. It closed a profitable branch plant at Darlington, S. C., throwing almost 600 persons out of work, because its employes had voted to be-

long to the Textile Workers Union of America.

The closing of that plant did more to terrorize already fear-ridden southern mill workers than any other event in years. Such a situation explains much of the decline in the union's membership.

The obvious advantage of the difference in the average hourly earnings between North and South is another reason for the strong industry opposition to unions in the South. The recent average hourly earnings in the 11 southern states was $1.65, in contrast with the national average of $2.07. In cotton textile the average hourly rate is roughly $1.36.

The cost of living in a number of southern cities, instead of being lower, is actually higher than the national average. Where a southern industry is pretty well organized—such as steel and coal—the southern differential in earnings has been eliminated.

It's in the South, too, where the unions have faced at close range the blunderbuss effects of the Taft-Hartley law, and the "right-to-work" laws when put to full use by an employer determined to break the union. Ten southern states have enacted right-to-work laws.

Unions "Neutralized"

While it would be a mistake to overemphasize the race issue to the exclusion of other reasons for the union setbacks, there is no doubt, however, that the use of the race hate issue by southern employers, and agitation and interference by White Citizens Councils has had a marked effect on unions and their activities. The major impact of these hate groups has been the neutralizing effect they have had on many southern union bodies in regard to taking a stand in support of the national AFL-CIO position on civil rights.

In Arkansas, to give but one illustration, a number of the AFL-CIO unions had made quite a bit of progress, and the AFL-CIO Council officers had spoken up in favor of the gradual and peaceful desegregation of the schools in Little Rock. But since the violence and troop use in Little Rock, state AFL-CIO Council leaders haven't dared to say or do anything which would indicate any opposition to Governor Faubus. In essence, before the Supreme Court decision of 1954, many union councils were in the forefront in the South in speaking up on the civil rights issue, but now most of them keep quiet and hope not to stir up a hornet's nest.

On the more hopeful side there is the consistent position of the national AFL-CIO in maintaining its clear-cut and forthright support, in spite of pressures to the contrary, of full civil rights for all and opposition to White Citizens Councils and other hate groups.

It is also important to note that only a handful of unions have been lured out of the AFL-CIO in spite of the continuing efforts of the race hate groups.

The Future

In sum, unions will continue to find the going rough for some time to come. The growing unemployment and the backwash of the McClellan Committee hearings will make for additional headaches. None of this changes the fact that as it has been for many years, the South must continue to be the major organizing target of the AFL-CIO. Given a period with no major recession or depression, and given a greater proportion of the new type of industries, which are comparatively organizable, in the growing industrialization of the South, then union organization will grow and brighten an otherwise gloomy picture.

With the peculiar problems of the southern worker in mind, organized labor needs to do more education within the unions and on the community level, where a great body of anti-union feeling needs to be overcome. The urgent need of the day is for a more imaginative and intensified educational approach to this all-important task.

May Affect Other Communities

Dixie Antiorganizing Law Is Ruled Unconstitutional by Supreme Court

By Washington Staff Writer

WASHINGTON—The Supreme Court has ruled that an antiunion ordinance requiring organizers to pay a $2,000 licensing fee and $500 for each member enlisted is unconstitutional. The hight court ruled 7 to 2 that the Baxley, Georgia, ordinance violates freedom of speech, which is guaranteed by the First Amendment.

Rose Staub, organizer for the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, had been sentenced to 30 days in jail or a $300 fine under the ordinance, following a meeting at a worker's home. Backed by the union, she challenged the legality of the edict through the courts.

The Supreme Court's ruling will help labor unions to penetrate similar roadblocks erected by other southern towns.

Friend of Court Briefs

Two organizations filed friend of the court briefs in favor of the ILGWU. They are the Workers Defense League, a human rights agency, and the American Civil Liberties Union.

Before the high tribunal handed down its decision, Morris Glushein, ILGWU attorney, had thanked the Workers Defense League with this explanation, "Throughout the South there are many communities which have attempted to erect a Chinese Wall against organizers under the guise of licensing ordinances. If the Supreme Court strikes down the Baxley ordinance, as I confidently expect and hope it will, this will sweep away such obstructions to union organization."

Justices Frankfurter and Clark dissented from the high court decision on technical grounds, but did not disagree with the free speech ruling.

"ACT FOR GOD AND COUNTRY — HELP DEFEAT COMMUNISM"

COMMUNISM, a word describing the evil force which works day and night to destroy Christionity and Freedoms of the people. This group of athiest are not confined to Russia, but indeed are imbedded in many sections of our nation.

They range from the pick and shovel man in the ditch to the highest court in our land. These imps of satan are continually trying to take out the commands of God. Remember the 312 False-prophets who signed the manifesto, which urged you to integrate and mongrelize your future generations. By all means remember those commie stooges of duped physicians.

These false-prophets use the pulpits but have never read a verse from the Bible which tells us that God favors mixing the races. We shall set forth in the next paragraph several verses and chapters from the Bible, which *demands* that we keep segregation.

Read These Bible References

St. Matthew 25:32; Acts 17:26; Book of Ezra, chapter 9 and 10; Book of Joshua; 2 Cor. 6:17; Neh. 10:28-30; Neh. 13:23-27; Deut. 32:8; I Kings 8:53; I Kings 11:2; Gen. 6:18-20; Gen. 10:5-20; Gen. 11:8; Gen. 24:3; Gen. 28:1, 8, 9; Num. 6:2; Luke 6:22; Romans 8:35, 39. Then read Deut. 23:2, study this very seriously.

Think of how many generations it would take to remove all traces of the blood line from a half breed mongrel created by a nigger and white. This breed of outcasts are the "BASTARDS" referred to in the Bible. NO, a child born to unmarried white or black people, is referred to as "A child born out of wedlock." The "BASTARD" is the mixed-breed mongrel created by the immoral acts of lowest of human forms. Now you understand why they shall not enter the Kingdom of Heaven even unto the tenth generation. Do you now realize just how terrible is the sin because of any mixing of the races?

"Clean the House of The Lord"

What do you have in the pulpit of your church? Now is the time to make your preacher declare himself. Is he a preacher or a false-prophet? If he follows the communist line of integration, then remove his hand from the bread-basket of the church. If you fail to do this, then you become a part of the communist conspiracy.

We believe the word of God and fear the wrath of the creator of all things within and beyond the universe, therefore we believe in the teachings of Jesus Christ as our Saviour. The above Bible teachings among the many others are sufficient to lead Christians above and beyond the Devil's cesspool of integration.

Our God fearing white people have been trodden down as far as they can go. They are beginning to fight back and it is time they did so. They are tired of all the trouble-makers who are filled with communist ideas of integration, and who are now using funds from various Foundations (American Money) to mix you with the nigger.

"Know Your Enemies — Work Against Them

The Southern Regional Council (Ralph McGill's Baby) has received hundreds of thousands of dollars from the Ford Fund for the Republic. Why do you still buy the Constitution or Journal or the Fords? Then we have to be on guard against the H.O.P.E. organization.

Benjamin E. Mays, president of Atlanta's Morehouse College has (31) communist citations and a member of the NAACP; Ruby Hurley, formerly of Little Rock, now bedding down in Atlanta rat nest, is an NAACP member and noted race-agitator; Rufus E. Clement, in the top committee of 100 of the NAACP and has 27 commie citations for his work, he is a member of the Atlanta Board of Education. WHY? WHY? Who would be so ignorant as to think that the niggers holding positions in the education system of Georgia is not rubbing some of their communist ideas on to the students?

"This Is Your Fight"

Our loyal citizens of this nation must protest loud and long against these organizations and demand that they be put on the Subversive list. The NAACP; the Southern Regional Council; the Southern Conference Education Fund; the Georgia Committee on Interracial Co-operation. Don't forget the H.O.P.E. gang.

"Trouble and How to Correct It"

When niggers try to integrate with our white people and cause any school to close, it is time for action. The employment office throughout the South know of many white people who need jobs. Some time ago there was a plan adopted which has been spreading over the South. It is an easy operated plan which removes the niggers from every job. The white people know this is the solution of ending the Black Plague NO NIGGERS WORKING, MEANS NO NIGGERS IN TOWN? NONE IN TOWN, MEANS NONE IN OUR SCHOOLS.

It is this easy and is being done NOW, WHITE people have begun to trade with firms who hire all white people. This reduces the funds of the NAACP. Only a nigger-mixer will continue to hire or work a nigger. This covers filling stations and elsewhere.

"TAXES and HOW TO REDUCE THEM"

Do you know the Atlanta's population is one-third niggers? They are paying five per cent of the taxes and receive a strong margin of seventy-five per cent of the tax for their race. Also there was a total of 6,000 nigger babies born at your expense at Grady Hospital. Also that there was only 600 white children coming into the schools of Atlanta and a total of 8,000 niggers.

"SHALL YOU CONTINUE TO PAY FOR THEIR PLEASURE"

While they sit in the shade and spoon in the moon light, multiplying like rats, we continue to bleed ourselves with heavy taxes to carry the socialistic burden of feeding and clothing them. They do not remain as slaves and therefore are certainly not your wards.

This is our peaceful way to win our right and it is your chance to help. Those not with us are against us. Which means the most to you, the command of the Lord, or the traditions of men?

PA - for attack files #

ADL

SOUTHEASTERN OFFICE
41 Exchange Pl., S. E., Atlanta 3, Ga.

For your information

8/18

Harold Fleming

This Summer is a vicious anti-semite, as well as an extremist of the worst sort on virtually any issue. Suspected of being a redistribution center for every hate sheet in the country.

Regards
Art Levin

COPY

"Criticisms"

MEETING OF

THE GEORGIA COMMISSION ON EDUCATION HELD IN SENATE CHAMBER

STATE CAPITOL

ATLANTA, GA.

June 25,1954

From - Transcript of the Proceedings - Howard Jenkins
Court Reporter

GOV. TALMADGE: The Georgia Education Commission will come to order. I will ask the Attorney General, Mr. Eugene Cook, to please deliver the invocation.

MR. COOK: - Our gracious Heavenly Father, we thank Thee that we, as free men, are permitted to come together and to discuss and deliberate upon matters of such importance as we shall consider here today. We ask that Thy spirit be with us that whatever we do may be dedicated to the best interests of all the people as we see these interests. We pray that Thou be with us throughout the entire hearings and keep us steadfast in the belief and faith in our institutions as we know and appreciate them. In the name of Christ we ask it. - Amen.

HIGHLANDER FOLK SCHOOL

MONTEAGLE, TENNESSEE

June 30, 1957

Dear Friend of Highlander:

Wouldn't you like to come to the Cumberland Mountains this Labor Day Weekend

.....And join Martin Luther King, Aubrey Williams, Alonzo G. Moron, C. K. Steele, Conrad Browne, Bishop D. Ward Nichols and dozens of other Southern leaders in a Seminar on the South Thinking Ahead?

.....Join us in discussing the re-dedication of adult education for democracy in the South during a period of stress when democratic methods and programs are more than ever needed?

.....Swim, relax, hike, square dance (with Ralph Tefferteller calling) and talk with like-minded people from the nation over in the informal atmosphere of Highlander?

.....And have the opportunity to bring your family along as well?

Then won't you accept our invitation to join other Highlander friends in gathering to celebrate our Twenty-Fifth Anniversary, this coming Labor Day Weekend, August 30 - September 2, 1957?

More than ever we will need all of our friends if we are to adapt and apply our programs effectively to the South facing the problems of integration. It is therefore an appropriate time for all of our friends to come together--friends from every period of our 25 years, from every part of the nation, from every walk of life.

The enclosed information will explain the Seminar and the Celebration. It will indicate programs planned for your family. I do hope you will find it possible to come and to return the enclosed application at your earliest convenience.

Sincerely yours,

Myles Horton

Myles Horton

MH:eb
enclosures (3)

HIGHLANDER FOLK SCHOOL

Communist Training School, Monteagle, Tenn.

LABOR DAY WEEKEND, 1957

During Labor Day Weekend, 1957, there assembled at Highlander the leaders of every major race incident in the South, prior to that time since the Supreme Court decision. This meeting was directed by Reverend John B. Thompson, chaplain, University of Chicago. Reverend Thompson has a lengthy record of Communist affiliations which appears elsewhere in this folder. The direction of the entire school was under the leadership, as usual, of Myles Horton.

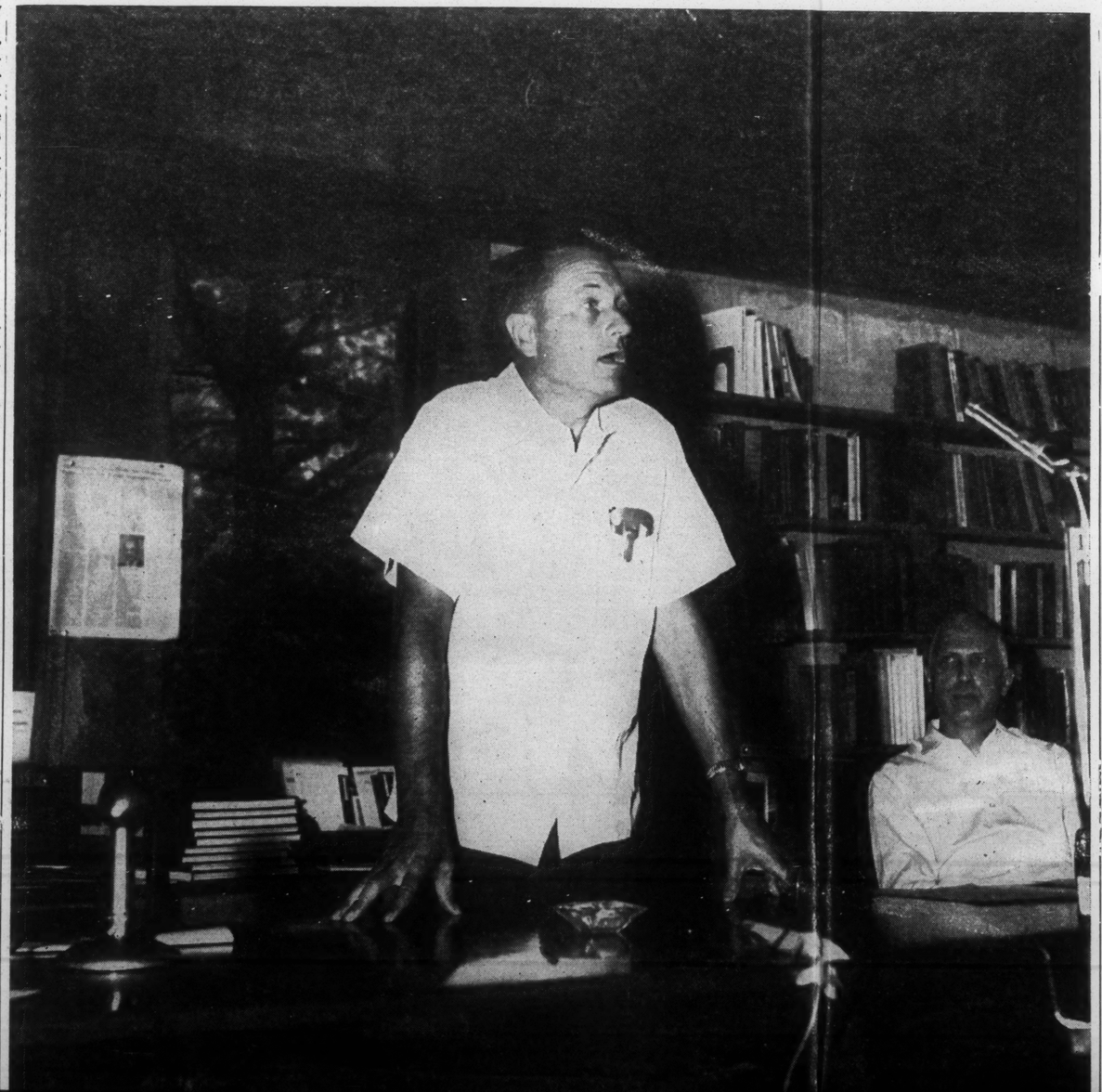
There were representative leaders of the TUSKEGEE, ALABAMA BOYCOTT, the TALLAHASSEE, FLORIDA BUS INCIDENT, the MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA BUS BOYCOTT, the SOUTH CAROLINA - NAACP SCHOOL TEACHERS INCIDENT, the KOINONIA INTER-RACIAL FARM - AMERICUS, GEORGIA, and CLINTON, TENNESSEE, SCHOOL INCIDENT among others.

They met at this workshop and discussed methods and tactics of precipitating racial strife and disturbance.

The meeting of such a large group of specialists in inter-racial strife under the auspices of a Communist Training School, and in the company of many known Communists is the typical method whereby leadership training and tactics are furnished to the agitators. This was a general workshop and would be the most common method of developing a long range program.

In specific emergency situations, leadership would be sent into the communities to assist.

Good examples of the infusion of leadership was the appearance of Bayard Rustin, who appeared in the Daily Worker, as secretary of Rev. Martin Luther King, The appearance of Don West, prominent Communist functionary, at Koinonia Farm disturbances and the preliminary surveys conducted by John Hope, II, preparatory to the Tallahassee Bus Incident.



Communist Front Records Of Leadership of Highlander Inter-racial Seminar, 1957

Printed below is a consolidated listing of the Communist Affiliations of persons in attendance at the Labor Day Weekend, 1957 Seminar at Highlander Folk School, Monteagle, Tennessee.

Abraham Lincoln School
American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born
American Committee for Yuogoslav Relief
American Continental Congress for World Peace
American Crusade to End Lynching
American Folksay Group
American Peace Mobilization
American-Soviet Music Society
American Youth Congress
American Youth for Democracy
Association of Internes and Medical Students
Bill of Rights Conference
Boston Freedom of the Press Committee
Brooklyn Professional Committee for Democratic China
Brownsville Freedom of the Press Committee (Brooklyn)
Camp Kinderland
Chicago Ad Hoc Committee of Welcome for the Dean of Canterbury
Chicago Committee to Defeat the Mundt Bill
Chicago Committee to Secure Justice in the Rosenburg Case
Citizens Emergency Conference for Interracial Unity
Citizens Emergency Defense Conference
Civil Rights Congress
Committee for a Cultural Salute to Paul Robeson
Committee to Defend America by
Continuations Committee of the Conference on Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact
Council on African Affairs
Daily Worker
Dinner for Pearl Hart
W. E. B. DuBois Testimonial Sponsoring Committee
Emergency Civil Liberties Committee
Emergency Peace Mobilization
First Line of Defense
Frederick Douglass School
Harlem Employment Committee
Highlander Folk School
Interfaith Committee for Peace Action
Jefferson School of Social Science
League of Struggle for Negro Rights
League of Young Southerners
Main Stream
Masses & Mainstream
Methodist Federation for Social Action
Metropolitan Music School
Michigan Herald
Mid-Century Conference for Peace
Mother Bloor Celebration Committee
Nation Associates
National Citizens Emergency Relief Committee to Aid Strikers Families
National Citizens Political Action Committee
National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax
National Committee for Peaceful Alternatives
New York Youth Council
Open Letter on Military Aid to Spain
Open Letter Protesting Deportation of Harry Bridges
Peace Information Center
People's Artists
People's Daily World
People's Drama Theatre
People's Institute of Applied Religion
People's Songs
Petition to Reconsider Prosecutions Under the Smith Act
Political Affairs
Progressive Citizens of America
Progressive Party of Massachusetts
Protest Meeting for Howard Fast
Protestant Digest Associates
Protest against Verdict of Guilty in Case of 11 Communist Leaders
School for Political Action Technique
Schroon Crest Camp
Sing Out
Southern Conference Educational Fund
Southern Conference for Human Welfare
Southern Negro Youth Congress
Stop Rankin Meeting
Swapping Song Fair
Teachers Union, Local 555
Testimonial Concert "Bound for Glory" for Woodie Guthrie
United Office and Professional Workers of America, Local 16
United Packinghouse Workers of America
United States Arrangements Committee, World Youth Congress
U. S. Sponsoring Committee for

ers.

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THE FOUNDERS OF HIGHLANDER SCHOOL

HIGHLANDER FOLK SCHOOL was founded in 1932 by Myles Horton and Don West; James Dombrowski joined them shortly thereafter. Don West, presently operating in Georgia, was district director of the Communist Party of North Carolina.

Paul Crouch, the top Communist Party functionary in the South, testified before the Subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities that Dombrowski "gave me the impression of being completely pro-Communist and anxious to collaborate with the Communist Party and follow its leadership without taking the risk of actual Party membership."

John Butler, another former Communist Party functionary testified before the Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security that Dombrowski at a meeting of Communist Party leaders in Dombrowski's room in the Thomas Jefferson Hotel in Birmingham, Alabama, was introduced to him by Alton Lawrence as a Communist Party member.

Myles Horton was identified before the Dies Committee on Un-American Activities as a person who "attended a secret convention in North Carolina, at which time plans were made for spreading the revolutionary theories throughout the South."

Paul Crouch testified before the Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security that "The Highlander Folk School is a school operated at Monteagle, Tennessee, ostensibly as an independent labor school, but actually working in close cooperation with the Communist Party."

HIGHLANDER EXECUTIVES

The following is a listing of the executives of Highlander Folk School as it appeared in their 24th annual report of October 30, 1956.

B. R. BRAZEAL, Dean, Morehouse College, Atlanta, Georgia.

SEPTIMA CLARK, Highlander Folk School, Monteagle, Tenn.

GRACE HAMILTON, Atlanta Urban League, Atlanta, Georgia.

G. R. HATHAWAY, Secy.-Treas., UPWA-CIO, Chicago, Ill.

JOHN HOPE, II, Industrial Relations Consultant, Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn.

MYLES HORTON, Director, Highlander Folk School, Monteagle, Tenn.

(Continued on page 4)

MYLES HORTON the director of Highlander Folk School, Monteagle, Tennessee, is shown speaking. Reverend John B. Thompson, chaplain University of Chicago directed the Labor Day Weekend 1957 Seminar. Both Horton and Thompson have long been regarded as useful aids to the Communist apparatus.

FRED ROUTH, a headquarters official of Southern Regional Council, 63 Auburn Ave., N. E., Atlanta, Georgia, is pictured above leading a workshop. In at least one of these sessions, the tactics of including women and children in racial demonstrations and incidents was propounded on the basis that police are reluctant to shoot women and children.

Southern Regional Council is the recipient of Ford, Fund for the Republic grants of $497,000.00. Fund for the Republic grants originated with the Ford Motor Company. Southern Regional Council is the parent organization of 12 statewide Councils on Human Relations operated only in the Southern States.

Southern Regional Council has been able to exploit the facilities of religion and education because of a quasi-religious status afforded by occupancy of space in a building owned by a huge church. The leadership of few units of the Communist apparatus have records of Communist affiliations which exceed those of present and past directors of Southern Regional Council.

The Daily Worker, official organ of the Communist Party, credits the foundation of Southern Regional Council to Jim Jackson, Negro Communist, presently head of Southern Affairs Commission of the Communist Party. Jackson is also credited with the establishment of Southern Conference Education Fund.; and Southern Conference for Human Welfare, both organizations are recognized parts of the Communist apparatus and have interlocking directorates with Southern Regional Council.

The American Legion *Firing Line*, May 15, 1957, referring to the incorporating papers says "This document, filed in the Superior Court of Fulton County, State of Georgia, listed the names of five incorporators of the Council as follows: Dr. Rufus E. Clement, Ralph McGill, and Bishop Arthur J. Moore, of Atlanta, Georgia; Dr. Charles S. Johnson, of Nashville, Tennessee (now deceased); and Dr. Howard W. Odum, Chapel Hill, North Carolina. (See Petition of the Incorporation, Book 062, pages 64-67, 1-6-44; and *"The New York Times"*, 10-17-55.)

American Peace Mobilization
American-Soviet Music Society
American Youth Congress
American Youth for Democracy
Association of Internes and Medical Students
Bill of Rights Conference
Boston Freedom of the Press Committee
Brooklyn Professional Committee for Democratic China
Brownsville Freedom of the Press Committee (Brooklyn)
Camp Kinderland
Chicago Ad Hoc Committee of Welcome for the Dean of Canterbury
Chicago Committee to Defeat the Mundt Bill
Chicago Committee to Secure Justice in the Rosenburg Case
Citizens Emergency Conference for Interracial Unity
Citizens Emergency Defense Conference
Civil Rights Congress
Committee for a Cultural Salute to Paul Robeson
Committee to Defend America by Keeping Out of War
Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy
Committee to End Sedition Laws
Committee for Equal Justice for Mrs. Recy Taylor, an auxiliary of International Labor Defense
Committee for the First Amendment
Committee for the Negro in the Arts
Committee for Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact
Committee to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case
Commonwealth College
Communist Party
Consumers Union
First Line of Defense
Frederick Douglass School
Harlem Employment Committee
Highlander Folk School
Interfaith Committee for Peace Action
Jefferson School of Social Science
League of Struggle for Negro Rights
League of Young Southerners
Main Stream
Masses & Mainstream
Methodist Federation for Social Action
Metropolitan Music School
Michigan Herald
Mid-Century Conference for Peace
Mother Bloor Celebration Committee
Nation Associates
National Citizens Emergency Relief Committee to Aid Strikers Families
National Citizens Political Action Committee
National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax
National Committee for Peaceful Alternatives
National Committee to Repeal the McCarran Act
National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions
National Council of American-Soviet Friendship
National Negro Congress
National Negro Labor Council
Nature Friends of America
New Drama
New Masses
New York City Council of the American Youth Congress
New York Committee for Protection of Foreign Born
New York Community Divisions of the Committee to Free Earl Browder
Progressive Citizens of America
Progressive Party of Massachusetts
Protest Meeting for Howard Fast
Protestant Digest Associates
Protest against Verdict of Guilty in Case of 11 Communist Leaders
School for Political Action Technique
Schroon Crest Camp
Sing Out
Southern Conference Educational Fund
Southern Conference for Human Welfare
Southern Negro Youth Congress
Stop Rankin Meeting
Swapping Song Fair
Teachers Union, Local 555
Testimonial Concert "Bound for Glory" for Woodie Guthrie
United Office and Professional Workers of America, Local 16
United Packinghouse Workers of America
United States Arrangements Committee, World Youth Congress
U. S. Sponsoring Committee for Representation at the Congress of the Peoples for Peace
Veterans against Discrimination of Civil Rights Congress of New York
Veterans Fighting Fund for Eugene Dennis
Voice of Freedom Committee
Washington Committee for Democratic Action
Westchester Peekskill Committee
Wingdale Lodge
Win-the-Peace Conference
Wire to President Truman to Veto the McCarran Bill
Workers Alliance
Young People's Record Club
Young Progressives

House Committee Citations

A few of the Communist Fronts listed above are defined so that the readers may more fully understand their activities. All definitions are taken from "GUIDE TO SUBVERSIVE ORGANIZATIONS AND PUBLICATIONS" published January 2, 1957 by the U. S. House of Representatives Committee on Un-American Activities, Washington, D. C.

AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR PROTECTION OF FOREIGN BORN

"To defend the cases of Communist lawbreakers, fronts have been devised making special appeals in behalf of civil liberties and reaching out far beyond the confines of the Communist Party itself. Among these organizations are the . . . American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born. When the Communist Party itself is under fire these offer a bulwark of protection."

AMERICAN YOUTH CONGRESS

"It originated in 1934 and . . . has been controlled by Communists and manipulated by them to influence the thought of American youth."

CIVIL RIGHTS CONGRESS

Cited as an organization formed at a Congress on Civil Rights held in Detroit in April 1946 as a merger of two other Communist-front organizations (International Labor Defense and the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties); it was "dedicated not to the broader issues of civil liberties, but specifically to the defense of individual Communists and the Communist Party" and "controlled by individuals who are either members of the Communist Party or openly loyal to it."

COMMONWEALTH COLLEGE

A "Communist enterprise" cited as subversive by an investigating Committee of the Arkansas Legislature. It received money from the Garland Fund.

EMERGENCY PEACE MOBILIZATION

Cited as a Communist front which came forth, after Stalin signed his pact with Hitler, to oppose the national defense program, lend-lease, conscription, and other American "war-mongering" efforts. It immediately preceded the American Peace Mobilization in 1940.

LEAGUE OF STRUGGLE FOR NEGRO RIGHTS

"The Communist-front movement in the United States among Negroes is known as the National Negro Congress. Practically the same group of leaders directing this directed the League of Struggle for Negro Rights, which was, until 2 years ago, the name of the Communists front for Negroes. The name was later changed . . . in 1936 to the National Negro Congress."

METHODIST FEDERATION FOR SOCIAL ACTION

"With an eye to religious groups, the Communists have formed religious fronts such as the Methodist Federation for Social Action . . . "

NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO REPEAL THE McCARRAN ACT

"To defend the cases of Communist lawbreakers, fronts have been devised making special appeals in behalf of civil liberties and reaching out far beyond the confines of the Communist Party itself. Among these organizations are the . . . National Committee to Repeal the McCarran Act. When the Communist Party itself is under fire these offer a bulwark of protection."

NATIONAL NEGRO CONGRESS

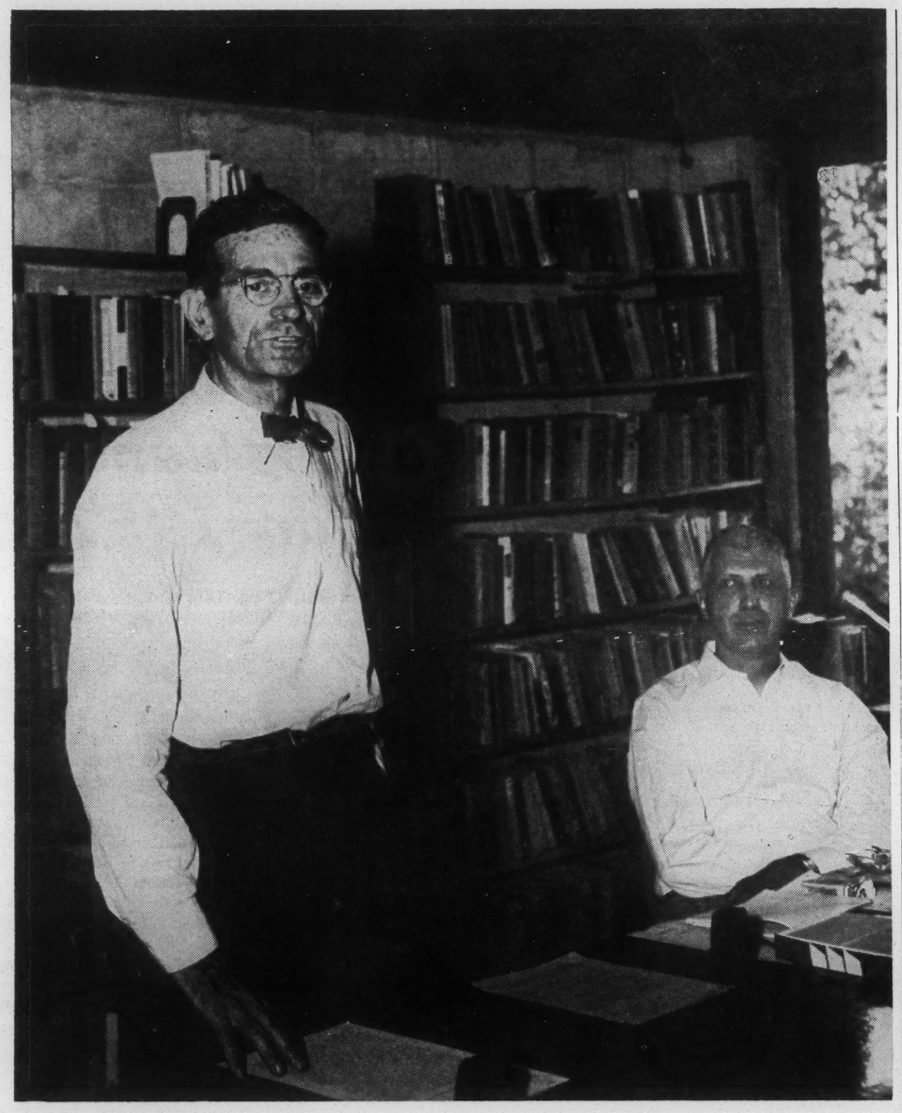
"The Communist-front movement in the United States among Negroes is known as the National Negro Congress. . . . The officers of the National Negro Congress are outspoken Communist sympathisers, and a majority of those on the executive board are outright Communists."

NATIONAL NEGRO LABOR COUNCIL

"One of the Communist fronts currently active in seeking to deceive American Negroes into serving the Communist cause is the National Negro Labor Council . . . The organization was formally founded at a conference held in Cincinnati, Ohio, October 27 and 28, 1951, under the direction of leading Negro Communists in the United States, such as Abner Berry, Sam W. Parks, and Coleman A. Young. According to the latest available information, Young is the present National executive secretary of the organization, from which post he controls and directs NNLC activities . . . A study of the operation of the council shows that, rather than helping the Ne-

(Continued on page 4)

Labor Day Weekend at Co
19



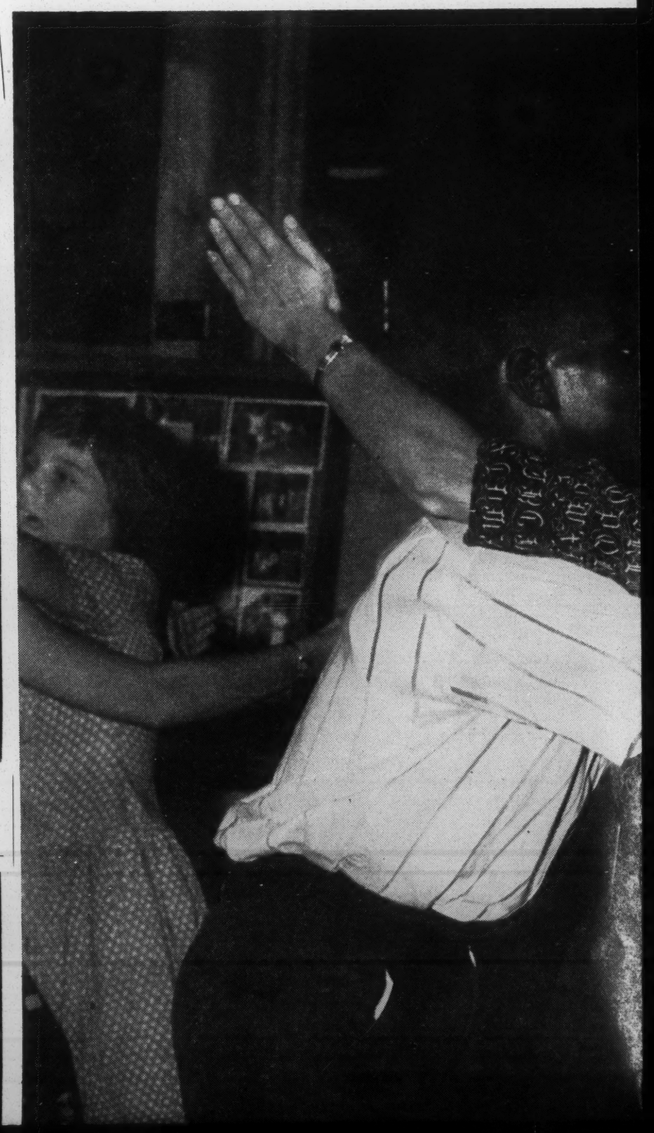
LISTED ELSEWHERE in this folder are the Communist related records of Reverend John B. Thompson (seated), chaplain University of Chicago and chairman of this four day seminar and Aubrey Williams, Montgomery, Alabama, president Southern Conference Education Fund, Inc. and puplisher, *Southern Farm and Home* Magazine.

Experts on Communism observe the record of Aubrey Williams to reflect anti-US foreign policy and anti-US domestic policy. As early as 1944 a report of the Committee of which Congressman Dies was chairman named Aubrey Williams as a member of the National Citizens Political Action Committee and cited that organization as "the supreme bid of the Communist Party for power in the United States through a front."

Few people if any have aided the Communist Party more in its conspiracy against peace between the races in the southern part of the United States than did Aubrey Williams.

It is incredible that any man with a record of Communist affiliation like that of John B. Thompson could long remain as chaplain or pastor to students in a non-Communist institution.

HARRY SCHNEIDERMAN (5th from left), 5825 S. Blackstone, Chicago, Illinois, attended the Communist Training School at Highlander over the Labor Day 1957 Weekend. The wife of Harry Schneiderman is formerly of Atlanta, Georgia.



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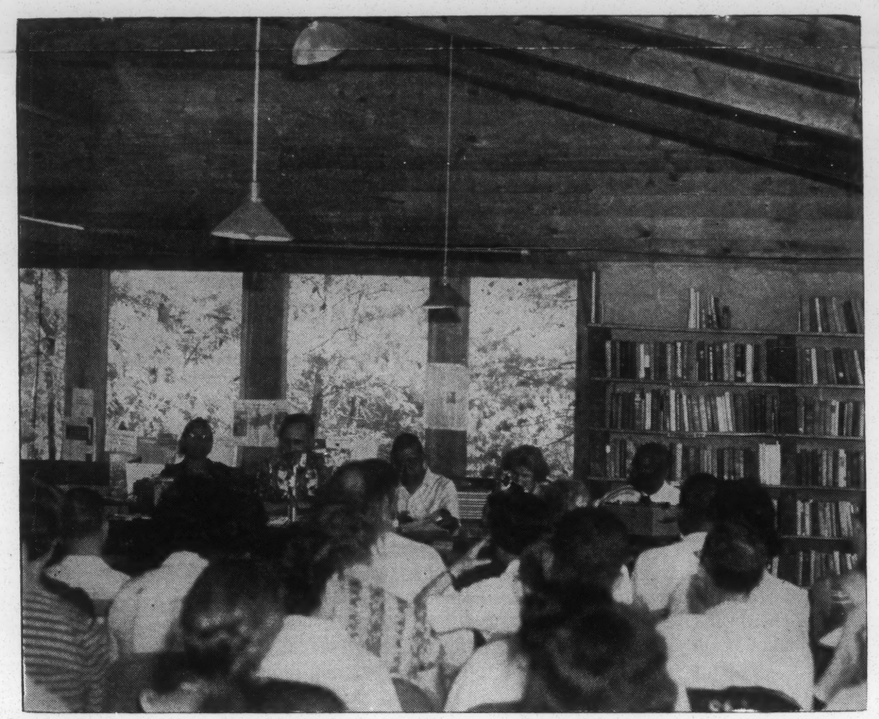


ALONZO G. MORON, President of Hampton Institute; Septima Clark, integration workshop director at Highlander Folk School; C. N. Parrish, Wilma D. Stokely, a writer of Newport, Tennessee, and Allen McSwain a leader of the Clinton, Tennessee, incident discuss the impact of integration.

ROSA PARKS, MARTIN LUTHER KING AND REVEREND ABERNATHY:
Three outstanding leadership people of the infamous Montgomery, Alabama, bus incident. The development, precipitation and financing of this inflammatory project called for behind the scenes planning and direction beyond the ability or capacity of local people. The relationship between Communist leadership and racial strife is evident from coast to coast and from the Gulf of Mexico to the Great Lakes.

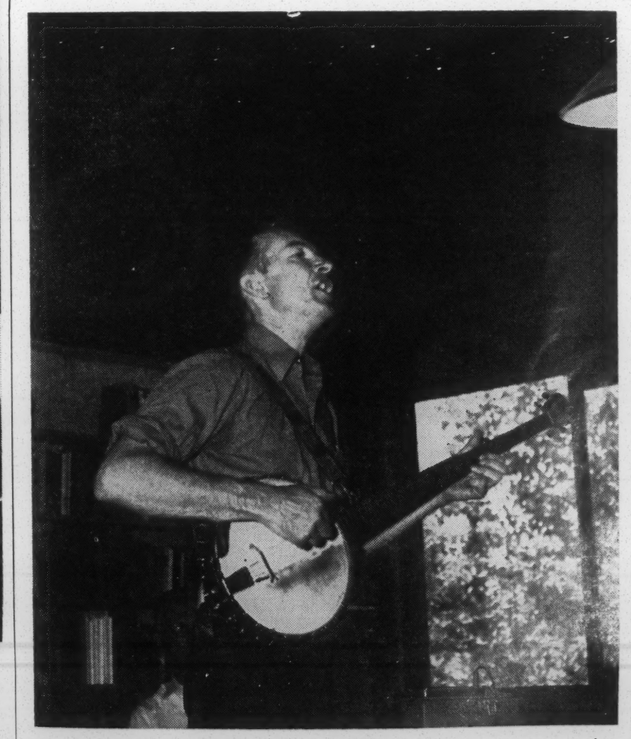
HARRY SCHNEIDERMAN (5th from left), 5825 S. Blackstone, Chicago, Illinois, attended the Communist Training School at Highlander over the Labor Day 1957 Weekend. The wife of Harry Schneiderman is formerly of Atlanta, Georgia.

SWIMMING
BOTH THE DAY AND NIGHT LIFE at Highlander Folk School Labor DayWeekend Seminar were integrated in all respects.

CONRAD BROWNE (with glasses), Koinonia Farm Leader, Americus, Georgia, Allen McSwain (extreme right), Clinton, Tennessee, and Reverend Maurice McCracken (2nd from right), Cincinnati, Ohio. Browne was a resident leader of Koinonia Farm during the violence, boycotts and other incidents arising at this socialistic interracial community. Don West, the identified Communist co-founder of Highlander Folk School was observed to be a frequent visitor to Koinonia. Koinonia and Highlander Folk School jointly operate an interracial "summer camp."

Allen McSwain is credited with precipitating the Clinton, Tennessee, public school incident.

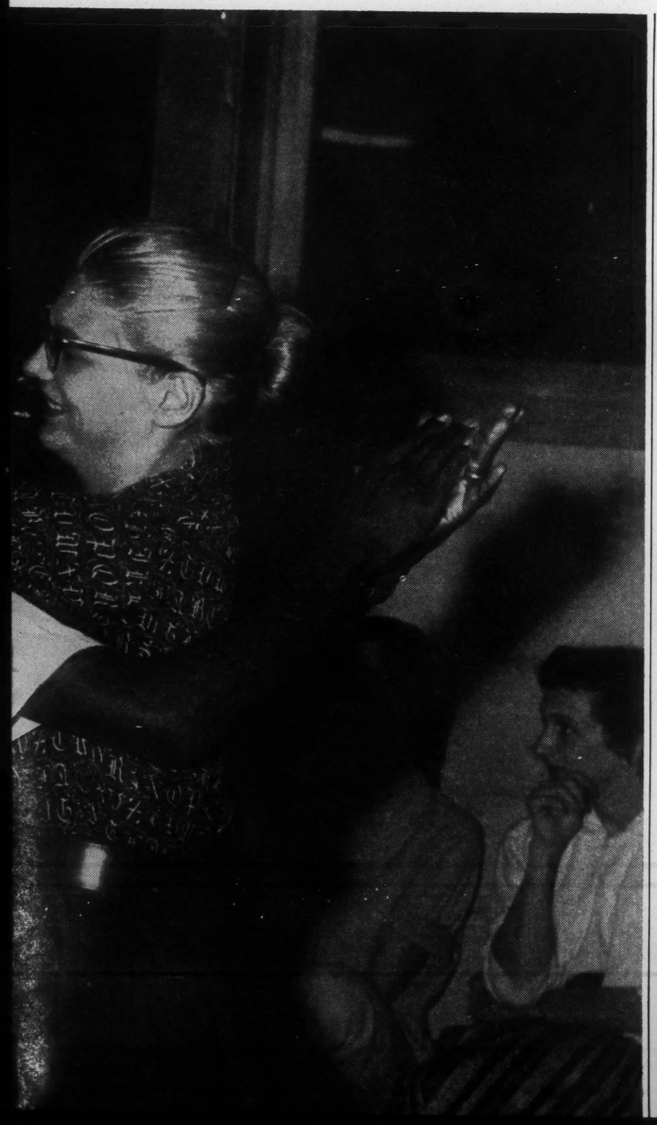
Reverend Maurice McCracken long connected with racial unrest in Cincinnati, Ohio, is pastor of St. Barnabus Church and is connected with Neighborhood House, a community chest supported organization, 901 Findlay Street, Cincinnati, Ohio. 901 Findlay Street is also the address of Friends of Koinonia Farm.



PETE SEEGER is typical of the entertainer who gives his time and talent to the support of the Communist apparatus. He is a talented musician who is in attendance at many meetings such as this Communist Training School at Highlander.

The *Daily Worker* of February 22, 1949, lists Pete Seeger as a participant in the New York State Youth Board of the Communist Party.

ommunist Training School
57

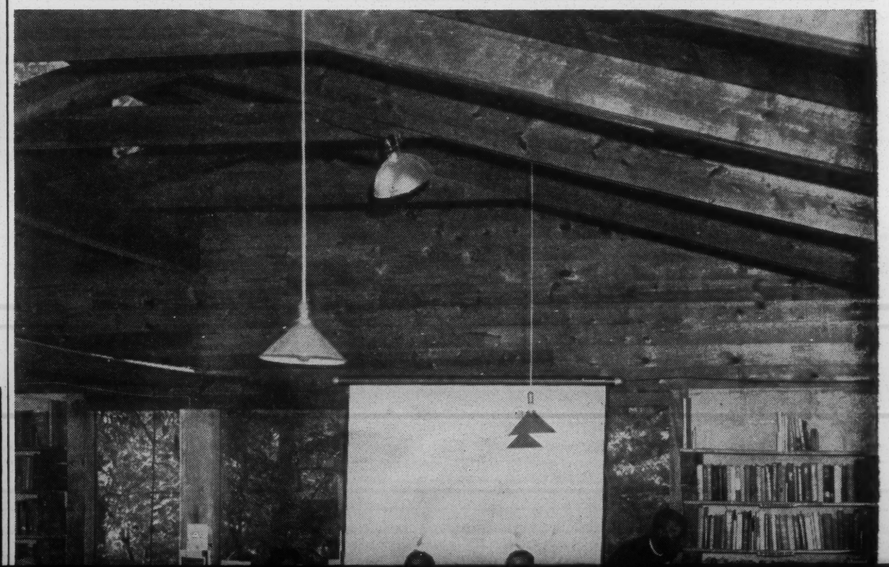


C. N. PARRISH (on left) who was panel moderator on the question "What Is the Impact of Integration on the People?" is shown with Rosa Parks (3rd from left) and Maurice McCracken (4th from left).

Rosa Parks was one of the original leaders of the Montgomery Bus Boycott. This agitation has resulted in strife and violence in the Alabama capitol and continues to maintain tension and disquiet. Maurice McCracken is affiliated with Neighborhood House, 901 Findlay Street, Cincinnati, Ohio.

THIS PICTURE of a station wagon lettered FINDLAY STREET, NEIGHBORHOOD HOUSE, CINCINNATI, OHIO, is included for the purpose of illustrating how many units of the Communist apparatus are assisted by organizations purportedly charitable or religious in nature.

Reverend Maurice McCracken of Neighborhood House, Cincinnati, who is pictured elsewhere attended this Communist Training School. Apparently he used this station wagon as transportation. Neighborhood House is located at 901 Findlay Street, Cincinnati, Ohio, and is supported by the Community Chest. This same address is also the address of Friends of Koinonia Farms.



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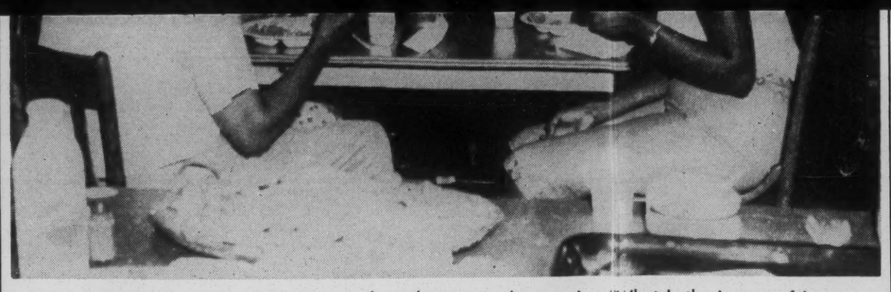

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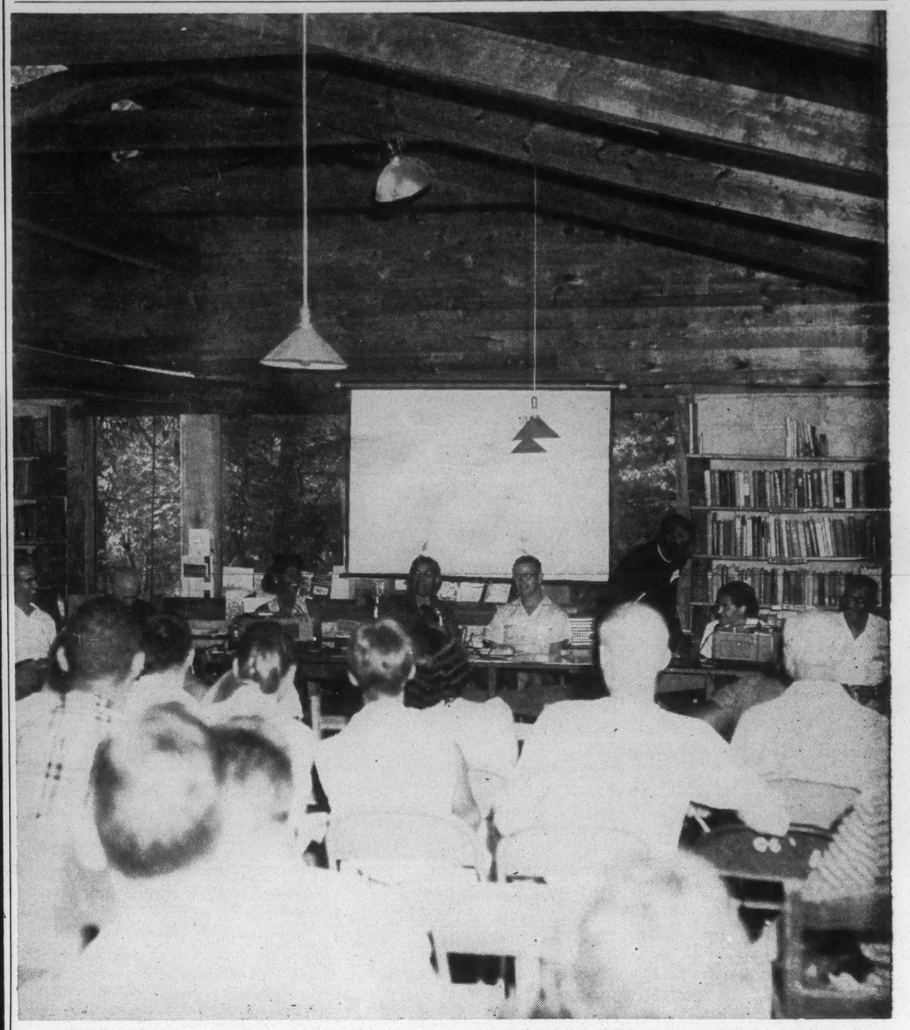
ROSA PARKS, who precipitated the Montgomery Alabama Bus Boycott, and Ralph Tefferteller of New York's Henry Street Settlement listen to group training under the watchful eye of Abner Berry of the Central Committee of the Communist Party.

Berry reported the meeting of this Communist Training School in his column in the *Daily Worker* of September 10, 1957.



PICTURED HERE are leaders of five recent scenes of racial disturbance and violence.

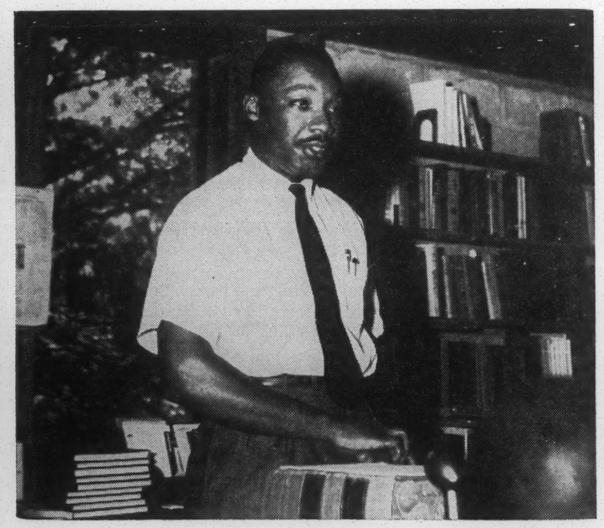
Septima Clark, presently director of Highlander integration workshop was associated with the South Carolina-NAACP School Teachers Incident.

Conrad Browne is a leader of inter-racial Koinonia Farms, Americus, Georgia, the scene of boycotts, disturbances and violence.

David H. Brooks was a leader of the Tallahassee Bus Boycott. This incident was commenced only after a psychological survey of the area had been made to determine the outcome.

Rosa Parks was the central figure in the agitation which resulted in the Montgomery Bus Boycott.

Charles Gomillion, Dean of Students at Tuskegee Institute, was the leader of the Tuskegee Boycott.



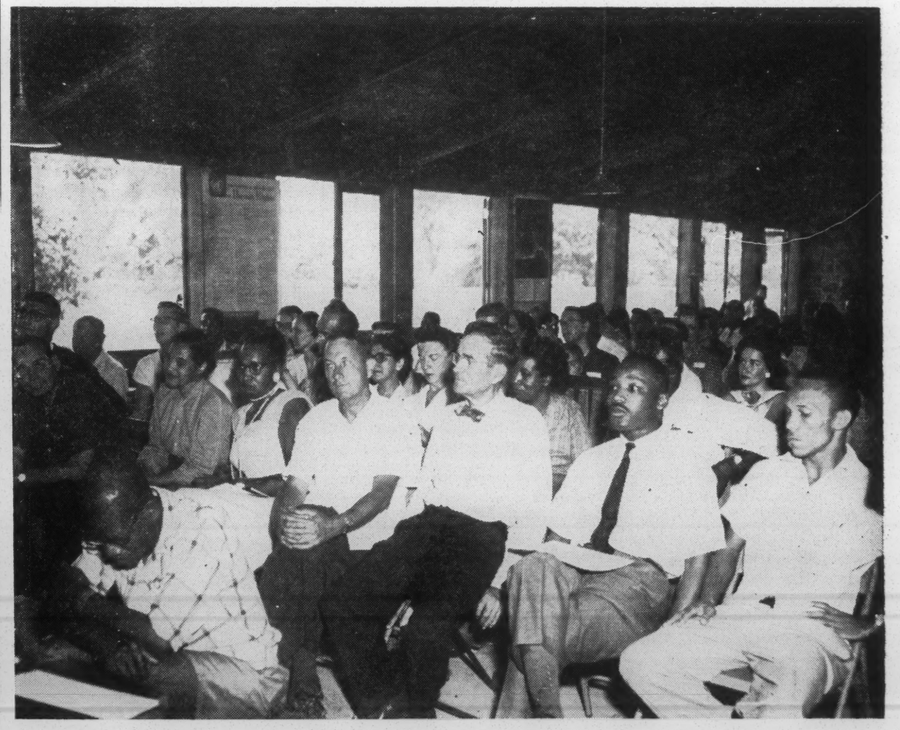
REVEREND MARTIN LUTHER KING addresses the assemblage. Reverend King, president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference is best known for his activities in the Montgomery Boycott, Montgomery Improvement Association and the March on Washington which he conducted with Bayard Rustin. The *Daily Worker* lists Bayard Rustin as one who attended the 1957 convention of the Communist Party USA. Bayard Rustin is identified in the *Daily Worker* as secretary to Reverend Martin Luther King.

The activities of Reverend Martin Luther King represent the ultimate in "civil disobedience." It is doubtful that Reverend King could have carried on such a program without outside leadership and financing; Bayard Rustin is perhaps the leading expert on "civil disobedience" in this country.

The Southern Christian Leadership Conference is a new organization founded by Reverend King for region-wide agitation of racial violence and strife.

CHARLES GOMILLION, Dean of Students at Tuskegee Institute, was the leader of the Tuskegee, Alabama, Boycott; his agitation is in large part responsible for this disturbance.

Gomillion has been most vehement in his defense of Communists and the Communist Party. His principal areas of agitation and infiltration have been among educators, Negroes, and youth groups.



PICTURED HERE (foreground) is Abner W. Berry of the Central Committee of the Communist Party. On the first row are Reverend Martin Luther King (2nd from right) of the Montgomery Boycott, Aubrey Williams (3rd from right) president of the Southern Conference Education Fund Inc. and Myles Horton (4th from Right) the director of Highlander Folk School.

These "four horsemen" of racial agitation have brought tension, disturbance, strife and violence in their advancement of the Communist doctrine of "racial nationalism".

Georgia Commission on Education
220 AGRICULTURE BUILDING
19 HUNTER STREET, S. W.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

Every American Has the Right to Know the Truth

EDITORIAL COMMENT

On the preceding pages you have seen pictures of the leaders of every major race incident in the South from May 1954 until the time of this meeting, Labor Day, 1957 Weekend (August 30, 31 and September 1, 2). You have seen executives and leaders of many organizations active in the southeastern region of the United States. All of the pictures contained in this folder were taken during this one weekend at this Communist training school, Highlander Folk School, Monteagle, Tennessee.

Names of the national figures are easily identified with their pictures. Other names of lesser figures are those given to the photographer in introductions and self identifications.

It has been our purpose, as rapidly as possible, to identify the leaders and participants of this Communist training school and disseminate this information to the general public. This Commission would appreciate your furnishing to us any further identifications you can make.

It behooves each of us to learn more of Communist infiltration and the direction of Communist movements. Only through information and knowledge can we combat this alien menace to Constitutional government.

All or any part of this folder may be reproduced by any person or organization with or without credit being given to this Commission.

Georgia Commission on Education
Governor Marvin Griffin, Chairman
T. V. Williams, Jr., Executive Secretary
220 Agriculture Bldg.
19 Hunter St., S.W.
Atlanta, Ga.

Records of Don West, John B. Thompson, James Dombrowski, Aubrey Williams

Listed below are the records of Communist Affiliations of four of the leaders of Highlander Folk School.

JAMES DOMBROWSKI
JOHN B. THOMPSON
DON WEST
AUBREY WILLIAMS

Each of these four men was prominent in the establishment of Highlander Folk School or in its subsequent operation

Questions Bulletin, June 1950, page 1.

(21) Mid-Century Conference for Peace—initiating sponsor—Worker, April 30, 1950, page 15.

(22) National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax—sponsor—letterhead, March 8, 1946.

(23) National Committee for Peaceful Alternatives — co-chairman—folder, December 1950.

(24) National Committee to Repeal the McCarran Act—initiator—letterhead, January 19, 1951.

(25) National Committee to Repeal the McCarran Acts—signer of open letter to Senator Hennings—letter, November 14, 1955.

(26) National Council of American-Soviet Friendship—member to welcome the Dean of Canterbury—booklet, November 1948.

(27) National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions—signer of ad—St. Louis Post-Dispatch, June 20, 1951.

(28) Open Letter on Military Aid to Spain—signer—Daily Worker, May 17, 1951, page 9.

(29) Open Letter Protesting Deportation of Harry Bridges—signer—letter, April 22, 1943.

(30) Protest against Verdict of Guilty in Case of 11 Communist Leaders—spoke out against verdict—Worker, October 30, 1949, p. 3.

(31) People's Institute of Applied Religion — sponsor — letterhead, April 16, 1953.

(32) Protestant Digest Associates—signer of call to dinner-forum—call, February 25, 1941.

(33) Southern Conference Educational Fund—member of board of directors — letterhead, January 1951.

(34) Southern Conference for Human Welfare—vice president—letterhead, July 25, 1947.

(35) U. S. Sponsoring Committee for Representation at the Con-

(18) National Citizens Emergency Relief Committee to Aid Strikers Families—member of national board—Worker, March 17, 1946, page 5.

(19) National Citizens Political Action Committee — member—official list, August 1944.

(20) National Citizens Political Action Committee—vice executive board—pamphlet, December 1950.

(22) National Committee to Repeal the McCarran Acts—signer of open letter to Senator Hennings—press release, November 14, 1955.

(23) Peace Information Center—endorser of World Peace Appeal—leaflet, August 31, 1950.

(24) New York City Council of the American Youth Congress — speaker at New York State model legislature of youth—call and program, January 28-30, 1938.

(25) Petition to Reconsider Prosecutions Under the Smith Act—signer—New York Times, August 8, 1955, page 9; Daily Worker, August 8, 1955, page 8.

(26) Progressive Citizens of America—speaker at rally, 1947—Williams' testimony before Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, March 19, 1954, page 112.

(27) Progressive Citizens of America—elected to board of directors—Daily Worker, May 1947.

(28) Protest Meeting for Howard Fast—sponsor—New Masses, October 14, 1947, page 24.

(29) Southern Conference Educational Fund—president; endorser of declaration—folder, November 20, 1948.

(30) Southern Conference Educational Fund—president; sponsor and speaker at first southwide conference on discrimination in higher education—program, April 8, 1950.

(31) Southern Conference Educational Fund—president—letterhead, January 1951.

RALPH HELSTEIN, (2nd L) President of United Packing House Workers of America-CIO, is pictured here with Abner W. Berry of the National Central Committee of the Communist Party.

Helstein is representative of a small group of Labor extremists who serve the Communist Party by affiliation with the Communist apparatus and by the utilization of their own organization to further aims of the Communist Party.

Abner Berry is a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party and is a columnist for the *Daily Worker*. Berry is one of the top ranking Negro Communists in America. His presence at a meeting such as this seminar insures the Communist Party against deviations from the Party principles.

signer of appeal—Daily Worker, January 20, 1954, page 4.

(8) Appeal for Amnesty for the Jailed Leaders of the Communist Party Convicted Under the Smith Act—signer — Daily Worker, December 10, 1952, page 4.

(9) Bachrach Open Letter — signer—letter, September 19, 1955.

(10) Brief Amici Curiae for the Communist Party—signer—U. S. Supreme Court, October 1955.

(11) Committee for Equal Justice for Mrs. Recy Taylor, an auxiliary of International Labor Defense—sponsor — booklet, August 1945.

(12) Committee for Medical Freedom—signer of statement opposing questioning of profesisonal people by Un-American Activities Committee—leaflet, June 1952.

(13) Communist Party—identified as a member of by John Butler in sworn testimony before Senate Committee on Internal Security — Committee Hearings, March

(34) Southern Conference Educational Fund — director — letterhead, July 1954.

(35) Southern Conference Educational Fund — director — letterhead, April 1955.

(36) Southern Conference Educational Fund — coordinator of Southwestern Regional Conference on Integration — folder, May 17, 1955.

(37) Southern Conference Educational Fund — director — Southern Patriot, December 1956, p. 4.

(38) Southern Conference for Human Welfare—executive secretary—official report, 1942.

(39) Southern Conference for Human Welfare—executive secretary—Daily Worker, January 29, 1946, page 4.

(40) Southern Conference for Human Welfare—administrator—letterhead, June 1, 1947.

(41) Southern Conference for Human Welfare—signer of manifesto—Southern Patriot, June 1947,

rated on March 1955) is no less a Communist project than its predecessor, Camp Unity."

WORLD YOUTH CONGRESS

Cited as a Communist conference held in the summer of 1938 at Vassar College.

DAILY WORKER

"The chief journalistic mouthpiece of the Communist Party . . . founded in response to direct instructions from the Communist International in Moscow. . . . The first issue of the Daily Worker appeared on January 13, 1924. . . . No other paper or publication of any kind in all American history has ever been loaded with such a volume of subversive, seditious, and treasonable utterance as has this organ of the American Communists."

EMERGENCY CIVIL LIBERTIES COMMITTEE

"To defend the cases of Com-

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE ARTS, SCIENCES AND PROFESSIONS

Cited as a Communist front which is "used to appeal to special occupational groups . . . "

VETERANS AGAINST DISCRIMINATIONS OF CIVIL RIGHTS CONGRESS OF NEW YORK

Cited as a subversive affiliate of the subversive Civil Rights Congress.

MASSES AND MAINSTREAM

Cited as the successor to New Masses, "a Communist magazine."

NEW MASSES

"Nationally circulated weekly journal of the Communist Party . . . whose ownership was vested in the American Fund for Public Service." (Garland Fund).

POLITICAL AFFAIRS

Cited as an "official Communist

ing to us any further identifications you can make.

It behooves each of us to learn more of Communist infiltration and the direction of Communist movements. Only through information and knowledge can we combat this alien menace to Constitutional government.

All or any part of this folder may be reproduced by any person or organization with or without credit being given to this Commission.

Georgia Commission on Education
Governor Marvin Griffin, Chairman
T. V. Williams, Jr., Executive Secretary
220 Agriculture Bldg.
19 Hunter St., S.W.
Atlanta, Ga.

Records of Don West, John B. Thompson, James Dombrowski, Aubrey Williams

Listed below are the records of Communist Affiliations of four of the leaders of Highlander Folk School.

JAMES DOMBROWSKI
JOHN B. THOMPSON
DON WEST
AUBREY WILLIAMS

Each of these four men was prominent in the establishment of Highlander Folk School or in its subsequent operation. They represent the nucleus of this Communist Training School.

DONALD L. WEST

(1) American Peace Mobilization—endorser—call to American People's Meeting, April 5-6, 1941.

(2) Book Union — contributor—**New Masses,** October 1, 1935, back cover.

(3) Committee for Equal Justice for Mrs. Recy Taylor, an auxiliary of International Labor Defense—member of committee of sponsors—booklet, August 1945.

(4) Communist Party — member—House Committee Report on Southern Conference for Human Welfare, 1947, page 5.

(5) Educators for Wallace — member—pamphlet, October 1948.

(6) Mother Bloor Celebration Committee—sent greetings—booklet, undated.

(7) National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions—sponsor of conference—report of conference, October 9-10, 1948.

(8) National Federation for Constitutional Liberties — signer of open letter asking the President to rescind Biddle decision on Harry Bridges—booklet, July 11, 1942.

(9) National Wallace for President Committee — member—press release, March 23, 1948.

(10) New Masses — contributor—**New Masses,** April 10, June 5, and June 26, 1934; August 27, 1935; May 28, 1946.

(11) Open Letter on Harry Bridges — signer — **Daily Worker,** July 19, 1942, page 4.

(12) People's Institute of Applied Religion—state director for Georgia—letterhead, December 11, 1940.

(13) People's Institute of Applied Religion—sponsor and state director for Georgia — letterhead, February 12, 1941.

(14) People's Institute of Applied Religion—field leader—letterhead, April 9, 1942.

(15) People's Institute of Applied Religion—member of Southern Committee—letterhead, January 1, 1948.

(16) People's Institute of Applied Religion—member of Southern Committee—letterhead, April 16, 1953.

(17) Pilot (Communist-controlled weekly, of National Maritime Union)—writer for— **Pilot,** May 11, 1945, page 17.

(18) Southern Conference for Human Welfare—signer of manifesto—**Southern Patriot,** June 1947, pages 4-5.

JOHN B. THOMPSON

(1) American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born—sign er of open letter for—**Daily Worker,** March 31, 1955, page 8.

(2) American Continental Congress for World Peace—sponsor—**Daily Worker,** July 29, 1949, page 5.

(3) American Crusade to End Lynching—signer of call to pilgrimage to Washington, D. C.—call, September 23, 1946.

(4) American Peace Mobilization — chairman — **Daily Worker,** September 3, 1940, page 4.

(5) Appeal to Guard Civil Rights — signer — **Daily Worker,** August 28, 1950, page 3.

(6) Bill of Rights Conference—sponsor—program and call, July 16, 1949.

(7) Chicago Ad Hoc Committee of Welcome for the Dean of Canterbury — member — folder, November 1948.

(8) Chicago Committee to Defeat the Mundt Bill—signer of statement—**Daily Worker,** September 15, 1950, page 9.

(9) Chicago Committee to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case—signer of open letter—**Daily Worker,** December 25, 1952, page 8.

(10) Citizens Emergency Conference for Interracial Unity—delegate—booklet, September 25, 1943.

(11) Committee to Defend America by Keeping Out of War—chairman—letterhead, August 10, 1940.

(12) Committee for Equal Justice for Mrs. Recy Taylor, an auxiliary of International Labor Defense — sponsor—booklet, August 1945.

(13) Committee for Peaceful Alternatives — vice-chairman — letterhead, March 30, 1950.

(14) Continuations Committee of the Conference on Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact—initiator—**Daily Worker,** August 22, 1949, page 3.

(15) Committee to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case—signer of open letter—Hyde Park **Herald,** 1952.

(16) Dinner for Pearl Hart—sponsor—**Daily Worker,** April 6, 1950, page 4.

(17) Emergency Peace Mobilization—sponsor—call and program, August 31-September 2, 1940.

(18) Interfaith Committee for Peace Action — sponsor — leaflet, October 7, 1951.

(19) League of Young Southerners—sponsor — letterhead, August 13, 1940.

(20) Methodist Federation for Social Action — speaker — **Social**—booklet, November 1948.

(27) National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions—signer of ad—St. Louis **Post-Dispatch,** June 29, 1951.

(28) Open Letter on Military Aid to Spain—signer —**Daily Worker.** May 17, 1951, page 9.

(29) Open Letter Protesting Deportation of Harry Bridges—signer—letter, April 22, 1943.

(30) Protest against Verdict of Guilty in Case of 11 Communist Leaders—spoke out against verdict—**Worker,** October 30, 1949, p. 3.

(31) People's Institute of Applied Religion — sponsor — letterhead, April 16, 1953.

(32) Protestant Digest Associates—signer of call to dinner-forum—call, February 25, 1941.

(33) Southern Conference Educational Fund—member of board of directors — letterhead, January 1951.

(34) Southern Conference for Human Welfare—vice president—letterhead, July 25, 1947.

(35) U. S. Sponsoring Committee for Representation at the Congress of the Peoples for Peace—sponsor—press release, December 9, 1952.

(36) Wire to President Truman to Veto the McCarran Bill—initiator—**Worker,** September 17, 1950, page 3.

AUBREY WILLIAMS

(1) American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born—sponsor of conference—program and call, October 25-27, 1949.

(2) American Crusade to End Lynching—signer of call to pilgrimage to Washington—call, September 23, 1946.

(3) American Youth Congress—speaker at 2 or 3 of their annual meetings—Williams' testimony before Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, March 19, 1954, p. 109

(4) Appeal to Guard Civil Rights—signer—**Daily Worker,** August 28, 1950, page 3.

(5) Association of Internes and Medical Students—speaker at annual convention—official program, December 27-30, 1950.

(6) Brief **Amici Curiae** for the Communist Party—signer—U. S. Supreme Court, October 1955.

(7) Civil Rights Congress — speaker at rally, September 11, 1947—Williams' testimony before Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, March 19, 1954, page 107.

(8) Committee to End Sedition Laws—signer of statement—press release, November 19, 1955.

(9) Committee for Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact—member of executive board—letterhead, September 16, 1950.

(10) Commonwealth College — served on committee and contributed to — Massachusetts investigation of Communists, 1938.

(11) Continuations Committee of the Conference on Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact—signer of open letter to Congress—letter, August 21, 1949; **Daily Worker,** August 22, 1949, page 3.

(12) **Daily Worker**—petitions U. S. Senate—**Daily Worker,** January 26, 1946, page 9.

(13) W. E. B. DuBois Testimonial Sponsoring Committee—sponsor—program, February 23, 1951.

(14) Highlander Folk School—member of board or in some way affiliated with from about 1944 to 1954—Williams' testimony before Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, March 19, 1954, p. 103.

(15) **Mainstream**—sponsor **New Masses,** October 28, 1947, page 2.

(16) Mid-Century Conference for Peace—sponsor—call, May 29-30, 1950.

(17) Mother Bloor Celebration Committee—sponsor—booklet legislature of youth—call and program, January 28-30, 1938.

(25) Petition to Reconsider Prosecutions Under the Smith Act—signer—New York **Times,** August 8, 1955, page 9; **Daily Worker,** August 8, 1955, page 8.

(26) Progressive Citizens of America—speaker at rally, 1947—Williams' testimony before Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, March 19, 1954, page 112.

(27) Progressive Citizens of America—elected to board of directors—**Daily Worker,** May 1947.

(28) Protest Meeting for Howard Fast—sponsor—**New Masses,** October 14, 1947, page 24.

(29) Southern Conference Educational Fund—president; endorser of declaration—folder, November 20, 1948.

(30) Southern Conference Educational Fund—president; sponsor and speaker at first southwide conference on discrimination in higher education—program, April 8, 1950.

(31) Southern Conference Educational Fund—president—letterhead, January 1951.

(32) Southern Conference Educational Fund—president and member board of directors—letterhead, July 1954.

(33) Southern Conference Educational Fund — president and member of board of directors—letterhead, April 1955.

(34) Southern Conference Educational Fund—signer of petition to Senator Hennings—petition, November 7, 1955.

(35) Southern Conference Educational Fund—president—**South. Patriot,** December 1956, page 4.

(36) Southern Conference for Human Welfare—speaker at conference—program, November 20-23, 1938.

(37) Southern Conference for Human Welfare—speaker at conference—program and call, April 14-16, 1940.

(38) Southern Conference for Human Welfare—signer of petition to U. S. Senate—**Daily Worker,** January 28, 1946, page 11.

(39) Southern Conference for Human Welfare — chairman of nominating committee, 1946—Williams' testimony before Senate Internal Security Subcommittee March 19, 1954, page 103.

(40) Southern Conference for Human Welfare—signer of manifesto — **Southern Patriot,** June 1947, pages 4-5.

(41) Southern Conference for Human Welfare—member of board of representatives — letterhead, July 25, 1947.

(42) Washington Committee for Democratic Action — member — membership list, 1939.

(43) Workers Alliance — paid tribute to—Appendix IX, page 1749.

JAMES A. DOMBROWSKI

(1) American Committee for Indonesian Independence — signer of letter—**Indonesian Review,** 1946.

(2) American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born—signer of birthday greeting to Sabath—**Lamp,** May 1946, page 3.

(3) American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born—sponsor of 15th anniversary national conference — program, December 11-12, 1948.

(4) American Continental Congress for Peace, Mexico City—United States sponsor — leaflet September 5-10, 1949.

(5) American Peace Crusade—signer of call to peace pilgrimage to Washington, D. C.—leaflet March 1, 1951.

(6) American Peace Crusade—sponsor—letterhead, May 26, 1951.

(7) American Peace Crusade—

who serve the Communist Party by affiliation with the Communist apparatus and by the utilization of their own organization to

ence at a meeting such as this seminar insures the Communist Party against deviations from the Party principles.

signer of appeal—**Daily Worker,** January 20, 1954, page 4.

(8) Appeal for Amnesty for the Jailed Leaders of the Communist Party Convicted Under the Smith Act—signer — **Daily Worker,** December 10, 1952, page 4.

(9) Bachrach Open Letter — signer—letter, September 19, 1955.

(10) Brief **Amici Curiae** for the Communist Party—signer—U. S. Supreme Court, October 1955.

(11) Committee for Equal Justice for Mrs. Recy Taylor, an auxiliary of International Labor Defense—sponsor — booklet, August 1945.

(12) Committee for Medical Freedom—signer of statement opposing questioning of profesisonal people by Un-American Activities Committee—leaflet, June 1952.

(13) Communist Party—identified as a member of by John Butler in sworn testimony before Senate Committee on Internal Security — Committee Hearings, March 18, 1954.

(14) Conference on Constitutional Liberties in America — speaker—program, June 7-9, 1940.

(15) Continuations Committee of the Conference on Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact—signer of open letter to Congress—letter, August 21, 1949.

(16) International Workers Order—defender of—**Fraternal Outlook,** November 1948, page 6.

(17) International Workers Order—defender of —**Daily Worker,** June 18, 1951, page 8.

(18) Methodist Federation for Social Action—nominated member-at-large by national membership meeting, December 27-29, 1947—1847 ballot, page 2.

(19) Methodist Federation for Social Action — nominee—official ballot, September 2, 1953.

(20) Methodist Federation for Social Service—nominated for national committee—1945 ballot, p. 4.

(21) National Citizens Political Action Committee — member—offial list, August 28, 1944.

(22) National Committee to Repeal the McCarran Act—signer of open letter to members of Congress—letter, January 19, 1951.

(23) National Committee to Repeal the McCarran Act—signer of open letter to Senator Hennings—dated November 14, 1955.

(24) National Committee to Win Amnesty for the Smith Act Victims — sponsor — letterhead, May 22, 1953.

(25) National Conference to Defend the Bill of Rights—sponsor—leaflet, December 2-3, 1950.

(26) National Federation for Constitutional Liberties—signer of statement opposing renewal of the Dies Committee—pamphlet, January 1943.

(27) National Negro Congress—sponsor—10th convention program, May 30, 1946.

(28) People's Institute of Applied Religion — sponsor — letterhead, April 9, 1942.

(29) People's Institute of Applied Religion—member of Southern Committee—letterhead, January 1, 1948.

(30) People's Institute of Applied Religion—member of Southern Committee—letterhead, April 16, 1953.

(31) Southern Conference Educational Fund—endorser of declaration—folder, November 20, 1948.

(32) Southern Conference Educational Fund—director—program of conference, April 8, 1950.

(33) Southern Conference Educational Fund — director — letter head, January 1951.

(34) Southern Conference Educational Fund — director — letterhead, July 1954.

(35) Southern Conference Educational Fund — director — letterhead, April 1955.

(36) Southern Conference Educational Fund — coordinator of Southwestern Regional Conference on Integration — folder, May 17, 1955.

(37) Southern Conference Educational Fund — director — **Southern Patriot,** December 1956, p. 4.

(38) Southern Conference for Human Welfare—executive secretary—official report, 1942.

(39) Southern Conference for Human Welfare—executive secretary—**Daily Worker,** January 29, 1946, page 4.

(40) Southern Conference for Human Welfare—administrator—letterhead, June 1, 1947.

(41) Southern Conference for Human Welfare—signer of manifesto—**Southern Patriot,** June 1947, pages 4-5.

(42) Southern Resident Labor Colleges—member of finance campaign committee—letterhead, February 10, 1937.

(43) Statement Defending the Communist Party—signer— **Daily Worker,** March 5, 1941, page 2.

(44) Win-the-Peace Conference—sponsor—call, April 5-7, 1946.

(45) World Peace Appeal—signer—leaflet, August 31, 1950.

HIGHLANDER EXECUUTIVES

(Continued from page 1)

DR. LEWIS JONES, Rural Life Council, Tuskeegee Institute, Alabama.

MAY JUSTUS, Tracy City, Tenn.

DR. GEORGE MITCHELL, Executive Director, Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Ga.

REV. EUGENE SMATHERS, Calvary Presbyterian Church, Big Lick, Tenn.

DR. P. A. STEPHENS, Chattanooga, Tenn.

JORDON STOKES, III, Attorney at Law, Nashville, Tenn.

LUCILLE THORNBROUGH, Associate Editor, East Tennessee Labor News, Knoxville, Tenn.

TOM WHITE, Sec., Tennessee State Legislative Board, Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, Lexington, Tenn.

AUBREY WILLIAMS, Publisher, Southern Farm and Home, Montgomery, Ala.

CHARLES WILSON, Tennessee Representative, International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, Columbia, Tenn.

MRS. GEORGE WOLFE, Takoma Park, Maryland.

CITATIONS

(Continued from page 1)

gro worker, it has been a deterrent to him."

SOUTHERN CONFERENCE FOR HUMAN WELFARE

Cited as a Communist-front organization "which seeks to attract southern liberals on the basis of its seeming interest in the problems of the South" although its "professed interest in southern welfare is simply an expedient for larger aims serving the Soviet Union and its subservient Communist Party in the United States."

WINGDALE LODGE

"The Committee is convinced that Wingdale Lodge (incorporated on March 1955) is no less a Communist project than its predecessor, Camp Unity."

WORLD YOUTH CONGRESS

Cited as a Communist conference held in the summer of 1938 at Vassar College.

DAILY WORKER

"The chief journalistic mouthpiece of the Communist Party . . . founded in response to direct instructions from the Communist International in Moscow. . . . The first issue of the Daily Worker appeared on January 13, 1924. . . . No other paper or publication of any kind in all American history has ever been loaded with such a volume of subversive, seditious, and treasonable utterance as has this organ of the American Communists."

EMERGENCY CIVIL LIBERTIES COMMITTEE

"To defend the cases of Communist lawbreakers, fronts have been devised making special appeals in behalf of civil liberties and reaching out far beyond the confines of the Communist Party itself. Among these organizations are the . . . Emergency Civil Liberties Committee. When the Communist Party itself is under fire these fronts offer a bulwark of protection."

ABRAHAM LINCOLN SCHOOL

"Schools under patriotic and benevolent titles indoctrinate Communists and outsiders in the theory and practice of communism, train organizers and operatives, recruit new party members and sympathizers * * * A school of this type has been the Abraham Lincoln School, Chicago * * * "

AMERICAN PEACE MOBILIZATION

Cited as "one of the most seditious organizations which ever operated in the United States" and "instrument of the Communist Party line prior to Hitler's attack on Russia."

AMERICAN YOUTH FOR DEMOCRACY

Cited as the new name under which the Young Communist League operates and which also largely absorbed the American Youth Congress.

COMMITTEE FOR PEACEFUL ALTERNATIVES TO THE ATLANTIC PACT

"As part of Soviet psychological warfare against the United States, Communist fronts seek to paralyze America's will to resist Communist aggression by idealizing Russia's aims and methods, discrediting the United States, spreading defeatism and demoralization . . . Specializing in this field . . . have been such organizations as . . . the Committee for Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact . . . "

COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS

Cited as a Communist front "formed to provoke racial friction."

JEFFERSON SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE

"Schools under patriotic and benevolent titles indoctrinate Communists and outsiders in the theory and practice of communism, train organizers and operatives, recruit new party members and sympathisers. . . . Schools of these type have been . . . Jefferson School of Social Science, New York. . . . "

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE ARTS, SCIENCES AND PROFESSIONS

Cited as a Communist front which is "used to appeal to special occupational groups . . . "

VETERANS AGAINST DISCRIMINATIONS OF CIVIL RIGHTS CONGRESS OF NEW YORK

Cited as a subversive affiliate of the subversive Civil Rights Congress.

MASSES AND MAINSTREAM

Cited as the successor to New Masses, "a Communist magazine."

NEW MASSES

"Nationally circulated weekly journal of the Communist Party . . . whose ownership was vested in the American Fund for Public Service." (Garland Fund).

POLITICAL AFFAIRS

Cited as an "official Communist *Party monthly theoretical organ.*"

"Political Affairs, formerly known as The Communist, 'a magazine of the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism published monthly by the Communist Party of the United States of America,' now calls itself 'a magazine devoted to the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism.' Its chief editor is Eugene Dennis, executive secretary of the party."

NAACP Approval, Support, Participation

Reverend Martin Luther King, Rosa Parks, Charles C. Gomillion, Reverend David Brooks, Allen McSwain, Conrad Browne and others who attended this session at Highlander Folk School provided major leadership in the following incidents of interracial strife: (1) the Montgomery Bus Boycott; (2) the Tuskegee Boycott; (3) the Tallahassee Bus Boycott; (4) the Clinton School Incident; (5) Kononia Farms Inter-racial Violence and the March on Washington.

Each of the above-listed persons and incidents has received the national acclaim and complete support of the National Association for Advancement of Colored People. In fact, these incidents and the operation of these individuals have provided a major portion of the active program of the NAACP.

Those who conducted this Labor Day session at Highlander interspersed their lectures and discussions with appeals to those present to secure new memberships for the NAACP and especially urged that teachers join and support the NAACP.

The unqualified support by the NAACP of the above-named individuals and incidents must be viewed in light of the fact that ten of the directors including Benjamin E. Mays, President, Morehouse College, Atlanta, Georgia, have amassed the surprising total of over 400 instances of Communist Front Affiliation; more than half the directors have public records of Communist Affiliation. The directors of the NAACP both present and past have continually demonstrated an amazing propensity for affiliating themselves with pro-Communist causes.

The Honorary Chairman of the Directors of the NAACP, W. E. B. DuBois has amassed a longer public record of Communist affiliations than any other person in the United States with the staggering total of literally hundreds of such affiliations.

COPY COPY

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
October 5, 1957

Statement from: Myles Horton, Director
Highlander Folk School
Monteagle, Tennessee

An undercover agent sent to Tennessee by Gov. Griffin of Georgia charges that the Daily Worker also infiltrated a Highlander Workshop. If so, the alleged infiltrators were unidentified by the School or by newspaper reporters who covered the speeches and discussions at Highlander's 25th Anniversary Celebration. Ed Friend paid the required registration fee like all other applicants to the event and voluntarily identified himself as an employee of the Water Pollution Department of the State of Georgia. Like 179 other participants, the undercover agent was free to attend all meetings and to take pictures of other participants, speakers, and activities such as swimming and square dancing. Sessions were covered by the press, and the Tennessee papers carried daily reports of all speeches and discussions. In the meantime, Gov. Griffin himself was giving aid and comfort to Gov. Faubus' efforts to use armed resistance to a court order for integration of a Little Rock high school.

Since 1953 hundreds of southern community leaders have openly and honestly taken part in scores of Highlander workshops on the subject of integration. In celebration of Highlander's 25th Anniversary, a distinguished group of courageous southern leaders were brought together over Labor Day week-end; and adults committed to democratic solutions to social problems were invited to enroll for a discussion of "The South Thinking Ahead". Highlander takes pride and assumes full responsibility of the speakers and discussion leaders selected and for the program itself. However, we had only such information of the participants as they themselves furnished us. For example, Friend, Gov. Griffin's undercover agent, said he was a freelance photographer and water pollution expert for the State of Georgia. He gave the name of an Atlanta college professor as a reference. There was no way of knowing that he was a White Citizens Council member or sympathizer and an official "infiltrator".

Georgia's undercover agent's report of participants includes along with the Rev. Martin Luther King, Aubrey Williams, and Mrs. Rosa Parks, the name of an alleged Daily Worker reporter. Since this charge has not been verified, we can only say that Highlander did not and does not welcome enrollment of anyone with a totalitarian philosophy whether from the extreme right or from the extreme left. In these troubled times, nothing but more trouble can come from the White Citizens Councils' and the Communist Party's infiltration into groups earnestly seeking a democratic solution to our problems. Both are morally bankrupt and have nothing to offer. We want only those at Highlander who do their own thinking.

The interest in Highlander of Georgia's segregationists dates from our inviting the Koinonia Farms of Americus, Georgia, to hold their children's camp here after the children were run out of Georgia.

Georgia lawmen ask—

Birmingham News 10/6/57

Is race strife Commie plan?

BY EDWIN STRICKLAND, News staff writer

IS THERE A MASTER PLAN, Soviet-inspired, behind the racial incidents so widespread in America today?

If the two are connected, how close is the association, and can it be revealed?

These were the two major questions put before the Georgia Commission on Education, when it was created by the Georgia Legislature in 1953 and given broad judicial powers.

First in a series

The committee has made its first major report based upon an investigation of The Highlander Folk School in Monteagle.

Why should Georgia investigative group fire its first guns at a Tennessee institution?

Because, said the committee's executive secretary, T. V. Williams Jr., the commission believes racial strife and tensions are part of a Communist plan to subvert America.

One of the organizers of the school in 1932, was, and is, a resident of Atlanta. He is Donald L. West. Three members of the school's present executive committee list Georgia addresses.

Alabama is represented on the school's executive body in the persons of Aubrey Williams, Montgomery publisher; Dr. Charles Johnson, dean of students, Tuskegee Institute; J. E. Pierce, of Alabama State College, Montgomery; Dr. Lewis Jones, Rural Life Council, Tuskegee, and Rosa Parks, one of the leaders of the Montgomery busy boycott.

THIS LIST was compiled by investigators for Alabama Atty. Gen. John Patterson who spent several days a tthe school. The list is not identical with one compiled by the Georgia Commission on Education. The latter group, however, listed the board members as it was on Oct. 30, 1956.

The earlier list carried only the names of Dr. Lewis Jones and Williams from Alabama.

THE GEORGIA GROUP has compiled records from many sources. From the weight of these, the commission unhesitatingly labaled the school as "part of the Communist apparatus in America."

Turn to Page 2, Column 1

Is race

BEFORE GOING FURTHER it might be well to examine the makeup of the Georgia Commission on Education which vows to make known what it calls the Communist conspiracy.

Heading the list is Gov. Marvin Griffin, chairman and Lt. Gov. Ernest S. Vandiver, vice chairman.

House Speaker Marvin E. Moore, State Auditor B. E. Thrasher Jr., and Atty. Gen. Eugene Cook, follow in that order.

The remainder of the board is:

Robert O. Arnold, chairman of the Board of Regents; George P. Whitman Jr., chairman, State Board of Education; M. D. Collins, state school superintendent; Harmon Caldwell, chancellor University System; B. D. Murphy, chairman of the Judicial Council; Joh nSammons Bell, of the Georgia B ar Assn.; Colbert Hawkins, general council, and each of the state's 10 U. S. congressmen.

These congressmen are George L. Smith II, Frank S. Twitt, Mrs. Charles R. Crisp, Harvey C. Cutts, Miss Ira Jarrell, Mark Smith, J. Battle Hall, Robert Sapp, John S. Wood and Roy V. Harris.

UNDERCOVER AGENTS for the commission were at the Monteagle school over the Labor Day holidays, when a three-day "integration workshop" was held there. They remained in contact with the school and on the scene until Thursday night of the past week.

The commission's report made Friday in Atlanta included scores of pictures purportedly taken during the integration workshop.

These pictures show in attendance practically every leader of racial incidents in the South since 1954.

They also show pictures of persons who have been identified by congressional investigating committees as Communist leaders, plus a number of persons with records of long association with various Communist "fronts."

THE COMMISSION compiled a consolidated listing of what it called "Communist affiliations" of various persons in attendance at Highlander Folk School during the Labor Day week-end seminar.

This is the list:

Abraham Lincoln School.

American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born.

American Committee for Yugoslav Relief.

American Continental Congress for World Peace.

American Crusade to End Lynching.

American Folksay Group.

American Peace Mobilization.

American-Soviet Music Society.

American Youth Congress.

American Youth for Democracy.

Association of Internes and Medical Students.

BILL OF RIGHTS Conference.

Boston Freedom of the Press Committee.

Brooklyn Professional Committee for Democratic China.

Brownsville Freedom of the Press Committee.

CAMP KINDERLAND.

Chicago Ad Hoc Committee for Welcome of the Dean of Canterbury.

Chicago Committee to Defeat the Mundt Bill.

Chicago Committee to Secure Justice in the Rosenburg Case.

Citizens Emergency Conference for Interracial Unity.

Citizens Emergency Defense Conference.

Civil Rights Congress.

Committee for a Cultural Salute to Paul Robeson.

Committee to Defend America by Keeping out of War.

Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy.

Committee to End Sedition Laws.

Committee for Equal Justice for Mrs. Recy Taylor, an auxiliary of International Labor Defense Committee for the First Amendment.

Committee for the Negro in the Arts.

Committee for Peaceful alternatives to the Atlantic Pact.

Commonwealth College.

Communist Party.

Consumers Union.

Continuations Committee of the Conference on Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact.

Council on African Affairs.

DAILY WORKER.

Dinner for Pearl Hart.

W. E. B. DuBois Testimonial Sponsoring Committee.

EMERGENCY Civil Liberties Committee.

Emergency Peace Mobilization.

FIRST LINE of Defense.

Frederick Douglass School.

HARLEM Employment Committee.

INTERFAITH Committee for Peace Action.

JEFFERSON School of Social Science.

LEAGUE of Struggle for Negro Rights.

League of Young Southerners.

MAIN STREAM.

Masses and Mainstream.

Methodist Federation for Social Action (not church sponsored).

Metropolitan Music School.

Michigan Herald.

Mid-Century Conference for Peace.

Mother Bloor Celebration Committee.

NATION Associates.

National Citizens Emergency Relief Committee to Aid Strikers Families.

National Citizens Political Action Committee.

National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax.

National Committee for Peaceful Alternatives.

National Committee to repeal the McCarren Act.

National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions.

*National Council of American-Soviet Friendship.

National Negro Congress.

Nature Friends of America.

New Drama.

New Masses.

New York City Council of the American Youth Congress.

New York Committee for protection of Foreign Born.

New York Community Divisions of the Committee to Free Earl Browder.

New York Youth Council.

OPEN LETTER on Military Aid to Spain.

Open letter Protesting Deportation of Harry Bridges.

PEACE Information Center.

People's Artists.

People's Daily World.

People's Drama Theater.

People's Institute of Applied Religion.

People's Songs.

Petition to Reconsider Prosecutions Under the Smith Act.

Political Affairs.

Progressive Citizens of America.

Progressive Party of Massachusetts.

Protest Meeting for Howard Fast.

Protestant Digest Associates.

Protest Against Verdict of Guilty in Case of 11 Communist Leaders.

SCHOOL FOR POLITICAL Action Technique.

Schroon Crest School.

Sing Out.

Southern Conference Educational Fund.

Southern Conference for Human Welfare.

Southern Negro Youth Congress.

Stop Rankin Meeting.

Swapping Song Fair.

TEACHERS UNION, Local 555.

Testimonial Concert "Bound for Glory" for Woodie Guthrie.

UNITED OFFICE and Professional Workers of America, Local 16.

United Packinghouse Workers of America.

United States Arrangements Committee, World Youth Congress.

U. S. Sponsoring Committee for Representation at the Congress of the Peoples for Peace.

VETERANS Against Discrimination of Civil Rights Congress of New York.

Veterans Fighting Fund for Eugene Dennis.

Veterans Freedom Committee.

WASH[illegible] Committee for Democratic Action.

Westchester Peekskill Committee.

Wingdale Lodge.

Win-the-Peace Conference.

Wire to President Truman to Veto the McCarran Bill.

Workers Alliance.

YOUNG PEOPLE'S Record Club.

Young Progressives.

NOT ALL of the organizations or publications listed above have been officially declared to be Communistic or Communistic "fronts" by any congressional investigating body, although many of them have.

The Georgia Commission, in its own capacity, lumps them all under the heading of Communist affiliates.

Sympathizers are many—

Red strength in U. S. shouldn't be measured by card-carrying group

BY EDWIN STRICKLAND, News staff writer

Congressional committees investigating Communist activities in America have repeatedly found that while the number of card-carrying Communists in this country is small, the more numerous supporters of Red "fronts" offer the real problem.

Whether these supporters are innocent tools, used for purposes of communism, or whether they knowingly contribute their talents and efforts, seem of little moment.

Second of a series

These congressional findings have been supported from time to time by J. Edgar Hoover, director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Hoover recently released the information that there are only 17,360 actual members of the Communist Party in the United States. That is a drop of nearly 15 per cent from a year earlier.

Hoover warned, however, that the party's strength should not be discounted on the basis of its decreasing membership.

FIVE WEEKS AGO there gathered at the Highlander Folk School, in Monteagle, Tenn., a most interesting array of persons from several states for what was announced as an integration workshop and seminar.

Included among those in attendance were some who have long been labeled as Communist Party members—or leaders—by competent congressional committees.

But no less interesting were some of the other delegates whose names have long been associated with ultra liberal movements and Communist "fronts" for many years.

The Georgia Commission on Education has just unleashed a blast at Highlander Folk School as a "Communist training school."

The commission, made up of 20 of the highest placed officials in the state, based its findings upon information obtained by undercover agents it employed to investigate the school.

SIMULTANEOUSLY with the Georgia investigation, Atty. Gen. John Patterson, of Alabama, had agents at the school.

Of prime interest to Alabama and to Patterson, were the several Alabama people who were either photographed

Turn to Page 6, Column 1

Birmingham News

U. S. R strength not jus. members

Continued from Page 1

at the workshop or are listed as holding official positions with the school.

Patterson's investigators list five persons from Alabama as being connected officially with the school on its executive board. They are Dr. Charles Gomillion, dean of students at Tuskegee Institute; Dr. Lewis Jones of the Rural Life Council, Tuskegee; J. E. Pierce, Alabama College at Montgomery; Rosa Parks, one of the leaders of the Montgomery bus boycott, and Aubrey Williams, a Montgomery publisher.

Williams is a white man, with an impressive list of associations with liberal groups, some of which have been officially declared to be Communist fronts.

Other Alabama people taking an active part in the Labor Day week-end workshop included Rev. Martin Luther King, Montgomery bus boycott leader, and Rev. Abernathy, also a Montgomery integration leader.

ACCORDING TO the findings of the Georgia Commission on Education, Rev. King, who has won worldwide recognition for direction of the Montgomery boycott, led a "march on Washington" to protest segregation. Bayard Rustin, according to the commission's findings, helped lead the march.

Bayard Rustin was listed by the Communist newspaper "Daily Worker" as having attended the 1957 convention of the Communist Party U. S. A. The Re publication also iden-

fied Rustin as secretary to . Martin Luther King.

Dr. Gomillion, who has led the Tuskegee boycott of merchants in protest over recent legislation considered by the Negro population in Tuskegee as restrictive, was photographed at the workshop.

The investigative group lists Dr. Gomillion as a signer of a protest statement against outlawing the Communist Party in America, and as being active in the Negro Youth Congress, which is listed as a Communist front by the "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," published in 1957 by the un-American activities committee of the U. S. House of Representatives.

Dr. Gomillion, the Georgia commission charged, has lent his name and support to other similar groups.

Neither Dr. Jones nor Pierce was listed as present at the workshop, though they are listed as members of the school's executive board.

NOW LET'S TURN to the most interesting personality of them all. Aubrey Williams, publisher of a farm magazine in Montgomery, has denied before congressional committees that he is a Communist.

He was appointed by President Roosevelt as director of the National Youth Administration. He was also one of the early leaders of Highlander Folk School.

His associations, often in role of leadership, in Communist fronts, is a long one and extends over a period of 20 years.

The following is a list of organizations with which he has been connected, which are on the government's official list of Communist front organizations:

American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, sponsor of conference, October, 1949.

American Youth Congress, speaker on two or more occasions.

Civil Rights Congress, speaker, 1947.

Committee For Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact, member of executive board.

Southern Conference for Human Welfare, speaker, 1938, speaker, 1940, signer of petition, 1946, chairman of nominating committee, 1946, signer of manifesto, 1947, member of board of representatives, 1947.

WILLIAMS' association with other "front-type" groups include:

American Crusade to End Lyn ner of petition, 1946.

A Guard Civil Rig listed in "Daily Wor

Br l Curiae for the Com Party, signer, 1955.

S n Conference Education Fund, president 1948 until now.

Williams was also a sponsor of the W. E. B. DuBois Testimonial Committee, 1951. DuBois, an official of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, holds the record for the most associations with Communist front groups.

WILLIAMS' other activities since 1938 include:

Association of Internes and Medical Students, speaker, 1950.

Committee to End Sedition Laws, signer of statement, 1955.

Commonwealth College, contributor, 1938. (Massachusetts Investigation of Communists.)

Continuations Committee of the Conference on Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact, signer of letter, 1940, (reported in "Daily Worker").

"Mainstream," sponsor, 1947.

Mid-Century Conference for Peace, sponsor, 1950.

Mother Bloor Celebration Committee, sponsor.

National Citizens Emergency Relief Committee to Aid Strikers Families, member of national board, 1946.

National Citizens Political Action Committee, member, 1944. Also chairman of dinner committee, 1946.

New York City Council of the American Youth Congress, speaker, 1938.

Petition to Reconsider Prosecutions Under the Smith Act, signer, 1955 (reported in "Daily Worker").

Progressive Citizens of America, board of directors, 1947 (story in "Daily Worker").

Protest Meeting for Howard Fast, sponsor, 1947 (reported in "New Masses," officially identified as Communist publication).

Washington Committee for Democratic Action, member, 1939.

Workers Alliance (paid tribute to).

Williams is also a former director of Southern Regional Council, Inc., organized in Atlanta and now operating interracial councils in 12 Southern States, including Alabama.

The group was identified in testimony before a Louisiana legislative committee this year as "a Southern Red front."

Nine of the current directors of the organization were formerly affiliated with the Southern Conference for Human Welfare.

OF THE SOUTHERN Conference Education Fund, which Williams has headed since its beginning, the Senate internal security subcommitte in 1955, said in part that it was "initially an adjunct of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare.

"After the exposure of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare as a Communist front, it began to wither and was finally dissolved, but the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc., continued."

The Senate committee also found that "The Southern Conference Education Fund, Inc., is operating with substantially the same leadership and purpose as its predecessor organization, the Southern Conference for Human Welfare."

DR. GOMILLION, of Tuskegee, has served with the Southern Conference Education Fund, and is one of eight current directors of the Southern Regional Council, Inc., who have been so affiliated with the Southern Conference Education Fund, according to "Firing Line," published by the National Americanism Commission, The American Legion.

Despite his protestations, Williams was named in testimony before the Senate Committee in 1954 as a member of the Communist Party.

The Highlander Folk School, current object of investigation by officials of both Alabama and Georgia, was brought into testimony before the Senate sub-committee on internal security in 1954, by Paul Crouch, admitted top Communist Party functionary in the South before renouncing the Reds.

Said Crouch:

"The Highlander Folk School is a school operated at Monteagle, Tenn., ostensibly as an independent labor school, but actually working in close cooperation with the Communist Party."

Workshop glows red— Birmingham News 10/8/57

Communist influence sharpens in race row

BY EDWIN STRICKLAND.
News staff writer

Is there any significance in the fact that four of the leaders in recent Alabama racial incidents were much in evidence at the Labor Day Weekend integration workshop at red-tinged Highlander Folk School?

In yesterday's article it was pointed out that Rev. Martin Luther King, Rosa Parks and Rev. Abernathy, all leaders in the Montgomery bus boycott, and Dr. Charles Gomillion, dean of students at Tuskegee Institute and leader of the Tuskegee boycott, all took part in the three-day program at Monteagle, Tenn.

Third in a series

Who were some of their associates at the workshop? Let's look at a few along with their past performances.

ABNER W. BERRY, a writer for the Communist "Daily Worker," and identified as a member of the Communist Central Committee. As such, he represents one of the powerful Negro Red leaders in the country.

Berry reported the racially integrated meeting in his column in "The Daily Worker" on Sept. 10.

In one photograph taken during the workshop by undercover agents for Alabama Atty. Gen. John Patterson and for the Georgia Commission on Education, Berry is shown in a study group with Rev. King, Aubrey Williams and Myles Horton, school director.

ANOTHER personality at the school was Pete Seeger, a New York musician and listed by "The Daily Worker" in 1949 as a participant in the New York State Youth Board of the Communist Party.

The mere presence at the seminar of two Communist personalities such as Berry and Seeger would inticate that it had the favor of the American brand Communists.

Before a congressional committee in 1955, Seeger took the Fifth Amendment when questioned about his Communist Party membership.

He has gotten probably as much mention in "The Daily Worker" as any of the country's second-string Commie leaders.

SINCE 1941, Seeger has had scores of associations and roles with the Communist appartus in America. Few have been more active in so many Communist "fronts" and in behalf of the Communist Party itself.

At the Highlander Folk School five weeks ago, Seeger was in his most familiar role as an entertainer.

The following is a selected list of his activities. The entire list of 55 known incidents would be too lengthy to report here. Almost all of his activities have been faithfully reported by "The Daily Worker."

ONCE DURING 1946, and three times during 1949, Seeger was listed as an entertainer and participant in activities of the Communist Party in New York:

American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, 1949.

American Committee for Yugoslav Relief, 1946.

American Folksay Group, 1950.

American-Soviet Music Society, 1947.

American Youth Congress, 1941.

American Youth for Democracy, 1946.

Brooklyn Professional Committee for Democratic China, 1946.

Camp Kinderland, 1947, 1948.

Civil Rights Congress, 1949.

Committee for a Cultural Salute to Paul Robeson, 1954.

Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy, 1949.

Committee for the First Amendment, 1947.

Committee for the Negro in the Arts, 1949.

Council on African Affairs, 1946.

Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, 1957.

Group for Japanese-Americans, 1949.

Jefferson School for Social Science, 1946-47-50-54.

May Day, 1950.

Metropolitan Music School, 1954-55.

National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions, 1949.

Nature Friends of America, 1950.

New Drama, 1949.

New Masses, 1946.

People's Artists, 1946.

People's Drama Theater, 1950.

People's Songs, 1946, 47, 48, 49.

Progressive Citizens of America, 1947.

Progressive Party of Massachusetts, 1949.

School for Political Action Technique, 1946.

Schroon Crest Camp, 1950.

Sing Out, 1947.

Stop Rankin Committee, 1946.

Swapping Song Fair, 1958.

United Office and Professional Workers of America, 1949.

Testimonial Concert "Bound for Glory" for Woodie Guthrie.

Veterans Against Discrimination of Civil Rights, 1946.

Voice of Freedom Committee, 1949.

West Chester Peekskill Committee, 1950.

Wingdale Lodge, 1953.

Win-the-Peace Conference, 1946

Young People's Record Club, 1948.

Young Progressives, 1948.

FROM CHICAGO to attend the workshop was John B. Thompson, chaplain at the Rockfellow Chapel at the University of Chicago.

Thompson's affiliations over the past two decades read like an index of organizations identified as Communist fronts and other groups listing the same personnel in general as the Red fronts.

Thompson has always been found springing to the defense of the Communist Party and of Reds who run afoul of American laws. He has lent his name to petitions protesting the deportation of Harry Bridges, West Coast Communist in the longshoremen's union.

Thompson was also in the forefront of a welcoming committee in 1948 for the "Red Dean of Canterbury," when the latter visited Chicago.

AGAIN, IT WAS Thompson who spoke out against the conviction of 11 Communist leaders in 1949, and was quoted in the "Daily Worker."

He was a vice president of the deep crimson "South[illegible] Conference for Human Welfare."

Thompson joined in the effort to save the atomic spies, Julius and Ethel Rosenburg, from the death sentence imposed in 1952.

Other affiliations include dozens of organizations officially listed as Communist dominated.

The Georgia Commission on Education commented of Thompson that "it is incredible that any man with the record of Communist affiliations like that of John B. Thompson could long remain as chaplain or pastor to students in a non-Communist institution."

THE REV. Maurice McCracken, of The Neighborhood House, 901 Findley-st, Cincinnati, Ohio, attended the school. Pictured at the school was a station wagon bearing the inscription "Findley Street Neighborhood House."

An investigator from Cin-

Education last week, said the organization is supported by Community Chest funds.

The Georgia investigative group said it included the picture in the record of its hearings for the purpose of "illustrating how many units of Communist apparatus are assisted by organizations purportedly charitable or religious in nature."

Another organization, known as Friends of Koinonia Farms, lists its address as 901 Findley-st, Cincinnati, Ohio.

KOINONIA FARMS, located at Americus, Ga., has been the scene of recent violence and boycotts. It is operated on a socialized, integrated basis. Its leader, Conrad Browne, was in attendance at the Highlander workshop.

No report on Highlander Folk School would be complete without an introduction to Donald L. West of Atlanta, Ga., who was one of the school's organizers.

He was not reported present at the integration workshop, but a look at his background in light of his leadership of the school, might be in order.

THOUGH WEST has never acknowledged Communist Party membership, he was identified as a member of the party in a 1947 report of a committee of the U. S. House of Representatives which was investigating the Southern Conference for Human Welfare.

West has written articles for "The Pilot" a publication of the National Maritime Union. The publication is officially listed as being Communist controlled.

In the best tradition of all the known Southern Reds or "pinks," West was active in both the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, and the People's Institute of Applied Religion. Both have been identified as Red fronts.

HE IS LISTEDas a contributor to "New Masses," a Communist publication, and was a member of the National Wallace for President Committee.

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Committee for Equal Justice for Mrs. Recy Taylor, an Auxiliary of International Labor Defense, 1945.

Educators for Wallace, 1948.

Mother Bloor Celebration Committee.

National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions, 1948.

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Open Letter to Harry Bridges, signer, 1942.

(NEXT: What are the stated purposes of the schools? What went on at the integration workshop?)

BEST COPY AVA

Sharpens in race row

BY EDWIN STRICKLAND.
News staff writer

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In yesterday's article it was pointed out that Rev. Martin Luther King, Rosa Parks and Rev. Abernathy, all leaders in the Montgomery bus boycott, and Dr. Charles Gomillion, dean of students at Tuskegee Institute and leader of the Tuskegee boycott, all took part in the three-day program at Monteagle, Tenn.

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(NEXT: What are the stated purposes of the schools? What went on at the integration workshop?)

Racial events i[illegible] South following Red pattern

Continued from Page 1

8. Abolition of discriminatory practices in courts against jury service.

9. Abolition of the convict lease system and of the chain gang.

10. Abolition of all Jim Crow distinction in the Army, Navy and Civil Service.

11. Immediate removal of all restrictions in all trade unions against the membership of Negroes.

12. Equal opportunity for employment, wages, hours, and working conditions for Negro and white workers. Equal pay for equal work for Negro and white workers.

Many of these points have long since been realized with the full cooperation of the majority of Southern leaders. It's typical of the Communist Party that it includes in its aim[illegible] things on which almost eve[illegible] one can agree as just and e[illegible] table.

The purpose of this enumeration of Communist aims here is to show a parallel with the 25-year-old policy of The Highlander Folk School, in Monteagle, Tenn., and how it has worked toward these goals.

In the July, 1956 issue of "Highlander Reports," a pul[illegible] lication of the racially inte[illegible] mixed school, the exec[illegible] council said:

"The immediate and challenging task confronting those who desire a democratic South is integration."

The programming of the school's activities for 1957 was then announced:

Twelve integration workshops.

Twenty-four weeks of extension courses.

The announced purpose of these is to train integration leaders in the South.

[illegible] well the school has succeeded can be seen from a look at the leaders of all the major racial incidents. All have now, or in the past have had, training at the school.

As late as Feb. 20, 1957, the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, U. S. Treasury Department, Washington, D. C., took a look at the school's activities and at its tax-exempt status, and ruled that contributions to the school will not in the future be exempt from income tax.

THIS DECISION was based upon a finding that "your staff and students have participated in strikes at various places . . . it is shown . . . that your activities also include . . . promoting certain reforms through organized action programs and other means, as evidenced by the following, which was expressed in one of your annual reports:

"Our purpose is deliberately to use education for the realization of certain social and cultural values. We do not consider other education any less propaganda, because its teachers are ignorant of the fact that they are supporting an unethical STATUS QUO, than our approach which consciously seeks to bring about a more just social order. . . ."

Myles Horton, the school's present director and one of the founders, is now strong in advocating placid compliance in the South to the integration edict. But let us look at his actions prior to the 1954 decision of the U. S. Supreme Court, when the "separate equal" school doctrine was still the law of the land.

[illegible] In a seminar discussion on [illegible] gration problems held in [illegible] uary, 1957, the joint execu[illegible] ve council of the school, and [illegible] sultants, made it very clear [illegible] e work of the school [illegible] integration did not wait [illegible] Supreme Court deci-

[illegible] TIMA CLARK, Negro [illegible] er who was fired in South Carolina and is now on the Highlander staff, led off by talking about her part in Clinton, Tenn. She deplored the fact that one of the students who began the integration move there, had been taken [illegible] of school by her parents.

[illegible] hat meeting set the goal [illegible] the integration workshops [illegible] is year, with the announced [illegible] rpose of training 400 integra[illegible] leaders a month.

Writing in "The North Central Association Quarterly, in 1952, Horton, who was then listed as education director of the United Packinghouse Workers Union, expressed his feeling about labor's part in the race struggle.

"With organized labor and public education united in vision and in daily operations we would be in a position to make Democracy a reality.

"No longer would distinctions of classes, of race, and religion be tolerated. The schools could rise to the challenge of the day and help in the creation of an army of democracy rooted in the struggles and traditions of the American people, an army so vast and so determined that nothing undemocratic could stand in its path."

To get back to the most recent workshop, an announcement from the school, said "progress reports," will be made "from such key areas in the South as Clinton, Tenn., Koinonia Farm, an interracial Christian community at Americus, Ga.; Birmingham, Ala., and Tallahassee, Fla. Workshops will consider the implications of integration for church groups, educators, trade unions, business and industry and community and civic organizations."

THE ANNOUNCEMENT also featured talks by the Rev. Martin Luther King of Montgomery on "The Look to the Future," and by Aubrey Williams, Montgomery publisher, on " A New Dealer Looks at the Present."

Something apparently fell through on the Birmingham report. Undercover agents who attended the session reported they could not identify any known integration leader from Birmingham.

King later outlined in his talk what he said were the three major periods in the Negro's rise to what he called "complete integration."

Williams did not see complete integration. He lashed hard at Southern leaders who oppose complete compliance with integration orders, but noted that "the South seem[illegible] bent upon refusing to give a[illegible] ground whatsoever."

He said further that "moreover, we are moving steadily in the direction of more rigid and wider denials. We are going to new lengths in establishing the rigidity of separation."

Williams lashed at Southern senators, governors and other leaders for what he said was a stand "little short of insanity." He damned Atty. Gen. John Patterson for what he called "seizure of records of a citizens organization whose activities are limited to protesting a law which had wiped out their right to vote . . ."

He referred to Patterson's seizure of records of a Negro group at Tuskegee, led by Charles Gomillion, dean of students at Tuskegee Institute, which boycotted white merchants.

Williams concluded that the course being followed by the South could lead to rebellion," and pl[illegible] South again into war.

Here's a partial [illegible] the Labor Day week[illegible] gration workshop [illegible] nounced by the scho[illegible]

Friday, Aug. 30.

2:30 p.m. "An O[illegible]

Complains of treatment—

Aubrey Williams wires reply to News article

In the Monday edition of The Birmingham News, there was an article by a News staff writer relating, among other things, to certain alleged activities of Aubrey Williams of Montgomery, Ala. The News is in receipt of a telegram from Mr. Williams complaining of the treatment accorded him. To present his version and complaint, The News is glad to print Mr. Williams' telegram in full:

"My attention has just been called to the front page story carried in today's Birmingham News entitled, 'Red strength in U. S. shouldn't be measured by card-carrying group.'

"I had hoped that smearing tactics of this type had passed from the American scene with the demise of Sen. McCarthy, and it is difficult for me to believe that a paper of the stature of The News would deliberately engage in them. Had the article directly accused me of being a Communist, I would at least have respected its courage, but by the roundabout process of inference, innuendo and association and the lifting of lies from the mouths of discredited, paid informers, told under congressional immunity, the article attempts to accuse me of being a Communist or a Communist tool, and at the same time avoids direct charge. It thus combines cowardice with [illegible].

"Having been in public life for many years, I have received my full share of criticism, some perhaps justified and much that was irresponsible. It has been my general inclination to disregard it. However, I cannot let charges and inferences such as those contained in your article go unchallenged.

"The innuendo contained in your article is clearly libelous. However, I prefer to rely upon your sense of fairness for at least a partial redress of the injury done to me by your paper, and I therefore ask that you retract the inference of the article that I am a Communist or a Communist tool by a further article of equal prominence in your paper."

(Signed)
AUBREY WILLIAMS

Integration in the South Today," John Hope II.

"Integration Beachheads" ... Report of Progress and Problems.

Tuskegee, Ala. . . . Charles Gomillion.

Johns Island, S. C. . . . Bernice Robinson.

Tallahassee, Fla. . . . David H. Brooks.

Montgomery, Ala. . . . Rosa Parks.

Southern Unions . . . Ralph Helstein.

Koinonia Farm . . . Conrad Browne.

Clinton, Tenn. . . . Septima Clark.

Professional agitators taught, dispatched—

Review of records shows R

BY EDWIN STRICKLAND
News staff writer

The race issue in America today is "top priority" for our home-grown Reds and their Soviet advisers.

The Negroes and whites caught in the destructive whirlpool of strife and emotions, are mere pawns in the Communist master plan which has been spelled out for us by the Communists themselves.

These conclusions are inescapable to one who takes the time and effort to look behind the scenes and see who is arranging the stage settings.

Last of a series

Also inescapable is a fact that may come as a shock to good Americans who have always been taught that Democracy is rule by the majority.

The shattering truth that has demonstrated itself time and time again is that the unorganized majority is voiceless and without the means of making its will felt. It is the highly organized, militant and often ruthless minorities which rule almost every facet of our national life today.

Chief among those militant minorities is the Communist Party, U. S. A., and the literally hundreds of "fronts" behind which it disguises itself.

Communism in America has many faces.

Responsible Southern leaders speak sincerely when they charge that behind Southern race incidents lurk the crimson shadow of International Communism.

Previous articles in this series have attempted to explore the basis for these charges. The findings are clear: The Communists and their fellow travelers have seized upon a situation of their own making to bring strife and divide the country's strength at a time when our national security hangs delicately in the balance.

Several states have undertaken to ferret out the Red fronts behind race incidents. Some fault has been laid directly at the door of the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People, which has been barred from activity in Alabama and several other states.

But the fault goes much deeper than the NAACP, the facts indicate.

SOME LEADERS say we have been protecting too many "sacred cows" disguised under patriotic and religious labels.

Fully half of the officially labeled Communist fronts go under names which begin with the word "American". A large percentage begin with the words "Christian" or Religious" or some other word indicating the group to be religious in character.

Congressional hearings and numerous official investigations have established the fact that the Communists seek anonymity in highly respected organizations, then work from within to change the character and purpose of those organizations to make them fit into Communist plans.

Labor unions, cooperatives, civic and patriotic groups, educational institutions, charitable organizations and even churches have been infiltrated by Red agents and their "yes men."

These facts are known to agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and often by leaders of the infiltrated groups. Only the latter, and an informed membership, can stop such use of their organizations by the Reds.

How can you tell whether an organization to which you belong is Red-infested, or in danger of becoming so?

1. Look behind its high-sounding statement of purposes and see whether it is really working for American ideals.

2. Read the list of its sponsors, organizers, donars and board of directors. If you find there are names of persons known to have connections with "front groups" it would justify you to look further.

3. If the end result of the policies of the organization would be strife or disorder, or would give aid and comfort to the enemies of our society, you're striking pay dirt.

Gov. Marvin Griffin of Georgia charged that Communist are "preying upon members of both races" in creating discord. He has avowed to expose what he calls the entire Communist conspiracy behind the race issue.

ALABAMA'S attorney general, John Patterson, said his investigations have disclosed connections between race boycotts in Montgomery and Tuskegee, and The Highlander Folk School in Monteagle, Tenn., which has been called "a Communist training school" by the Georgia Commission on Education.

The school, through its own publications, stated that its field agents worked in almost every Southern city where race incidents have occurred.

The 23rd annual report of the school listed its "accomplishments" of the past 12 months. It listed 11 residential workshops, dealing with everything from labor union activity to the United Nations to "Public School Desegregation Workshop."

The report also stated that field agents of the school had worked in integration problems in Charleston, S. C., Columbia, S. C., Monks Corner, S. C., Tuskegee, Ala., Knoxville, Tenn., Oak Ridge, Tenn., Chattanooga and Nashville.

In Tuskegee, later the scene of a merchants boycott, the field agents "met with school teachers, clergymen, NAACP leaders, civic association representatives and Tuskegee students to analyze deadlock, between white and Negro communities and discuss possible solutions. . . ."

In almost every place, according to the field workers reports, they met with NAACP leaders.

At Johns Island, S. C., May 29, 1955, Highlander representatives participated in an all day panel discussion on the following subjects:

1. Why should Negroes be organized?

2. Some of the causes for other races to overlook Negroes.

3. Who is responsible for less than 30 per cent of colored citizens in South Carolina not being voting citizens?

4. Does the buying power of the Negro, when wisely used, help change this condition?

THE LAST SUBJECT would seem to suggest economic boycott, such as occurred in Tuskegee.

Other activities of the school's staff, said the report, included attending:

1. Testimonial dinner for Judge J. Waites Waring, Charleston, S. C.

2. Staff Conference, Campbell Folk School, Brasstown, S. C.

3. Tennessee Council of Human Relations, Nashville and Knoxville, Tenn.

4. Southern Conference Educational Fund, Atlanta, Ga.

5. Southern Sociological Conference, Nashville.

At least one of the above mentioned, the Southern Conference Educational Fund, has been listed as a Communistic front.

The report also note "meeting with Highlande raising committees on West Coast made it po for staff members to sp classes at the Univers California and the Univ of Washington.

"During visits to Ch and New York for s meetings staff members at the University of Ch Columbia University, Lawrence and New York versity."

It might be well to note that while funds for the s are raised nationwide, "s arships" are offered on people in Southern comm ties who wish to provide ership along the lines t at the school.

In July, 1956, the Highla Report headlined its sheet with:

"WE WILL EDUCATE INTEGRATION IN OUR IDENCE SESSIONS, IN OU FIELD PROGRAM, IN OUR COMMUNITY!"

It started off the report by saying:

"The immediate and challenging barrier to Democracy in the South is segregation.

"The immediate and challenging task confronting those who desire a democratic South is integration."

In other words, the school's chief aims in 1956, were identical to the stated aims of the Communist Party, U. S. A., in 1928.

The school likes to crow about what it calls accomplishments in areas where racial incidents have occurred. It publishes sheets called "The Story of John Island," and "The Montgomery Story," as examples.

THE MONTGOMERY story, as told by the publication, has Rosa Parks deciding her people "are not goin gto take it any more' 'and thus kicking off the bitter bus boycott.

It is interesting to note that almost every place that staff members of Highlander did field work in 1955, have become the scene of racial incidents.

In Tuskegee the issue is still unsettled. It is led there by Charles G. Gomillion, dean of students at Tuskegee. Gomillion is on the board of Highlander, as is Rosa Parks. Gomillion is also listed as a sponsor for the Southern Conference Educational Fund.

His other affiliations, most of them officially listed as Communist fronts, are as follows:

W. E. B. DuBois Testimonial Sponsoring Committee, sponsor, 1951. (DuBois, honorary head of NAACP, holds the distinction of having literally hundreds of Communist front associations — more than any other known American.)

First Line of Defense—signer of statement in defense of Communists. (Reported Aug. 29, 1948, "Daily Worker" page 6.)

Manifesto of Negro eLaders —signer of statement against outlawing the Communist Party, 1947.

Sotuhern Conference Educational Fund, member of board of directors, 1954.

Southern Negro Youth Congress, member of advisory board an dsecretary, 1947. (Officially liste d as Communist front.)

Are Negroes being victimized by their own organization, the NAACP, as part of a Red plan in America? Maybe so, maybe not.

The fact is, however, that 10 of the members of the NAACP's natiional board of directors, each have from 23 to 57 known associations with Communists fronts, including

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The American Fund for
Public Service. It was a foundation, amounting to over $2 million, left by the late Charles Garland of Massachusetts.

The fund's own report for 1928-30, listed a gift of $100,000 to the NAACP, and another $5000 loan to that organization.

Significantly, perhaps, most of the other loans and gifts from this foundation were to:

1. Daily Worker, $6875.
2. American Civil Liberties Union (several grants).
3. International Labor Defense, $6875.
4. Max Eastman, for preparation and production of an historic film on the Russian Revolution.
5. Russian Reconstruction Farms, New York, $21,015.
6. Urban League, $15,000.

Those are only a representative part of the report, but clearly shows the makeup of the fund to be a deep red.

COMMUNISTS are not found on soap boxes or handing out leaflets. They operate from offices and respectable addresses. They are like termites which enter a timber, gut it to a shell and destroy its strength before being discovered. In many organizations today they entered just as unnoticed, work just as stealthily and in the end bring about the same ruin.

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10-17-57

THE CHATTANOOGA TIMES: CHATTANO

HIGHLANDER RAPS INFILTRATOR ROLE

Folk School Director Says Georgia Undercover Man Given Free Range

Special to The Chattanooga Times

MONTEAGLE, Tenn., Oct. 6—Infiltration of White Citizens Council and Communist party representatives "into groups earnestly seeking a democratic solution to our problems can bring nothing but more trouble," Myles Horton, director of the controversial Highlander Folk School here, declared in a statement today.

His statement was in reply to charges by a Georgia undercover agent that a representative of the Daily Worker, New York Communist newspaper, attended the recent workshop at Highlander.

Horton said the White Citizens Councils and the Communist party are both "morally bankrupt and have nothing to offer," and added: "We want only those at Highlander who do their own thinking."

The prepared statement by Horton follows:

"An undercover agent sent to Tennessee by Gov. Griffin of Georgia charges that the Daily Worker also infiltrated a Highlander workshop. If so, the alleged infiltrators were unidentified by the school or by newspaper reporters who covered the speeches and discussions at Highlander's 25th anniversary celebration.

"Ed Friend paid the required registration fee like all other applicants to the event and voluntarily identified himself as an employe of the Water Pollution Department of the state of Georgia. Like 179 other participants, the undercover agent was free to attend all meetings and to take pictures of other participants, speakers, and activities such as swimming and square dancing.

"Sessions were covered by the press, and the Tennessee papers carried daily reports of all speeches and discussions. In the meantime, Gov. Griffin himself was giving aid and comfort to Gov. Faubus' efforts to use armed resistance to a court order for integration of Little Rock high school.

Totalitarian Philosophy Hit

"Since 1953, hundreds of Southern community leaders have openly and honestly taken part in scores of Highlander workshops on the subject of integration. In celebration of Highlander's 25th anniversary, a distinguished group of courageous Southern leaders were brought together over the Labor Day weekend. Adults committed to democratic solutions to social problems were invited to enroll for a discussion of 'The South Thinking Ahead.'

"Highlander takes pride and assumes full responsibility of the speakers and discussion leaders selected and for the program itself. However, we had only such as they themselves furnished us. For example, Friend, Gov. Griffin's undercover agent, said he was a freelance photographer and water pollution expert for the state of Georgia. He gave the name of an Atlanta college professor as a reference. There was no way of knowing that he was a White Citizens Council member or sympathizer and an official 'infiltrator.'

"The Georgia undercover agent's report of participants includes along with the Rev. Martin Luther King, Aubrey Williams, and Mrs. Rosa Parks, the name of an alleged Daily Worker reporter. Since this charge has not been verified, we can only say that Highlander did not and does not welcome enrollment of anyone with a totalitarian philosophy whether from the extreme right or from the extreme left. In these troubled times, nothing but more trouble can come from the White Citizens Councils' and the Communist party's infiltration into groups earnestly seeking a democratic solution to our problems. Both are morally bankrupt and have nothing to offer. We want only those at Highlander who do their own thinking.

"The interest in Highlander of Georgia's segregationists dates from our inviting the Koinonia Farms of Americus, Ga., to hold their children's camp here after the children were run out of Georgia."

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CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

SUBJECT OR NAME:

Alonzo G. Moron

REGARDING:

Speech bearing answers to charges made by Ga. Commission on Education.

DATE:

January 9, 1958 (date of Ltr.)
Speech delivered: October 27, 1957

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT:

Board - Gen. Corresp.

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT:

Willard Baldwin
(Representative of Hampton Institute)

REGARDING:

Data on Georgia Commission on Education and Highlander Folk School controversy.

DATE:

October 25, 1957

also

October 29, 1957

(SEE)

NAME OR SUBJECT:

Correspondence General - "BA"

See Also:
Staff memo from F.B.R to P.A. dtd. Oct 25, 1959
Paragraph 5

at greener pastures.

Georgia Invades Ohio

OVER THE Labor Day week end a seminar on "The South Looking Ahead" was held at the Highlander Folk School in Monteagle, Tennessee. Attending were men and women prominent in the nonviolent struggle for Negro rights. They discussed means for resolving the racial issue in a peaceful way. All the meetings were open to all 179 participants and all sessions were covered by the press. Registration was open to all who applied and paid the registration fee, although, explained director Myles Horton, "Highlander did not and does not welcome enrollment of anyone with a totalitarian philosophy whether from the extreme right or from the extreme left. . . . Both [white citizens' councils and the Communist party] are morally bankrupt and have nothing to offer. We want only those at Highlander who do their own thinking." But see how twisted all this was when shadowed through the distorting prisms of some minds. Georgia's Governor Marvin Griffin presided over a meeting of the Georgia Education Commission established by the legislature in 1953 to find ways to prevent integration in the public schools. There it was reported that an "undercover agent made contact and infiltrated" the Highlander meeting called to discuss "methods and tactics of precipitating racial strife and disturbance." Pictures of the

Christian Century
October 30, 1957

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WITH PREACHERS AND TEACHERS

Daily Post 10/31/57 Sep.

Talk Like This May Get T. V. Jr. in Trouble

By EUGENE PATTERSON

T. V. WILLIAMS JR. has gone and made a statement that might get him into some trouble. I certainly hope so.

He is executive secretary of the Georgia Education Commission, which represents many leading segregationists.

But regardless of your views on segregation, you can't help but leap a little sideways when you hear Mr. Williams quoted by United Press as saying this sort of thing:

FRONT MOVEMENT

"The Communist agitator has been most proficient in getting the Christian minister, and to a lesser extent our educators, to affiliate with front movements. The noble principles of these groups have made them easy prey for the Communists and other unscrupulous groups. . . . I'd like to see some sort of legislation enacted based on our investigations whereby subversive influences could be removed from our educational institutions."

Eugene Patterson is executive editor of The Atlanta Journal-Constitution.

Now, ordinarily when a solitary David squares off with a Goliath the size of Georgia's combined preachers and teachers, you'd give him A-plus for pep. But you can't say much for his firepower when he hasn't got a rock in his slingshot.

It'll take a lot of talking to convince Georgians that their teachers as a class aren't loyal and well-educated folks who generally do right, regardless of which fellow mistakes them for easy prey.

The chief danger I see in Mr. Williams' charge is that some teacher the size of the ones they used to grow in south Georgia will paddle him for talking smart.

THE BOOK

As for preachers, Mr. Williams is apt to get the Book thrown at him.

If the noble principles of Christianity make a man easy prey for the Communists, then the hoot owls of Georgia whistle bob-white and hogs hate watermelon.

To put it another way, my 4-year-old daughter has a game in which she locks the fingers of her hands together, with the two little forefingers sticking up, and then suddenly turns them over, saying:

"There's the church
"And there's the steeple.
"Open the church
"And there's the people."

Come on in the house, T. V.

Atlanta Constitution

Would-Be Wire Tappers Should Try Hearing Aid

10-31-57

So the secretary of the Georgia Education Commission would buy electronic equipment suitable for wire tapping?

Well, his requisition makes one important omission. He should have asked for a hearing aid.

In fact, without even an audio booster, he might learn that public opinion does not sustain Gestapo activities. Nor is the public enthusiastic about spending tax money for some of the far-fetched "educational" propaganda the Georgia Education Commission has been buying.

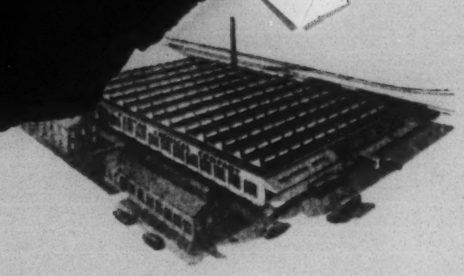
We don't believe the government and its efficient security agency, the FBI, would permit any "Communist meeting" at the Highlander Folk School in Tennessee as the commission's gum-shoe agents maintain.

According to reports, anyone who was willing to pay the registration fee could get in at the Highlander School, make photographs, or attend the dance. That isn't in the Commie pattern.

The Highlander School has long had a reputation as a haven for somewhat silly and extreme left-wingers and pseudo-liberals of the naive or stupid variety.

But if any Communist school was held, as the commission claims, it is a matter for the FBI and not for any amateur wire tappers or bush-league secret police.

* * *



Puritan Chemical Company

916-932 ASHBY ST., N. W. • ATLANTA, GEORGIA • VERNON 0721

December 5, 1957

Mr. Art Levin
41 Exchange Place
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Art:

I am attaching another copy of the Southern States Industrial Council Bulletin, and with it a bulletin that is even more disturbing, so far as I am concerned, titled, "Firing Line", which is apparently published by the American Legion. Talk about reactionary outfits - the next thing I know they will claim that the Southern Regional Council is communistic! If it is, I have been fooled for the past ten years. It's true that I don't go to many meetings, but I read "The New South" like a hawk. As a lawyer, I have been trained to read carefully, though rapidly, and believe me - there is nothing communistic about "The New South". It represents a truly constitutional approach to civil rights and freedom, the whole reason for establishing the colonies and for establishing our nation. If the Southern Regional Council is communistic, I would definitely state that it is all on an underground basis!

I might add: if Ralph McGill is a communist, I will start eating your hat!

I will appreciate your comments, if any.

Sincerely,

W. H. Frey

WHF:mq

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CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM

FROM: John Constable

TO: Harold Fleming

RE: MEETING OF GEORGIA COMMISSION ON EDUCATION MEETING OF January 10, 1958.

I attended the meeting of the Georgia Commission on Education after ascertaining from T. V. Williams, Jr., over the telephone that the meeting was open to the press and to the public.

OFFICIAL ACTION OF COMMISSION

1. Passed a resolution asking the Georgia Legislature to repeal the state's compulsory school attendance law.

2. Authorized T. V. Williams, Jr., to mail copies of the Highlander Folk School publicity to all box-holders in Georgia.

3. Authorized T. V. Williams, Jr., to reprint and distribute if he can secure permission, the Atlanta Constitution series on Highlander Folk School written by Jack Nelson.

4. Authorized T. V. Williams, Jr., to print and distribute pictures taken at a recent meeting of the Georgia Council of Churches.

5. Authorized the Commission's investigating committee to set up hearings with subpoena powers included. According to T. V. Williams, Jr., the committee did not have power to actually set up hearings prior to this action.

6. Authorized T. V. Williams, Jr., to purchase addressograph equipment and automatic typewriter.

GENERAL DISCUSSION OF NOTE

WIRETAPPING

Gov. Griffin said that no wiretapping equipment had been purchased; but if he deemed it necessary to protect Georgia from "these people" then he would purchase such equipment. He absolved the Commission of any responsibility for such equipment should it be purchased. He said the Georgia Bureau of Investigation has borrowed such equipment on occasions.

HIGHLANDER FOLK SCHOOL

Highlander came in for little discussion except concerning distribution of the folder concerning the Labor Day meeting. Gov. Griffin did say, however, that Highlander was in Tennessee and so they would have little to do with it. He added that he knew of no Georgia teachers connected with the organization; but if he heard of one, he would speak out against him.

The group had high praise for Jack Nelson's series on Highlander. The one woman present said it was "worse" than the material the Commission had printed.

GEORGIA COUNCIL OF CHURCHES

Pictures taken at an interracial meeting of the Georgia Council of Churches were passed around for commission members and others to view. Roy Harris suggested that some of these be published. Mrs. Stewart Colley was mentioned and pointed out to the woman member of the Commission. Several remarks were made concerning Episcopalians since the meeting took place in an Episcopal Church. Ministers who are integrationists were discussed and the woman member asked the Governor if ministers with these sentiments were not in the minority. Governor Griffin said he was not so sure. Roy Harris: "But they won't stand up and be counted."

ED FRIEND

Governor Griffin said Ed Friend would be attending upcoming meetings of this type for the purpose of taking more pictures.

ATLANTA GENERAL ELECTION

Pictures were distributed which purportedly showed irregular voting procedure by Negroes. No purpose for these pictures were discussed except Gov. Griffin said he might save those for (Sen.) Paul Douglas. Roy Harris said Atlanta had gone to Hell anyway and the only thing to do was to protect the rest of the state.

ADVERTISEMENTS

Governor Griffin said the Commission had proposed placing advertisements concerning Georgia in other newspapers in Washington and the North. These were not to secure recruits but to let people know that the people of the Sovereign State of Georgia were determined to stand firm on the segregation matter. Some advertisements were prepared for Washington papers and submitted to the two Georgia senators for advice. When the two senators were doubtful as to the value of such advertisements during the civil rights debate, which had already passed the House of Representatives, the advertisements were abandoned.

DAVID BEN GURION AND JEWS

Governor Griffin read a statement given to him by a friend of Sen. James Eastland of Mississippi. The statement, purportedly by David Ben Gurion of Israel, was interpreted by the Governor as saying that the Jewish people only wanted to associate with each other and did not want anything to do with other peoples. Governor Griffin said it was originally planned to run an advertisement of this statement in the New York Times. The idea, according to the Governor, would be to tell the Jews, many of whom were pushing integration, that the Caucasian race in Georgia only wants the same right to associate with their own kind. The advertisement idea was dropped. He didn't say why, but he did disclaim any intention of disrespect to the Jewish people. Oddly enough, this was the only portion of the meeting completely off the record. Roy Harris said he would like to have this for the Augusta Courier. When a newsman asked him if he meant off the record, he replied, "No, on the record."

SOUTHERN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE AND THE NAACP

These groups were NOT referred to by name, but Roy Harris said that a Negro friend of his sat in on recent Atlanta meeting of the "two largest groups" and came back and reported what went on at the meeting. Harris said the Negro told him that the Negroes in Georgia were not going to do anything because leaders at the two meeting had said that the Governor (meaning Griffin) was crazy and it was no telling what he would do.

January 15, 1958

Dr. Alonzo G. Moron
President
Hampton Institute
Hampton, Virginia

Dear Dr. Moron:

Thank you for your very welcome letter of January 9 conveying your acceptance of re-election to the Council. I know the officers and other members will be as pleased as the staff is.

I was also glad to have the full text of your remarks on the disgraceful smear sheet circulated by the Georgia Education Commission and publicized by a number of newspapers. Your speech is an eloquent and forceful reply which we can use to good effect in our continuing efforts to counter the Commission's false propaganda.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

RECEIVED JAN 13 1958

HAMPTON INSTITUTE
HAMPTON, VIRGINIA

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

January 9, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

My dear Mr. Fleming:

Many thanks for your letter of November 19 advising that I was re-elected to the governing body of the Southern Regional Council for a second four-year term. I am very happy to accept, and I hope that I can be more useful in the future than I have been in the past.

I am enclosing a copy of a statement which I made in answer to charges made by the Georgia Commission on Education. You may use it in any way you find useful.

With best wishes, I remain

Very truly yours,

Alonzo G. Moron

Alonzo G. Moron

b

Signed in absence of President

MEMBER UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND

RECEIVED JAN 13 1958

HAMPTON INSTITUTE
HAMPTON, VIRGINIA

FOR RELEASE

Text of address by Dr. Alonzo G. Moron, President of Hampton Institute, Hampton, Virginia, delivered at the Sunday evening Vesper Service on the College campus, October 27, 1957.

When I arranged with Dr. Bodein several weeks ago to speak to you tonight, it was my intention to describe for you some of the things that I do as President of Hampton Institute while away from the campus. At the time I had no idea that one of these commissions would develop into a newspaper incident and a despicable attempt to connect me with Communists; and so instead of speaking to you tonight in general terms I would like to address myself to the questions raised by the headlines in the story carried in the Times Herald on October 24. It is altogether fitting that I make this reply from this platform and to the Hampton Institute community, because there would be no reason for the interest shown in my activities by the Georgia Commission on Education or by the Times Herald if I were not identified as the President of Hampton Institute. At this point I would like to express my deep gratitude and sincere thanks to those who have expressed their indignation at the publication of the story. To our Faculty I should like to say how heart-warming it was to read your statement in today's paper. I shall always strive to be worthy of your confidence and of your respect.

On January 12, 1957 I received an invitation from the Highlander Folk School to participate in a Twenty-Fifth Anniversary Seminar to be held over Labor Day weekend, designed to identify and analyze the major problems confronting the South today and to examine methods for dealing with these problems. The letter of invitation was signed by Myles Horton, Director of the Highlander Folk School, and by Septima P. Clark, Workshop Director. During the years I

lived in Atlanta I had become familiar with the good work the Highlander Folk School had done to raise the standard of living of the white people of the Cumberland Mountains; I knew how they had helped those people to learn simple things like reading and writing, and to organize in unions to improve their working and living conditions. I knew also it was only recently that Negroes had been admitted to workshops and seminars at Monteagle and that, to an increasing extent, the School had become active in the area of Race Relations. I had never met Myles Horton before, but he had been spoken well of by people whom I respect and of whose loyalty to our Government I have no question. Miss Septima Clark, who also signed the invitation, is a graduate of Hampton Institute, and I was very pleased that she had joined Mr. Horton in extending the invitation. I saw this invitation as an opportunity to meet for the first time since the Supreme Court decision in the Deep South with men and women, Negroes and whites, who were concerned with improving conditions of life and living for all people in the South. I saw it as an opportunity to help guide more people towards a Christian and democratic solution of the problems that embarrass the United States in its attempt to fulfill adequately the task of world leadership to which it fell heir after World War II.

The Seminar itself was given wide publicity before it occurred, during the three days it was being held, and at its conclusion. The New York Times of Sunday, July 7, 1957, carried a story announcing the Seminar and listing my name among the persons scheduled to participate.

The remarks that I made at the Seminar were reported by the Associated Press and were published in the Memphis Commercial Appeal, the Nashville Banner, and the Chattanooga Times. Our clipping service did not provide us with the clippings from any Virginia paper, so I do not know whether or not a story was carried here in Virginia. It is most surprising then that nearly two months later the fact

(MORE)

that this Seminar was held, and I was a participant becomes the subject of a controversy in our local press.

I read the Thursday story very carefully to see if the references to me were libelous, for I would consider any printed charge that I was a Communist as libelous and I stand ready to call into court any person who makes such an accusation, with full faith and confidence that no such charge can be substantiated. I was saddened, however, by the fact that although no such specific charge was made, a reputable paper, published in a community to which Hampton Institute has given so much, should become a party to disseminating information that implies guilt by association, and which on its face makes clear that the persons involved have had no opportunity to be informed of the accusation, much less to be confronted with the accuser. To date I have received no communication from the Georgia Commission on Education advising that I was the subject of their investigation and hearings held on October 4, 1957. I can think of nothing which resembles more directly the tactics of the Communist Party than this maligning of character and this disregard for due process, for elementary decency and fairness, as the shocking action of the Georgia Commission on Education. It is most disheartening that the publication of this poison could take place in the state that gave us the authors of the Bill of Rights which embellishes our Constitution and guarantees civil liberties to all citizens of the United States. It is almost inconceivable that in this same state that through the years has produced great newspaper men, including Virginius Dabney of the Richmond Times Dispatch and the distinguished president of the American Society of Newspaper Editors, that the responsibilities that undergird freedom of the press should be so lightly regarded.

I am reassured, however, by the many people who have indicated that they deplore this kind of character assassination that this is an aberration which will not be repeated. I am confident that there are enough people who have pride in

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Virginia's potential for wise leadership that this attempt to impose upon Virginia the unethical practices and un-American standards of Georgia will be recognized and rejected out of hand. If this country is to be infected with the totalitarian poison that seems to be flowing into Arkansas, into Tennessee, and now into Virginia from the demagogues in Georgia, then we are in for a kind of democracy in which freedom to speak, freedom to think, and freedom to believe will have no place; and the difference between what exists in Russia today and what we now enjoy in the United States will be obliterated.

I believe in the democratic process. I believe in the vitality of the Christian religion. I believe in the dignity of man. These beliefs are inconsistent with the totalitarianism of Russia and Georgia and with the atheism of the Kremlin and the Georgia Commission on Education. During the eight years I lived in Georgia I spoke and acted against injustices, against discrimination, against segregation, against the use of political power to express personal prejudice. I intend to continue to do so wherever I am and as long as God gives me the strength and the courage to defend what I believe and what I think is right. I was not intimidated when I lived in Georgia by threats of loss of occupation, by threats of physical violence, or by threats of defamation of character. I don't intend to be intimidated now by any such threats, be they direct or indirect. As long as people are deprived of rights guaranteed to them by the Constitution of the United States—that deprivation which comes from politicians who thrive on fomenting racial strife, I will continue to lift my voice against such iniquitous and undemocratic practices.

I would like to close by saying to you what I said at Monteagle. I made three points. One was that recent evidence indicated that the conflict over integration was producing an exaggerated fear among the white people of the South and that in no period of our history have white people of liberal or even moderate

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views been subjected to more social and economic pressure to make them conform to the pattern set by those who would defy the law of the land, and those who have used social and economic boycotts illegally and even violence to quiet the voices of those who recognize that we can no longer live with our Constitution and not make it color blind. My second point was that at the same time this exaggerated fear--this intimidation--was spreading throughout the South, we were seeing expressions of new courage on the part of an increasing number of Negro men and women, of Negro boys and girls. I mentioned specifically Mrs. Rosa Parks and the courage she exhibited in Montgomery--the handful of public school teachers in South Carolina who like Septima Clark chose freedom instead of working as public school teachers in the state of South Carolina after they had been stripped of all human dignity by being forced to make a choice of renouncing their rights or holding on to their jobs. I mentioned the boys and girls in Clinton, Tennessee, who braved the mob to get an education worthy of its name; and I mentioned the courage, the fortitude, and the wise and Christian leadership of the Reverend Martin Luther King, who led the people of Montgomery, Negro and white, to a new pattern of Christian love and forbearance. And finally, I pointed out that the real basis of resistance to the implementation of the Supreme Court decision on public schools was not primarily the admission of a comparatively small number of Negroes to a handful of schools that used to be attended only by white students; nor that there was any honest belief, even by the most rabid segregationists, that coeducation of the races would lead to any significant increase in the crossing of racial strains, but that the real objection to public school integration was based on the realization that if discrimination and segregation were abolished in the public schools, all other forms of discrimination and segregation would come to be seen as even more ridiculous and

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unnecessary than they are now.

I closed my address at Monteagle with the hope that this period of stress and strain through which we are passing would hasten the day when we would live in the way that Christ would have us live as Children of God, made in His own image and obedient to His will.

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Communism

and the

NAACP

116 Ponce De Leon Court
Decatur, Georgia

March 13, 1958

The Georgia Commission on Education
220 Agricultural Building
19 Hunter Street, S.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

Please send me ten copies of your recent publication, "Communism and the NAACP."

Thanking you in advance, I am

Sincerely yours,

Emory F. Via

Fernbank Forest
849 Clifton Road, N.E.
Atlanta 7, Georgia

April 3, 1958

The Georgia Commission on Education
220 Agricultural Building
19 Hunter Street, S.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

I should be grateful if you would send me ten copies of your recently published pamphlet entitled "Communism and the NAACP".

Many thanks.

Sincerely yours,

Faith C. Lawson.

10 copies received 7th April 1958
Walt imprint of Georgia Commission on Education

Outlined in 1928—

Racial events in South following Red pattern

BY EDWIN STRICKLAND
News staff writer

In 1928 a self-avowed Communist spokesman wrote a pamphlet which he called "American Negro Problems."

The writer, John Pepper, with many aliases, drew a pattern of events today that are accurate to the point of being amazing.

Fourth of a series

After reading his pamphlet, one would be led to believe that he was either a man possessing clairvoyant powers, or that we have moved unerringly along the path long ago planned for the South by Lenin, Stalin and other leads.

In this pamphlet Pepper admitted, almost bitterly, that there was too much racial harmony in the South. He presented a blue print for ending this harmony.

PEPPER PRESENTED as a prelude to his pamphlet what he said were the principal demands for the oppressed Negro masses as embodied in the platform of the Workers (Communist) Party of America":

1. Abolition of the whole system of race discrimination. Full racial, political and social equality for the Negro race.

2. Abolition of laws which result in segregation of Negroes. Abolition of all Jim Crow laws. The law shall forbid all discrimination against Negroes in selling or renting houses.

3. Abolition of all laws which disfranchise the Negroes.

4. Abolition of all laws forbidding intermarriage of persons of different races.

5. Abolition of all laws and public administration measures which prohibit, or in practice prevent, Negro children or youth from attending general public schools or universities.

6. Full and equal admittance of Negroes to all railway station waiting rooms, restaurants, hotels and theaters.

7. Federal law against lynching and the protection of the Negro masses in their right of self-defense.

Turn to Page 2, Column 1

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

M. G. LOWMAN
To Be Interviewed on WCMW

Red Clergymen Authority Will Be on Air Here

One of the leading authorities on alleged Communist infiltration into American churches, M. G. Lowman, will be interviewed at 10:30 a.m. Thursday over WCMW by Ray W. Hambleton and I. G. Harman on the "Keep America Free" program.

Lowman, executive secretary of Curcuit Riders, Inc., an independent national group of Methodists, has appeared on radio forums and addressed service clubs, civic organizations, religious groups, college assemblies and patriotic societies in various sections of the United States.

While in Canton, he will meet with, consult and advise local Protestant laymen concerning the attempts of the Communists to infiltrate the churches, and will discuss with them effective methods of combating such designs.

Lowman asserts that no stigma is attached to the American clergy because of overt acts of a few, any more than a stigma was attached to the 11 disciples because Judas betrayed Jesus.

Lowman, a Cincinnatian, is active in his city's civic and public affairs including projects for the physically handicapped, religious organizations and college youth. He has collaborated with various security agencies and investigating committees of the government and earlier this month appeared as a witness before the Ohio State Un-American Activities Commission.

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CHARLES SPURGEON JOHNSON

A Bibliography

FISK UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

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of the Library and issued on the occasion of
Dr. Johnson's inauguration as president
of Fisk University
November 7, 1947

Nashville 8, Tennessee

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Who's Who in America, 1946-47. Chicago: A. N. Marquis, 1947. Pp. 1211-12.

U.S. Bias Ban Just a Sham, Moscow Says

JUN 22 1954

POST

Moscow, June 23 (UP)—The Soviet government newspaper Izvestia charged today the United States Supreme Court decision against segregation in public schools was made "for purely propaganda purposes."

The comment labeled the decision a "demagogic gesture designed for export as well as for influing American public opinion." It ridiculed the term "historic victory of democracy" applied to the decision by "certain American bourgeois newspapers."

In a dispatch signed by S. Kondrashov, Izvestia attacked President Eisenhower for "replying negatively in his press conference to whether he could advise the Southern states how to react to the decision."

"Thus behind the [illegible] of non-interference, which itself is sufficiently illuminating, [illegible] to racial discrimination is concealed," the story said.

The newspaper did not mention that the Supreme Court decision was unanimous. It also omitted the May 17 date of the court's ruling and did not quote the opinion.

Evasion Forecast

Izvestia said "even if the Supreme Court decision to end racial segregation in public schools in the South is implemented, everything will stay the same old way.

". . . The powerful American circles will find thousands of loopholes, thousands of ways, starting with legislation and ending with direct terror, in order to preserve segregation inviolate," it added.

The newspaper said the "small practical value of the decision" is evident in "the reservations made by the Supreme Court," including postponement of action to carry out the decision.

"It finally should be noted that the Supreme Court decision will affect only a narrow sphere of Negro discrimination," Izvestia said.

"Discrimination against Negro children in private schools remains inviolable and the main thing is that discrimination against the adult Negro population in industry, agriculture, all kinds of transport, job-seeking and every day life continues."

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Jour - Amer.

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

386 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 16, N. Y. *Cable Address,* "WISHCOM, NEW YORK"

Telephone MURRAY HILL 5-0181

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January 4, 1955

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Harold:

Enclosed, find a photostat of the November 15 issue of the Firing Line, published by the Americanism Commission of the American Legion. I draw your attention to the last paragraph on page 125, in which mention is made of the forthcoming issue of the Firing Line which will deal with SRC.

I have made discreet inquiry and learn -- as I expected to learn -- that there is no possible way to change the Legion's mind in connection with this item, but if it is any consolation to you, you should know that the Firing Line (published bi-weekly) has a small circulation (perhaps 3,000), and is given even less attention. About a year ago, Antioch College was attacked bitterly by the Firing Line, and a month after the publication of that issue, the officials of the College had not yet heard of the attack nor had they felt any of its repercussions. I suspect (unless conditions in the South are different) that if I had not drawn your attention to this item, you might not have heard of its existence.

Therefore, may I suggest to you that you do nothing about counteracting it unless and until some use of the item is made in some harmful fashion.

My warm regards.

Cordially,

Ed

Edwin J. Lukas

EJL:ig
cc: W. H. Ferry

49th Annual Meeting, Jan. 27-29, 1956
Hotel Commodore, New York City

148-2-55

Hearst Journal American

Crim. Cat - SRC Rel. Wayne Mat

BOARD MEMBERS OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

NAMED IN HEARST JOURNAL-AMERICAN STORY OF NOVEMBER 8, 1955

GEORGE S. MITCHELL, Executive Director, Southern Regional Council; B. A., University of Richmond; Ph. D., Johns Hopkins University; Rhodes Scholar, Oxford University; formerly instructor, Economics, Columbia University; Special Assistant, Office of Secretary of the Interior; Assistant Administrator Farm Security Administration, United States Department of Agriculture; member American Economics Association, Kappa Alphi, Phi Beta Kappa; recipient of Catholic Committee of the South's Annual Award, 1953.

DR. RUFUS E. CLEMENT, President of Atlanta University; member of Atlanta Board of Education, Advisory Committee of the United States Office of Education Survey on Higher Education of Negroes, NEA Committee on international relations.

REV. A. S. TURNIPSEED, District Superintendent, Mobile District of the Methodist Church; former member Conference Board of Missions and Church Extension; member and past President, Alabama Advisory Education Council.

PAUL R. CHRISTOPHER, Regional Director, AFL-CIO, Knoxville, Tennessee; served as Labor Advisor to National War Labor Board, War Production Board, War Manpower Commission, and United States Department of Labor; appointed by Governor Frank Clement to membership on State Citizens Advisory Committee to Tennessee Department of Public Welfare.

DR. RUFUS B. ATWOOD, President, Kentucky State College, Frankfort, Kentucky; former president Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools for Negroes; decorated for gallantry in World War I.

DR. B. R. BRAZEAL, Academic Dean and Professor of Economics, Morehouse College, Atlanta, Georgia; member of National Association of Collegiate Deans and Registrars, Southern Sociological Society, American Economics Association, and many other professional societies.

REV. W. C. BROOKE, Rector, Trinity Episcopal Church, Staunton, Virginia; Chairman, Department of Christian Social Relations of the Virginia Council of Churches; President, Virginia Council on Human Relations.

THE REV. GEORGE E. CLARY, Executive Secretary, Southeastern Jurisdictional Conference of the Methodist Church; Program Director, Junaluska Assembly; honorary doctorate, Emory University, 1954.

THE RIGHT REV. CHARLES CLINGMAN (Ret) Episcopal Bishop, Diocese of Kentucky; Trustee, University of the South, and Virginia Theological Seminary.

HERBERT M. DAVIDSON, Editor and Publisher, Daytona Beach News-Journal; Executive Committee member, Florida Council on Human Relations.

DR. J. M. ELLISON, Chancellor, Virginia Union University, Richmond, Virginia; formerly professor of Religious Education at Howard University; Department Chairman, Virginia Council of Churches.

REV. ALBERT D'ORLANDO, Unitarian minister, New Orleans; past chairman, Louisiana Council on Human Relations.

DR. CHARLES G. GOMILLION, Dean of Students, Tuskegee Institute, Alabama; Social Economist of the Survey of Higher Education of Negroes, United States Office of Education, 1940; Trustee Paine College, Augusta, Georgia.

DR. CHARLES S. JOHNSON, President, Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee; LittD, Columbia University, 1947; LL D, Harvard University, 1948 and University of Glasgow, 1952; appointed by State Department as American member of International Commission of the League of Nations, 1930; Secretary, Commission on Negro Housing for President Hoover's Conference on Home Building and Home Ownership; member of the American Educational Mission to Japan at request of General Douglas MacArthur; member of the Executive Committee of the United States National Committee for UNESCO; member of the President's Board of Foreign Scholarships under the Fulbright Act; past president of the Southern Sociological Society; delegate to the Assembly of the World Council of Churches, 1948.

DR. RALPH O'HARA LANIER, past President, Texas State University for Negroes; formerly acting president, Hampton Institute, Virginia; Special Assistant, Bureau of Services, UNRRA; formerly Minister to Liberia.

DR. BENJAMIN E. MAYS, President, Morehouse College, Atlanta, Georgia; honorary degree from Boston University, Howard University, Bucknell University, and other institutions of higher learning; formerly Dean of the School of Religion at Howard University; board member of the National YMCA; board member and past vice-president of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in America; past member of the Central Committee, World Council of Churches; Trustee, National Fund for Medical Education.

MISS FLORENCE S. SYTZ, Professor, School of Social Work, Tulane University, New Orleans.

JUDGE L. E. THOMAS, Associate Municipal Judge, Miami, Florida (The first Negro in the South to hold this position); member Judicature Society, Committee on National Legislation of the National Bar Association.

DR. H. COUNCILL TRENHOLM, President, Alabama State College, Montgomery, Alabama; Executive Committee member, Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools for Negroes; past president, American Teacher's Association, and Alabama State Teacher's Association.

CARTER WESLEY, Publisher, The Informer Newspaper, Houston, Texas; Doctor of Jurisprudence, Northwestern University; member National Bar Association, and National Negro Publishers Association.

MISS JOSEPHINE WILKINS, former Administrator, Citizen's Fact Finding Movement of Georgia, and past president, Georgia League of Women Voters, Atlanta.

Chairman General

November 10, 1955

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: HCF

FROM: GSM

There was talk at the Board meeting yesterday afternoon about getting around to our state offices something that they called directives on how to counter the attacks on SRC.

GSM

eab/

Journal-Am.

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.
60 EAST 42ND STREET
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.
MURRAY HILL 2-1250

November 10, 1955

The Editor
New York Journal-American
220 South Street
New York, N. Y.

Dear Sir:

The story by your reporters Racht and Roche in the Journal-American of November 8 on the press conference held by The Fund for the Republic carried flagrant misquotations. I would appreciate a correction of the most flagrant of these reports.

Your reporter asked Mr. Hutchins what he would do if certain directors of the Southern Regional Council could be proved to be "pro-Communist." His story quoted Mr. Hutchins as saying that he would recommend to the Board of the Fund that "they turn over the entire balance of the Fund to them."

What was actually said was stated accurately in The New York Times. This was that if any person could prove these people were "pro-Communists," he would recommend that that person receive the balance of the Fund's money.

Under the circumstances I am compelled to believe that this remark was deliberately misquoted: (1) the Journal-American had not one but two reporters present during the entire conference; (2) the Times, with one reporter present, was able to state the answers accurately; (3) the statement was made directly to your reporter Racht, who had asked the question. About 30 people were present who would be able to verify the accuracy of The Times report and the inaccuracy of the Journal-American.

I am sending a copy of this letter to Fulton Lewis, Jr. who read this misquotation over the radio.

The Journal-American, in the interest of fair and accurate reporting, will of course want to publish this letter.

Yours very truly,

W. H. Ferry
Vice-President

WHF/da

cc: Mr. Wm. R. Hearst, Jr.
Mr. Seymour Berkson
Mr. Fulton Lewis, Jr.

Mr. Mitchell

W. H. FERRY

Journal Am. 11/11

Dear Geo:

NOV 14 1955

Don't let them get you down.

Regards from all here.

Ray

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.
60 EAST 42ND STREET
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.
MURRAY HILL 2-1250

November 10, 1955

Mr. Seymour Berkson
New York Journal American
220 South Street
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Berkson:

I fear that we will never be able to get together on a definition of "fair and accurate." You told me that the aim of the Journal-American under your guidance would be to see that the paper merited these adjectives. You said also you were taking particular care that the series on The Fund for the Republic would come up to these specifications.

What I take to be the opening story in this series, the one that dealt with the Southern Regional Council, cannot by any standard be considered either accurate or fair. The subsequent story on the Southern Regional Council similarly failed to present anything approaching an honest picture of this thoroughly reputable organization.

Of even more interest to you may be the attached memorandum. Following our conversation I caused this research to be done. The memorandum shows that, at least up to now, the Journal-American has not had the slightest interest in presenting news supplied by the Fund about its activities. The stories ignored by the Journal-American in many cases appeared on the front pages of other New York papers.

I enclose also a letter to the Editor of the Journal-American on a recent instance of inaccurate and unfair reporting.

The Fund, as you know, is dedicated to the preservation of the Bill of Rights. Our program will continue to be guided by a belief in these principles, and not by fear.

Sincerely,

W. H. Ferry
Vice-President

WHF/da
Enclosures

Journal-American

J. Waties Waring
U. S. District Judge (Retired.)
952 Fifth Avenue
New York 21, N.Y.

November 14, 1955

Dear MAW:

Just received yrs of 12th. I phoned the Amer. Civil liberties Union and talked with Alan Reitman. He remembered that the Journal-American had made an attack but did not think it was on front page. I gave him your address and he will send you direct the article. He says the Fulton Lewis matter will take longer -- probably a week. He has to communicate with the Washington office of ACLU and get them to ask for and send the script. So the wheels are turning. I have just seen the attack. I am disposed to take no notice of such. The Witch Hunters are looking for opportunities and if you defend it will call for another attack. Let sick dogs die.

Delighted that you were re-elected President.

Regards,

(Signed) JWW.

FILE COPY

COPY

Information re Andrew S. Turnipseed:

b. Camden, Ala., June 29, 1911; s. Selman U. and Minnie Elizabeth (Townsend) Turnipseed; A.B., Birmingham-Southern College, 1933; D.D., 1948; m. Martha Curry Owens, Nov. 9, 1935; children--Minnie Martha, Andrew Spencer. On trial, Ala. Ann. Conf. 1933, full connection, deacon, 1935, elder, 1937. Pastor, Coatopa, Ala. Circuit 1934; asso. pastor, Hyde Park Ch., Tampa, Fla., 1935; pastor, Geneva, Ala., 1936-37, Tuskegee, 1938-39, Panama City, Fla., 1940-41, Greenville, Ala., 1942-45, Dexter Ave., Ch., Montgomery, Ala. ~~since~~ 1946-54, District Supt., Mobile District since 1954. Mem. Bd. Conf. Claimants, 1937-44; Conf. Bd. Missions and Ch. Extension 1945-48; Bd. Dir. Methodist Children's Home, Selma, Ala., since 1942; Bd. Dirs. Wesley Foundation, U. of Ala. since 1948; Pres. Bd. of Temperance, Alabama Conference 1952-55; Alabama Temperance Alliance Exec. Com since 1946 - Pres. 1953-54; Exec. Com. So. Regional Council 1950; Ala. Advisory Edn. Council since 1947, Pres. 1952-53; Co-author, "Making Methodism Methodist, 1947; Dir. of Home for the Aged since 1947; Contbr., weekly column Montgomery (Ala.) Examiner. Home: 251 Island Court, Mobile, Alabama.

Nov. 14, 1955

The above information is taken from Who's Who in Methodism, 1952 with added items of interest which have occurred since 1952.

It might be of interest that my father was a Methodist Minister and that all the families in my genealogy date backward in their American origin to pre-American Revolutionary days.

A. S. Turnipseed

A. S. Turnipseed

November 15, 1955

Mr. Carter Wesley
The Informer
P. O. Box 3086
Houston 3, Texas

Dear Mr. Wesley:

Thank you very much for sending us a copy of the statement that you gave to Bill Nunn of the Courrier and which was also carried in your own paper Thursday. We will appreciate your further comment in this weeks edition.

It is helpful to us here in the central office to know what is being said by our various board members and friends across the south. Harold Fleming, who is in charge of our Information Department, is handling the public relations aspect of the current attack on the Southern Regional Council. We had a very healthy Board Meeting at Tuskegee and were sorry that we were not benefited by your wisdom and counsel, but we understand how busy you are and that the meeting could not be made to fit in your schedule. Best personal regards.

Cordially,

F. B. Routh,
Assistant Director.

FBR:mf

Jour - Amer.

The INFORMER Group of Newspapers

FAIRFAX 8347

THE INFORMER · THE DALLAS EXPRESS · MEMBER A.B.C.

★

P.O. BOX 3086
2418 LEELAND
HOUSTON 3, TEXAS

November 12, 1955

Mr. F. B. Routh
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E. - Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Routh:

In confirmation of our telephone conversation of a day or so ago, I am sending you a copy of a statement I gave over the telephone to Bill Nunn of The Courier and also carried in my own paper here Thursday. I am making further comment for next week's edition and will ask my secretary to clip that comment out when the paper runs and send it to you.

My idea is that you should know what each of us is saying there in the home office, since the whole matter seems to revolve around the Southern Regional Council as much as it does the Fund for the Republic.

I, too, was sorry I could not get to Tuskegee, after I had figured and figured and planned on getting there, I found that I just could not make it fit in the schedule.

Please give my regards to all in the office who remember me.

Sincerely yours,

Carter Wesley

/d

Incl. 1

THE MARKET
• 2,800,000 PEOPLE
• PLENTY MONEY
• WILLING TO BUY
• AWAITING INVITATION

November 15, 1955

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: HCF

FROM: GSM

George MacMillan called from Aiken. Has been in conference with Paul Smith of Colliers. Smith's man Campbell. Kimball? Campbell has contracted with MacMillan for MacMillan, beginning January 1st, to cover and do a long piece on Talmadge-George campaign.

I discussed with MacMillan the attacks on us, and MacMillan said that maybe there ought to be a piece in the New York Times' maggie straightening people out. I hinted, but did not press, that MacMillan might write a piece somewhere.

MacMillan coming to Atlanta probably Tuesday or Wednesday, November 22nd or 23rd, and will discuss all items with us.

eab/

Jour-Amer File

The INFORMER Group of Newspapers

FAIRFAX 8347

THE INFORMER · THE DALLAS EXPRESS · MEMBER A.B.C.

★

P.O. BOX 3086
2418 LEELAND
HOUSTON 3, TEXAS

November 15, 1955

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Acting Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E. - Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thanks for your memorandum of November 11, sending a copy of the article that appeared in the New York Journal-American of November 7. It was the first time I had seen a copy of what the paper and Fulton Lewis had said. I heard of it Thursday while I was in Dallas, by long distance from Bill Nunn of The Courier, and also from your Mr. Routh there.

I have sent a copy to the SRC office of what I published in response. I have no fear that they will prove any subversive relationships either on the Fund for the Republic or the Southern Regional Council. This is about the same type of attack that is being made on the NAACP and the Urban League.

Best wishes.

Very truly yours,

Carter Wesley

Carter Wesley

/d

THE MARKET
• 2,800,000 PEOPLE
• PLENTY MONEY
• WILLING TO BUY
• AWAITING INVITATION

November 15, 1955

Mr. Frank Starzel, General Manager
The Associated Press
50 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Starzel:

We were astonished to find in the Chattanooga News Free Press of November 9 a story datelined AP, New York, and headlined "White Negro Study Unit Charged Pro-Red Taint; Southern Regional Council Officials Held with Past Commie Affiliations."

It is a matter of concern to us that so reputable a news service as the Associated Press would send out a story of this nature. We regret that AP did not offer us an opportunity to be quoted in answer to these scurrilous charges.

The original story in the Journal American, as you may know, was prompted by that newspaper's zeal to discredit the Fund for the Republic by attacking any and all recipients of Fund grants. Characteristically, this story was journalistically inexcusable and very probably libelous. Also characteristically, the Journal American's allegations were ignored by the responsible press -- with the startling exception of the AP story referred to.

This exception would be less notable if the Southern Regional Council were an obscure and disreputable organization. On the contrary, however, the Council is a well established and widely regarded agency. Its incorporators included Bishop Arthur J. Moore of The Methodist Church, Mr. Ralph McGill of the Atlanta Constitution, and the late Professor Howard W. Odum of the University of North Carolina. Its present and past board members include such prominent Southern editors as Hodding Carter, Alfred Wynders, Virginius Dabney, and Jonathan Daniels. It has had support and endorsement from major religious bodies in the region, Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish.

I might add that the Council has been, and is, a much-used source of authoritative information for the press-including AP, UP, the New York Times, Christian Science Monitor, Time, Newsweek, as well as Southern papers. On many occasions we have made our files and informational materials available to the Atlanta Bureau of AP and AP Newsfeatures writers.

The AP report did omit the names of the 21 individuals defamed. But this cautious procedure served only to becloud the reputations of all 80 members of the Council's board, and to withhold from the Public the prominence and reputability of those attacked. The Journal American, of course, listed only their names, carefully suppressing identification by position and place of residence. So that you may judge the significance of this omission, attached is a list of these board members including their principal identifications.

We are sure that it was not AP's intention to damage the reputations of a constructive organization and the outstanding Southerners who make up its board. This letter is written in the hope that it may help prevent similar errors in the future.

Sincerely yours,

George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director,
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL.

GSM:mf

cc: Alfred Mynders
Hodding Carter
Ralph McGill
Herbert Davidson
Clarence Hughes
M. A. Wright

Dr. Rufus E. Clement, President of Atlanta University, member of Atlanta Board of Education.

Rev. A. S. Turnipseed, Methodist Clergyman, Mobile, Alabama.

Paul R. Christopher, ~~CIO official~~ Reg. Dir. AFL-CIO, Knoxville, Tenn.

Dr. Rufus E. Atwood, President, Kentucky State College, Frankfort.

Dr. B. E. Brassel, Dean of Morehouse College, Atlanta.

Rev. W. C. Brooks, Episcopal Clergyman, Staunton, Virginia.

Rev. George E. Clary, Executive Secretary, Southeastern Jurisdictional Council of the Methodist Church, Atlanta.

The Right Rev. Charles Clingman, (Ret.) ~~(Representing Episcopalians)~~, Bishop, Louisville, Kentucky.

Herbert H. Davidson, editor, Daytona Beach News Journal.

Dr. J. M. Ellison, ~~Vice~~ Chancellor, Virginia Union University, Richmond, Virginia.

Rev. Albert D'Orlando, Unitarian minister, New Orleans.

Dr. Charles G. Gomillion, Dean, Tuskegee Institute, Alabama.

Dr. Charles S. Johnson, President, Fisk University, Nashville.

Dr. Ralph O'Hara Lanier, former President, Texas Southern University, Praire View.

Miss Florence S. Syts, Professor, School of Social Work, Tulane University, New Orleans.

Judge L. E. Thomas, Associate Municipal Judge, Miami, * [Master of Jurisprudence, U of Mich.]

Dr. M. Councill Trenholm, President, Alabama State College, Montgomery.

Carter Wesley, Publisher, The Informer Newspapers, Houston.

Josephine Wilkins, former Administrator, Citizen's Fact Finding Movement of Georgia, and past president, Georgia League of Women Voters, Atlanta

Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, President, Morehouse College, Atlanta.

Dr George S. Mitchell, Exec Dir, S-R-C-; economist; former Asst. Administrator, Farm Security Administration; 1953 honoree of Catholic Committee of the South.

* The first Negro in the South to hold this position.

Dr. Rufus E. Clement, President of Atlanta University, member of Atlanta Board of Education.

Rev. A. S. Turnipseed, Methodist Clergyman, Mobile, Alabama

Paul R. Christopher, Regional Director, AFL-CIO, Knoxville, Tennessee.

Dr. Rufus B. Atwood, President, Kentucky State College, Frankfort.

Dr. B. R. Brazeal, Dean of Morehouse College, Atlanta.

Rev. W. C. Brooks, Episcopal Clergyman, Staunton, Virginia.

Rev. George E. Clary, Executive Secretary, Southeastern Jurisdictional Council of the Methodist Church, Atlanta.

The Right Rev. Charles Clingman, (Ret.) Episcopalian Bishop, Louisville.

Herbert M. Davidson, editor, Daytona Beach News Journal.

Dr. J. M. Ellison, Chancellor Virginia Union University, Richmond, Virginia.

Rev. Albert D'Orlando, Unitarian minister, New Orleans.

Dr. Charles G. Gomillion, Dean, Tuskegee Institute, Alabama.

Dr. Charles S. Johnson, President, Fisk University, Nashville.

Dr. Ralph O'Hara Lanier, former President, Texas Southern University, Praire View.

Miss Florence S. Sytz, Professor, School of Social Work, Tulane University, New Orleans.

Judge L. E. Thomas, Associate Municipal Judge, Miami. (The first Negro in the South to hold this position.)

Dr. H. Councill Trenholm, President, Alabama State College, Montgomery.

Carter Wesley, Publisher, The Informer Newspapers, Houston.

Josephine Wilkins, former Administrator, Citizen's Fact Finding Movement of Georgia, and past president, Georgia League of Women Voters, Atlanta.

Dr. Benjamin L. Mays, President, Morehouse College, Atlanta.

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director, Southern Regional Council; economist; former Assistant Administrator, Farm Security Administration; 1953 honoree of Catholic Committee of the South.

Journal-Am.

WALTER P. REUTHER
PRESIDENT

JOHN V. RIFFE
EXECUTIVE VICE-PRESIDENT

JAMES B. CAREY
SECRETARY-TREASURER

Congress of Industrial Organizations

CIO

REGION 4
PAUL R. CHRISTOPHER
DIRECTOR

TENNESSEE, KENTUCKY
NORTH CAROLINA, VIRGINIA

TELEPHONE: 2-6780
TELETYPEWRITER KX 89
216 FLATIRON BUILDING
705 BROADWAY, N. E.
KNOXVILLE 17, TENNESSEE

ERNEST B. PUGH
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
102 N. BELVIDERE STREET
RICHMOND 20, VIRGINIA

PHONE: 3-4770

November 18, 1955

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Rm. 432
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Harold:

Thanks for your Memorandum of November 11 to SRC Board Members, together with a typewritten copy of a newspaper article which appeared in the New York Journal American, November 7, 1955, which was purportedly written by Leon Racht and Jeffrey Roche.

Mr. Wright and Drs. Clement and Mitchell constitute an excellent committee to explore the possibilities of countering this attack and legal action would suit me fine. I think it is about time we start suing these character assassins in the courts.

Sincerely yours,

Paul

Paul R. Christopher
Regional Director, Region IV

PRC:llr
liu 1695 cio

THE ASSOCIATED PRESS
GENERAL OFFICE
50 ROCKEFELLER PLAZA
NEW YORK 20, N. Y.

NOV 21 1955

November 18, 1955

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Please let me acknowledge receipt of yours of November 15 as Mr. Starzel and other executives here are attending the meeting of The Associated Press Managing Editors Association in Colorado Springs.

There is no lack of appreciation here of the purpose or the integrity of the Southern Regional Council, Inc. If you would permit me to state the specific circumstances of the subject at hand, perhaps it would cause you to take a different view of the part we had in the situation.

The dispatch was not distributed on the news wires of The Associated Press. It was sent individually by overhead telegraph to the associate editor of the Chattanooga News Free Press, at the specific request of that newspaper. The News Free Press requested the story from the New York Journal American and the dispatch that was sent quoted and attributed this story to the Journal American throughout. As you know, this type of special service is provided regularly to members of The Associated Press so desiring it at their expense.

The story included a statement by Mr. Hutchins, which upheld the Southern Regional Council. After providing this story in the form requested, it becomes a matter for the member to publish it locally in such form as it sees fit. If the dispatch had been carried in our general service, comment would have been sought from the Council.

Trusting this will be helpful in your understanding of what occurred, I am

Sincerely,

Lloyd Stratton

Mr. George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

LLOYD STRATTON
ASSISTANT GENERAL MANAGER

THE ASSOCIATED PRESS
GENERAL OFFICE
50 ROCKEFELLER PLAZA
NEW YORK 20, N. Y.

Copies:

Alfred Mynders
Hodding Carter
Ralph McGill
Herbert Davidson
Clarence Hughes
M. A. Wright

LLOYD STRATTON
ASSISTANT GENERAL MANAGER

November 18, 1955

Dr. B. R. Brazeal, Dean
Morehouse College
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Brazeal:

Here are two further documents on the story in the Hearst Journal-American.

The special committee set up by the Board Meeting of November 9 has met. Some further legal exploration will be made; and it is quite possible that a proposal will be made to the persons libeled for a concert of individual law suits against the Journal-American.

We would be grateful for your thinking over this matter. At the earliest practical momment we will give you the best available advice from this office. Meanwhile, two requests. (1) Please send us up to date and reasonably detailed biographical information about you. We need this just in our public relations. (2) Send us also, copies of any statements that you may have given to the press or to public officials on this matter.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director.

GSM:mf

Ecn.

November 18, 1955

Rev. W. C. Brooke:
Box 208
Staunton, Virginia

Dear Mr. Brooke:

Here are two further documents on the story in the Hearst Journal-American.

The special committee set up by the Board Meeting of November 9 has met. Some further legal exploration will be made; and it is quite possible that a proposal will be made to the persons libeled for a concert of individual law suits against the Journal-American.

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Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director.

GSM:mf

Enc.

November 18, 1955

Dr. Rufus B. Atwood, President
Kentucky State College
Frankfort, Kentucky

Dear Dr. Atwood:

Here are two further documents on the story in the Hearst Journal-American.

The special committee set up by the Board Meeting of November 9 has met. Some further legal exploration will be made; and it is quite possible that a proposal will be made to the persons libeled for a concert of individual law suits against the Journal-American.

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Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director.

GSM:mf

November 18, 1955

Mr. Paul R. Christopher
216 Flatiron Building
Knoxville, Tennessee
D
Dear Mr. Christopher:

Here are two further documents on the story in the Hearst Journal-American.

The special committee set up by the Board Meeting of November 9 has met. Some further legal exploration will be made; and it is quite possible that a proposal will be made to the persons libeled for a concert of individual law suits against the Journal-American.

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Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director.

GSM:mf

Enc.

November 18, 1955

Rev. A. S. Turnipseed
251 Island Court
Mobile, Alabama

Dear Mr. Turnipseed:

Here are two further documents on the story in the Hearst Journal-American.

The special committee set up by the Board Meeting of November 9 has met. Some further legal exploration will be made; and it is quite possible that a proposal will be made to the persons libeled for a concert of individual law suits against the Journal-American.

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Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director.

GSM:mf

Enc.

November 18, 1955

Dr. Benjamin L. Mays, President
Morehouse College
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mays:

Here are two further documents on the story in the Hearst Journal-American.

The special committee set up by the Board Meeting of November 9 has met. Some further legal exploration will be made; and it is quite possible that a proposal will be made to the persons libeled for a concert of individual law suits against the Journal-American.

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Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director.

GSM:mf

Enc.

November 18, 1955

Miss Josephine Wilkins
387 Milledge Av.
Athens, Georgia

Dear Miss Wilkins:

Here are two further documents on the story in the Hearst Journal-American.

The special committee set up by the Board Meeting of November 9 has met. Some further legal exploration will be made; and it is quite possible that a proposal will be made to the persons libeled for a concert of individual law suits against the Journal-American.

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Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director.

GSM:mf

Enc.

November 18, 1955

Mr. Carter Wesley
Box 3086
Houston, Texas

Dear Mr. Wesley:

Here are two further documents on the story in the Hearst Journal-American.

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Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director.

GSM:mf

Enc.

November 18, 1955

Dr. H. Councill Trenholm, President
Alabama State College
Montgomery, Ala.

Dear Dr. Trenholm:

Here are two further documents on the story in the Hearst Journal-American.

The special committee set up by the Board Meeting of November 9 has met. Some further legal exploration will be made; and it is quite possible that a proposal will be made to the persons libeled for a concert of individual law suits against the Journal-American.

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Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director.

GSM:mf

Enc.

November 18, 1955

Judge L. E. Thomas
1035 N. W. 2nd Av.
Miami, Florida

Dear Judge Thomas:

Here are two further documents on the story in the Hearst Journal-American.

The special committee set up by the Board Meeting of November 9 has met. Some further legal exploration will be made; and it is quite possible that a proposal will be made to the persons libeled for a concert of individual law suits against the Journal-American.

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Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director.

GSM:mf

Enc.

November 18, 1955

Miss Florence S. Sytz
School of Social Work
Tulane University
New Orleans, La.

Dear Miss Sytz:

Here are two further documents on the story in the Hearst Journal-American.

The special committee set up by the Board Meeting of November 9 has met. Some further legal exploration will be made; and it is quite possible that a proposal will be made to the persons libeled for a concert of individual law suits against the Journal-American.

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Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director.

GSM:mf

Enc.

November 18, 1955

Dr. Ralph O'Hara Lanier
Texas Southern University
Houston, Texas

Dear Dr. Lanier:

Here are two further documents on the story in the Hearst Journal-American.

The special committee set up by the Board Meeting of November 9 has met. Some further legal exploration will be made; and it is quite possible that a proposal will be made to the persons libeled for a concert of individual law suits against the Journal-American.

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Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director.

GSM:mf

Enc.

November 18, 1955

Dr. Charles S. Johnson, President
Fisk University
Nashville, Tenn.

Dear Dr. Johnson:

Here are two further documents on the story in the Hearst Journal-American.

The special committee set up by the Board Meeting of November 9 has met. Some further legal exploration will be made; and it is quite possible that a proposal will be made to the persons libeled for a concert of individual law suits against the Journal-American.

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Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director.

GSM:mf

Enc.

November 18, 1955

Dr. Charles G. Gomillion, Dean
Tuskegee Institute
Tuskegee Institute, Ala.

Dear Dr. Gomillion:

Here are two further documents on the story in the Hearst Journal-American.

The special committee set up by the Board Meeting of November 9 has met. Some further legal exploration will be made; and it is quite possible that a proposal will be made to the persons libeled for a concert of individual law suits against the Journal-American.

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Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director.

GSM:mf

Enc.

November 18, 1955

Rev. Albert D'Orlando
1806 Jefferson Av.
New Orleans, La.

Dear Mr. D'Orlando:

Here are two further documents on the story in the Hearst Journal-American.

The special committee set up by the Board Meeting of November 9 has met. Some further legal exploration will be made; and it is quite possible that a proposal will be made to the persons libeled for a concert of individual law suits against the Journal-American.

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Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director.

GSM:mf

Enc.

November 18, 1955

Dr. J. M. Ellison
The Virginia Union University
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Dr. Ellison:

Here are two further documents on the story in the Hearst Journal-American.

The special committee set up by the Board Meeting of November 9 has met. Some further legal exploration will be made; and it is quite possible that a proposal will be made to the persons libeled for a concert of individual law suits against the Journal-American.

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Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director.

GSM:mf

Enc.

November 18, 1955

Mr. Herbert M. Davidson, Editor
Daytona Beach News Journal
Daytona Beach, Florida

Dear Mr. Davidson:

Here are two further documents on the story in the Hearst Journal-American.

The special committee set up by the Board Meeting of November 9 has met. Some further legal exploration will be made; and it is quite possible that a proposal will be made to the persons libeled for a concert of individual law suits against the Journal-American.

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Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director.

GSM:mf

Enc.

November 18, 1955

Rev. George E. Clary, Exec. Secretary
Southeastern Jurisdictional Council
63 Auburn Av., N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Clary:

Here are two further documents on the story in the Hearst Journal-American.

The special committee set up by the Board Meeting of November 9 has met. Some further legal exploration will be made; and it is quite possible that a proposal will be made to the persons libeled for a concert of individual law suits against the Journal-American.

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Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director.

GSM:mf

Enc.

November 18, 1955

Dr. Rufus E. Clement, President
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Clement:

Here are two further documents on the story in the Hearst Journal-American.

The special committee set up by the Board Meeting of November 9 has met. Some further legal exploration will be made; and it is quite possible that a proposal will be made to the persons libeled for a concert of individual law suits against the Journal American.

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Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director.

GSM:mf

Enc.

November 18, 1955

Mr. Benjamin Epstein, National Director
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
212 Fifth Avenue
New York 10, New York

Dear Mr. Epstein:

I greatly appreciated the time and consideration which you and Alex gave Tuesday to the question of attacks on SRC Board members by the Hearst Press.

Enclosed is biographical material on the persons named in the Hearst story. I had hoped to get it to you earlier, but my return to Atlanta was delayed by bad flying weather. In one or two cases, we have no biographical details immediately at hand, though we should have in a few days.

I am also enclosing a reproduction of the advertisement placed by the Segregation Group in Virginia and a good column by Alfred Mynders, Editor of the Chattanooga Times -- as you know, the sister paper of the New York Times. I might add that several of the large negro weeklies, including the Chicago Defender and the Afro-American, have run stories and editorials excoriating this attack on distinguished Negro leaders. As soon as we can get more copies, I will send them to you.

A word on the extent of Catholic participation in the SRC: One of the founders and a charter member of the SRC was the Most Rev. Gerald P. O'Hara, Archbishop of Savannah-Atlanta. Our Executive Committee has always included a Catholic clergyman, and does so now. Paul D. Williams of Richmond, Virginia, a noted Catholic layman, founder of the Catholic Committee of the South, and a Knight of St. Gregory, was president of the SRC from 1945 to 1951 and continues as a member of the board. George Mitchell received the 1953 Annual Award of the Catholic Committee of the South for his "fine contribution to the welfare of the South." The same awardk was conferred in previous years on Dr. Howard W. Odom, the first president of SRC, and Dr. Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director from 1944-1947.

I understand that the NAACP is planning to make some protest to the Hearst organization.

Anything which you and Alex may do to counter this New York Aid and comfort to the White Citizen's Councils will be greatly appreciated. George Mitchell joins me in kindest regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C.Fleming,
Assistant Director.

HCF:mf

cc: Mr. Alexander F. Miller

Enc.: 2 advertisements
2 editorials
biographical data

November 18, 1955

Mr. Edwin J. Lukas
The American Jewish Committee
386 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, New York.

Dear Ed:

Enclosed are several items pertaining to the attack on SRC Board members by the Hearst Press.

Several of the large negro weeklies have in their current issues articles and/or editorials excoriating the Hearst stories. I will send you copies as soon as we can get them.

As further background, a word about the extent of Catholic participation in the SRC: One of the founders and a charter member of the SRC was the Most Rev. Gerald P. O'Hara, Archbishop of Savannah-Atlanta. Our Executive Committee has always included a Catholic clergyman, and does so now. Paul D. Williams of Richmond, Virginia, a noted Catholic layman, founder of the Catholic Committee of the South, and a Knight of St. Gregory, was president of the SRC from 1945 to 1951 and continues as a member of the board. George Mitchell received the 1953 Annual Award of the Catholic Committee of the South for his "fine contribution to the welfare of the South." The same award was conferred in previous years on Dr. Howard W. Odom, the first president of SRC, and Dr. Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director from 1944-47.

We greatly appreciate your help in all this, and George Mitchell and Leonard Haas join me in best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming,
Assistant Director.

HCF:mf

November 18, 1955

Mr. Joseph Lyford
Fund for the Republic
60 E. 42nd St.
New York, New York.

Dear Joe:

Enclosed is some biographical dope on the SRC Board members attacked by the Hearst Press. I am sorry that this is reaching you so late but my return from New York was delayed by bad flying conditions.

Also, a word about the extent of Catholic participation in the SRC: One of the founders and a charter member of the SRC was the Most Rev. Gerald P. O'Hara, Archbishop of Savannah-Atlanta. Our Executive Committee has always included a Catholic clergyman, and does so now. Paul D. Williams of Richmond, Virginia, a noted Catholic layman, founder of the Catholic Committee of the South, and a Knight of St. Gregory, was president of the SRC from 1945 to 1951 and continues as a member of the board. George Mitchell received the 1953 Annual Award of the Catholic Committee of the South for his "fine contribution to the welfare of the South." The same award was conferred in previous years on Dr. Howard W. Odom, the first president of SRC, and Dr. Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director from 1944-1947.

The negro Press is pretty gennerally blasting the Hearst story; there was a good editorial in the Chicago Defender just out. The NAACP is planning to protest to the Hearst organization.

I greatly appreciated the time which you and the others at the Fund gave to me on Tuesday. I think we have some useful things under way, and I will keep you posted as they develope.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming,
Assistant Director.

HCFtmf

HAAS, WHITE & DOUGLAS
ATTORNEYS AT LAW
SUITE 601 HAAS-HOWELL BUILDING
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

LEONARD HAAS
EDWARD S. WHITE
HAMILTON DOUGLAS, JR.
GEORGE A. HAAS
LAIRD W. SHULL
RICHARD G. WILKINS

TELEPHONE
WALNUT 1151

1192

November 19, 1955

NOV 21 1955

Dr. George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council,
Room 432,
63 Auburn Ave. N.E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear George:

I have prepared a memorandum from a hasty summary of the legal authorities on the questions (1) Whether calling a man a "Communist" or a "Communist Sympathizer" is libelous per se, and (2) Whether a non-profit organization, such as Southern Regional Council, has a legal right to file suit for slander or libel.

You will observe from the memorandum that I gave an affirmative answer to both questions - the first positively, and the second dubitante.

Of course, I have not had time to make an exhaustive search of the authorities, but believe the attached memorandum gives a general summary of the prevailing opinions as reported in the appellate court decisions.

Sincerely yours,

Leonard Haas

Leonard Haas.

LH:LPM
ENC.

IT IS LIBELOUS PER SE TO CALL ANOTHER A "COMMUNIST" OR A "COMMUNIST SYMPATHIZER."

The cases generally hold it to be actionable per se, as subjecting the person charged to ridicule, contempt, shame and disgrace to publish or orally state that one believes in or follows certain political or sociological principles, practices, or views, which, in the main, are objectionable to the average person in the community.

33 Am. Jur. page 65.

Spanel v. Westbrook Pegler, 160 Fed. (2d) 619; 171 ALR 699

Similarly, it has been consistently held to be actionable per se in libel to charge a person with being a "pro-Nazi," a "pro-Jap," a "pro-Fascist," "un-American," etc.

Parmelee v. Hearst Publishing Co., 341 Ill. App. 399, 93 N.E. (2d) 512.

The decisions make it apparent that the difference, if any, between calling a man a "communist" and stating that he is agent for the "Party," or a "Red", or a "Pink," or a "fellow-traveler," seems to be one of degree only, since the basis for the reproach is a belief that such political affiliations constitute a threat to our institutions and those who fear such threat are not likely to believe that it is limited to party members.

Farm Bureau Federation v. Nat'l F.U.S. Corp., 198 Fed. (2d) 20; 33 ALR (2d) 1186.

Holding it libelous to term one a "Communist" or a "Communist Sympathizer," the Court, in Americans for Democratic Action v. Meade, 72 Pa. D&C 306, held also that the published statement that the A.D.A. was "flirting" with communism, together with the charge that the A.D.A. was "infiltrated" with "Communists," could be found by a jury to be capable of the meaning that the A.D.A. had "Communist" members, espoused "Communist" doctrines, and was influenced in its policies by "Communists" or "Communism," and that a jury could find that the statement had a defamatory meaning, as tending to harm the reputation of another, to lower

him in the estimation of the community, or to deter third persons from associating or dealing with him.

In Spanel v. Pegler, 160 Fed. (2d) 619, 171 ALR 699 the Federal Circuit Court of Appeals for the Seventh Circuit held that in Illinois it is libelous per se to write of another that he is a "Communist" or a "Communist Sympathizer," since the label of "Communist" today, in the minds of many average respectable persons, places one beyond the pale of respectability, making him a symbol of public hatred.

In Grant v. Readers Digest Ass'n, 151 Fed. (2d) 733, the Federal Circuit Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit held it libelous to write of a lawyer that he acted as a legislative representative for the Communist Party. In the well-reasoned opinion by Judge Learned Hand it is stated that although the publication did not say that the Plaintiff was a member of the "Party," its implication was that he was in general sympathy with its objects and methods, or, in other words, a "fellow traveler," was none the less odious.

In Hays v. American Defense Society, 252 N.Y. 266, a political pamphlet charging that some of the Directors of the organizations to which the Plaintiff belonged were "reds" or "red radicals," and were using certain members as dupes to contribute to the general purpose of the Communists, the Court held this was not libelous as to the Plaintiff, whose name did not appear in the pamphlet except in a list entitled "Index to Directorates." It may be noted by implication that a different result might have been reached had it been found that the opprobruim was directed at the Plaintiff.

CAN A NON-PROFIT ORGANIZATION, SUCH AS SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, FILE SUIT FOR SLANDER OR LIBEL?

A brief summary of the authorities indicates that there is no case in point where the exact question has been raised; in other words, in none of the cases that the writer has found has the point been raised that the Plaintiff was a non-profit organization.

In Farm Bureau Federation v. Nat'l F.U.S. Corp., 198 Fed. (2d) 20, 33 ALR (2d) 1186, where the Plaintiff was awarded $25,000.00 damages in the suit, the first headnote of the case reads as follows:

> "The general rule is that one who falsely, and without privilege to do so, publishes of a corporation for profit matter which tends to prejudice it in the conduct of its trade or business, or to deter third persons from dealing with it, is liable to the corporation."

Nothing is said in the case as to whether an action would lie by a non-profit organization as the point was not raised.

However, in the case of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee v. McGrath, 341 U.S. 123, 71 Sup. Ct. 624, in which the plaintiff organization applied for relief against the Attorney General of the United States for having been classified as a "Communist" organization and placed by him on the list of subversive organizations (where the U. S. Supreme Court reversed the decision of three lower courts and held that the Attorney General was required to give these organizations a hearing before so listing them as subversive) Mr. Justice Burton, in announcing the judgment of the court, stated that the acts of the Attorney General had the effect of crippling the functioning and damaging the reputation of the organizations, in their respective communities and in the nation, and, hence, violated each organization's common law right to be free from defamation.

It is interesting to note that in the Petition of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee it is alleged that the acts of the Attorney General "have caused many contributors, especially present and prospective civil servants, to reduce or discontinue their contributions to the organization; members and participants in its activities have been vilified and subjected to public shame, disgrace, ridicule and obloquy, thereby inflicting upon them economic injury and discouraging participation in its activities; it has been hampered in securing meeting places; and many people have refused to take part in its fund-raising activities," (equivalent allegations might be made in the event Southern Regional Council undertook to reimburse any of its officers for legal fees and expenses incurred in any libel suit brought by such officer or employee.)

This suit involved not only the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee but also the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, Inc., and the International Workers Order, Inc., each of which were non-profit organizations.

We also find that the Americans for Democratic Action, a non-profit organization, was granted relief in a libel suit in its case hereinabove cited supra.

In view of the foregoing, while there is no case directly raising the point whether a non-profit organization may file suit for slander or libel, the writer is of the opinion that when the point is raised that the courts will decide that such an action will lie for the reason, as stated by Mr. Justice Burton in the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee case that each organization has a common law right to be free from defamation.

Respectfully submitted,

_____

Virginia Council on Human Relations

100 EAST FRANKLIN STREET

RICHMOND 19, VIRGINIA

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President

JOHN M. ELLISON
1st Vice-President

MRS. SARAH PATTON BOYLE
2nd Vice-President

WILSON M. BROWN
Treasurer

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Mrs. Arnold Zetlin

STAFF

JOHN H. MARION
Executive Director

WILLIAM M. COOPER
Assoc. Executive Director

November 21, 1955

Mr. George S. Mitchell
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

NOV 23 1955

Dear George:

Thank you for your letter of the eighteenth.

I have confidence enough in the special committee which we appointed and the advice that the att orneys of the Fund for the Republic may give to go along with anything that is decided.

I would certainly appreciate your telling me what the conference on the Bill of Rights was. The only thing that I can recall is that there was a campaign against the Mundt-Nixon bill some seven or eight years ago. At that time, after reading the Bill, I felt that it was one of the best Fascist documents we had ever had, and was violently opposed to it, as was Senator Robertson of Virginia, with whom I had correspondence. I am still in favor of the Bill of Rights.

I am enclosing a copy of my biographical sketch; there doesn't seem to be anything unusual in it.

If at any time I am asked for a public statement, I shall certainly give you a copy of what I say. No one has asked me any questions, so I do not know whether much credence has been given to the type of publicity which you have forwarded to me.

I had a very good meeting with Jack Marion last Tuesday and we are having a meeting of the executive committee next Monday evening; and more than likely at that time a statement on the Gray Commission Report will be forthcoming. From the little study I have been able to give it, it would seem that the effort to give aid to private schools will run into a terrific snag, especially as it has tried to differentiate between religious and non-sectarian schools. Our Young Democrats, in a meeting in Richmond on Saturday, were not stampeded into rash actions by Mr. Tuck.

You can be sure that I will keep you posted on what goes on.

With kindest regards to you, I am

Faithfully yours,

Carroll Brooke

A council to attain, through fact-finding, discussion and action, equal opportunity for all people in Virginia

Enclosure

MOREHOUSE COLLEGE
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

November 21, 1955

NOV 28 1955

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, NE, Rm 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I am sending you a biographical sketch as requested in your recent letter.

I thank you for sending me the article from the Chattanooga Times and also the statement from the Richmond News Leader.

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin E. Mays
President

BEM:J
Enclosure

November 22, 1955

NOV 23 1955

Mr. Thomas W. Beale, Sr.
Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Committee on Un-American Activities
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Beale:

It is rather strange to me that you can have information on a citizen of the United States which is available only to Members of Congress. What can I do about this? If my name is connected with some organization about which I know nothing, it is unfair to make that data available to a Congressman and not to the person involved. Especially is it unfair when Attorney General Cook of Georgia can have access to the data and use it to smear people. What right has a Congressman to have access to data when the person involved cannot have access to it?

Who gave the data to the Attorney General of Georgia to be used in a smear campaign against the Southern Regional Council? I would appreciate it if you would let me know if this is all that I can do about this. It looks pretty un-American to me to deal with a citizen in this way.

Yours truly,

Benjamin E. Mays
President

BEM:J

cc: Attorney General Eugene Cook
State of Georgia

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

Jour - Amer
File

November 22, 1955

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Ave. NE
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Harold:

Your biographical data will be useful. We had very sketchy stuff, as I told you.

In my last conversation with Beth Webster on the subject, he seemed very dubious as to the prospects for successful legal action against the Hearst newspapers. This was just a cursory impression, he carefully pointed out.

I liked Alfred Mynders' column very much. He's a good man.

Sincerely,

Joseph P. Lyford

The INFORMER Group of Newspapers

FAIRFAX 8347

THE INFORMER · THE DALLAS EXPRESS · MEMBER A.B.C.

P.O. BOX 3086
2418 LEELAND
HOUSTON 3, TEXAS

November 22, 1955

NOV 28 1955

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Thanks so much for yours of November 18, it was the first time I'd seen the article that I was called about by several people the day after it appeared. I have already sent to Mr. Routh a copy of the statement I made for your files. I am not concerned about this attempted smear. I don't believe anybody on the Southern Regional Council's official staff is Communistic in thought or action.

Best wishes to everybody.

Sincerely,

Carter Wesley

Carter Wesley

/d

THE MARKET
• 2,800,000 PEOPLE
• PLENTY MONEY
• WILLING TO BUY
• AWAITING INVITATION

Jour. Amer.

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
of B'nai B'rith

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Executive Assistant

November 23, 1955

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Thank you for yours of November 18 and the enclosures.

On Monday morning I spent a couple of hours with Ed Lukas talking over the whole problem. The biographic material which you sent me should be very useful. I intend to follow up as judiciously and as promptly as I can.

Cordially,

Ben Epstein

Benjamin R. Epstein
National Director

BRE
ehp

Daytona Beach Evening News
DAYTONA BEACH MORNING JOURNAL
The Sunday News-Journal

OFFICE OF THE EDITOR DAYTONA BEACH, FLORIDA

Nov. 23, 1955

NOV 23 1955

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

Thank you for your letter of Nov. 18, and the various documents. I shall be interested in hearing the results of your legal exploration. However, I am not keen upon getting into litigation. While I believe that the headline of the Journal-American article and the generalizations in the lead are probably libel per se, the burden of proving damages might be very difficult indeed, except possibly to the organization as a whole.

In my individual case, the charge is a ridiculous smear. To the best of my recollection I had never even heard of "Mother Bloor". Out of curiosity I had her looked up in Readers' Guide and discovered that Time Magazine published a piece about her on the occasion of her death, in the issue of Aug. 20, 1951. She died at 88. Her real name was Ella Reeve Ware Cohen Omholt. She was described as an "old fashioned radical", and she got her nickname from days of investigation of Chicago stockyard conditions when she worked with a man named Richard Bloor. She was described as the patron saint of the U.S. Communist Party; had worked for 50 years in hobo jungles and union halls, participated in public crusades for suffrage, etc., had been arrested 36 times, was a perennial speaker, ran for office, had said "communism is good for the U.S.," and her birthday was always the occasion for celebration (apparently among the Commies). Newsweek also had an article about her.

The most probable hypothesis is that some other Herbert Davidson was the one who "sent greetings to Mother Bloor Celebration Committee."

Now there is one other thin possibility. In 1942, after my assignment had been completed, I resigned from

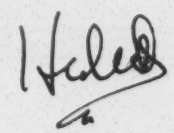
the OWI, for whom I had worked for a year as a patriotic service, and took a job then open on the foreign desk of the newspaper PM, which I held for eight months before returning here. Among the staff were a few ardent "progressives" who may or may not have been Commies. It might have been--and this is pure hypothesis--that some one of these may have asked me to join in a congratulatory message to an old woman (then presumably 80) who had spent her life fighting for woman suffrage, more rights for labor, etc. In an unguarded moment I might have signed something of that sort without giving it proper thought. We were very busy at the time covering the campaigns in Europe and the Pacific, which was my major job as a rewrite and desk man.

Let me say, parenthetically that none of the leftish minority approached me as to my views on communism (which are strongly anti) or asked me to join the Party. They all knew of course that I was a capitalist newspaper proprietor! But in those war days, everybody was more tolerant and we were all in the war together.

Let me repeat, I am only discussing a possibility. Actually, I don't believe it ever happened.

The Journal-American and its two writers are certainly guilty of irresponsible reporting and of an unwarranted attack upon a fine association of men and women engaged upon a noble work. But I question the wisdom of a long drawn out, wearisome and expensive libel action, in which the smears would probably be compounded.

Sincerely,



Herbert M. Davidson/eb

The Methodist Church
MOBILE DISTRICT - ALABAMA CONFERENCE
Telephone GR 7-5050 251 Island Court
Mobile, Alabama

A. S. TURNIPSEED
District Superintendent

Nov. 23, 1955

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Exec. Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Room 432,
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.,
Atlanta 3, Ga.

NOV 28 1955

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Thank you for your letter of November 18, 1955 with its enclosures. I also am grateful for the memorandum from Harold C. Fleming mailed from your office under date of November 11, 1955. Both of these communications deal with matters raised by the American Journal and one Fulton Lewis Jr. I am advised that my name was printed by the American Journal and called by Mr. Lewis in these matters.

I would be happy to consider any proposals relative to the matters indicated in the above paragraph made to me by the special committee named by the Board Meeting of November 9, 1955.

Enclosed you will find a listing of biographical information which you requested.

I have made no statements to the Press or public officials regarding the matters indicated in the first paragraph of this letter, thus, I am unable to comply with your second request that copies of such statements be sent you.

Sincerely,

A. S. Turnipseed
A. S. TURNIPSEED

AST:ZDT

Journal - Am.

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

November 23, 1955

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Thank you for your letter of November 18 and Memo of November 21. A check will be sent to you shortly.

The Philadelphia Tribune also carried an A. N. P. story on the Hearst press attack on Clement et al.

I am circulating the Negro press clippings and the reprints.

Best regards,

Sincerely,

Frank

Frank S Loescher

FSL/da

P.S. We expect to hear from AFSC next week from AFSC as to whether their Freedom of Conscience Committee is willing to head up a counseling + placement job for "Southern refugees" Frank

Jour - Amer.

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

November 28, 1955

NOV 30 1955

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

Thanks very much for your note of November 23 enclosing a memorandum from Mr. Leonard Haas. I am sending this along to our counsel for any suggestions that he might wish to make.

Sincerely,

Dave

David F. Freeman

DFF/da

Tuskegee Institute

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE
ALABAMA

OFFICE OF THE
DEAN OF STUDENTS

NOV 28 1955

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Thank you for your letter of November 18 and for the additional material you sent concerning the story appearing in the Hearst Journal-American. I am herewith enclosing a copy of the biographical sketch, a part of which you may use as you see fit. I have not issued any public statement concerning the appearance of my name among the list of "21". It has been my policy in the past to refrain from commenting on the charges made against me. Just how much longer I can maintain that policy I do not know. Thus far, it does not seem necessary for me to attempt to defend my previous record. This does not mean that I have decided never to do this. Circumstances in the future might seem to make it necessary for me to issue a public statement.

I appreciate the work being done by the special committee and shall cooperate in whatever manner I can in order to see that justice is done in this case.

Sincerely yours,

C. G. Gomillion

C. G. Gomillion
Dean of Students

cgg:m

November 28, 1955

Mr. Lloyd Stratton
THE ASSOCIATED PRESS
50 Rockfeller Plaza
New York 20, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Stratton:

This will acknowledge, with thanks, your letter to Dr. Mitchell of November 18.

We were glad to learn that the summary of the Journal-American story which appeared in the Chattanooga News Free Press was not distributed on the news wires of the Associated Press.

We recognize, of course, AP's obligation to provide a direct service requested by a member paper, though we were sorry to see the AP slug used to confer respectability on disreputable charges.

As Dr. Mitchell wrote, we have the greatest respect for the AP's standards of fairness and responsibility, and his letter was intended to call attention to what we thought was an unintentional lapse in those standards. We appreciate your giving us the background.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming,
Assistant Director.

HCF:mf

Jour-Amer.

Nov. 28, 1955

Dear Harold:

Thought you'd be interested in the enclosed and wanted to send it right along in case your clipping service misses it. I just phoned Bem to call to his attention the last four paragraphs, which he in turn is mentioning to the AP bureau chief here. He'll have to fill you in from there.

I suppose you heard Hutchens on "Meet The Press" last week. We both thought he was unfortunately inarticulate, but nevertheless, I was infuriated by May Craig.

Margaret
(Margaret Price)

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

November 29, 1955

Mr. Edwin J. Lukas
American Jewish Committee
386 Fourth Avenue
New York City

Dear Mr. Lukas:

The points you raised in your letter to Harold Fleming were good; I think that the Southern Regional Council should make strenuous efforts to get its story told by the clergy. If action could be brought against the Hearst newspapers, it should be done. I will try to do something to interest magazines and TV in the possibility of stories about the Southern Regional Council.

Your suggestion for a coordinating body of national agencies working for integration is excellent. This principle has worked very effectively in New York City, where the Public Education Association has organized a coordinating committee of more than 30 major city-wide groups interested in the schools. The representatives of the member organizations meet regularly, exchange information, and on occasion take joint action on matters of importance. The committee has become an effective and respected spokesman as a result. There is no reason why this coordinating operation could not be applied in the way you suggest. I hope that Mr. Fleming will discuss this with you soon.

Sincerely yours,

Joseph P. Lyford

cc: Harold Fleming

~~Send to Mrs. Clark~~
~~Thomas~~
Tour - Amer.

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November 22, 1955

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlant 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Thank you for sharing with me some samples of the manner in which "the other side" is using the Hearst story. The Chattanooga Times' editorial is, of course, fine -- but it is to be doubted that it is read by the same audience as the original smear.

I discussed the whole affair at some length with a few of my own colleagues, as well as with Ben Epstein of the Anti-Defamation League. As matters stand at the moment, I am prepared to make the following suggestions:

1. In our view no doubt exists that the Hearst pieces are libelous. A half a dozen suits for libel by the six most prominent and least vulnerable of those smeared, should undoubtedly be instituted. (The Journal American is, undoubtedly, squeamish about libel suits ever since the Westbrook Pegler verdict, $175,000, a whopping one in these days.) Naturally, the object would be to give the pendency of those suits the widest publicity. It would be a good idea, too, if the plaintiffs in those suits were represented by outstanding White law firms. It goes without saying that the suits should be instituted in the North, if possible, in the Federal courts.

2. Clergymen -- especially Catholics -- should be induced, without too much further delay, to sermonize on SRC and its work, with special reference to the attempt to smear it and its supporters with "pro-Communist" allegations. Copies of those sermons should be assembled for the widest kind of dissemination.

3. No time should be lost, in our view, in attempting to secure a favorable Look, or Life or Saturday Evening Post story on SRC, its rather dramatic past history, and its current program. The story should attempt to delineate in the clearest possible terms the specifics of SRC's activities in the field of implementing the desegregation decision.

4. TV and radio commentators should be furnished with such material as may be helpful in influencing their own attitudes toward SRC and its work, so that at appropriate times they might fashion their commentaries accordingly. Naturally, newspaper editors and publishers should be similarly enlightened.

The foregoing are the ideas that occur to us now, and the execution of which should be instituted without unnecessary delay. They are, as you see, short-range projects that will have impact in the immediate future. For the long-range, however, we would have to think a little differently. Frankly, I have often felt that the story of SRC and its role in the promotion of integration, has not been told as graphically as it might be. To be sure, there has been no burning necessity for doing so until recently, simply because its work was being carried on quietly and -- until recently -- under very severely limited budgets. We think the time has arrived for a more dramatic presentation of SRC's objects and methods; the public has to be drawn more intimately into a realization of SRC's existence, of its purposes, of its techniques and, perhaps most importantly, of the nature of its supporters among the leading citizens of the South. Among other things this would require the mobilization of the decent elements -- organized and unorganized -- who would spring to SRC's defense in the face of vigilante attacks, not only on the national, but on the local level as well. Serious consideration, therefore, should be given now to the plan that I had outlined to George Mitchell many months ago -- indeed, at the time of the Herald Tribune forum in 1954 -- namely, the coordination of the operations of large national agencies which have a deep interest in integration but, as yet, no well defined program in that field. I refer to church groups, organized labor, educational and kindred organizations. These groups could be of inestimable help, not alone in promoting the program of SRC, but in lending support to its resistance to attacks.

I trust the foregoing suggestions prove in some small measure to be helpful. Meanwhile, efforts will go forward to bring home to the top brass of the Hearst press the thoroughly destructive thing they have done, in the hope that the attack will end where it began, and will not be carried on in the future. Hopes of securing a "retraction" are, I believe, somewhat forlorn -- the Hearst press, except in the rarest instances, simply does not behave that way.

Let me hear from you when you are able to react to these proposals.

My warmest regards to you, to George and, of course, to Leonard Haas.

Sincerely,

Edwin J. Lukas

EJL:ig

Citizen = Hearst

Mr. Rufus E. Clement,
Atlanta University,
Atlanta,
GEORGIA.

November 29th, 1955.

Dear Mr. Clement,

Leonard Haas sent us this opinion. I have had one go to the F. for R., and one to Marion, and this is for you, in your capacity as member of the special committee to see whether we sue or do what.

Sincerely yours,

(Dr. George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director.).

GSM:rl.
Encl.

Journ-Amer

MOREHOUSE COLLEGE

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

December 1, 1955

Mr. Harry Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I thank you for keeping me up to date on what the SRC is doing in connection with the smear story by the New York Journal American. I shall look forward to hearing more from you on this.

Is it not possible to get more news papers to do what Mr. Mynder did in the Chattanooga Times? What about the Atlanta papers?

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin E. Mays
President

BEM:J

Jour-Amer-File
ACE

VIRGINIA UNION UNIVERSITY

DEC 3 1955

JOHN MALCUS ELLISON, PRESIDENT

RICHMOND 20, VIRGINIA

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT Chancellor

December 1, 1955

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I have received several informative articles relative to the attack made upon us of the S. R. C. Along with the clippings from your office, several clippings came from the Pittsburgh Courier and the United Negro College Fund. The Pittsburgh Courier offered me the medium of that paper for any statement that I wished to make.

I did acknowledge the letter from the Courier somewhat as follows:

> I do not know the organization that I am charged of supporting. However, it is barely possible that I amy have replied to some correspondence--so much comes to one's desk--but I am entirely innocent of knowledge of any kind of subversiveness of the Arts, Sciences, and professional organizations. I do not affirm or deny that there may have been some such correspondence. But I know nothing of the organization, nor am I affiliated with it in any way.

I shall be glad to have information or suggestions as to how to meet these attacks.

Yours sincerely,

J. M. Ellison

J. M. Ellison
Chancellor

JME/rls

Jour - Amer

Tuskegee Institute

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE
ALABAMA

December 5, 1955

OFFICE OF THE
DEAN OF STUDENTS

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thank you for the memorandum concerning the attack by the Hearst Press on certain members of the Board of Directors of the Southern Regional Council.

Best wishes for a Merry Christmas and a Happy New Year.

Sincerely yours,

C G Gomillion

C. G. Gomillion
Dean of Students

CGG:p

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
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IN CHARGE OF WOMEN'S WORK
KATHERINE STONEY
SECRETARY-TREASURER

~~HCB~~ Jour-Amer File.

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

December 9, 1955

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

RECEIVED DEC 12 1955

Dear George:

This is by way of a report on my conversation with Paul Williams. Upon phoning him at Richmond, I found that he was leaving for Washington and hence arranged to meet him there.

I gave him all of the background as to the attacks against us and explained the role which we would like him to play. He was already familiar in a general way with the Journal-American situation.

As to members of the hierarchy, he was dubious about the New York prelate but was quite hopeful about Cardinal Stritch.

However he had two strong friends in the publishing field in Chicago. One was a man named Morse, a Catholic, and connected with the Sun-Times. The other was a Protestant of whose name and connections I am not sure. Paul felt that an interview with both of these men would develop the right approach to Hearst. That approach might be through some church dignitary, or it might be through some highly placed layman, such as James A. Farley.

Paul was to be in Chicago today (Friday) and would see both of his contacts there. He will then write me as to their suggestions and his

own conclusions in the light of their advice. He will expect us to direct him as to his next move after we have considered his report.

If it seemed advantageous for Paul to go to New York for conference with any person or persons at that point, he is to be there shortly after Christmas and would make the necessary approach.

As I told you over the phone, he wanted certain material to strengthen his hand and this, I understand, you have already sent to him at Chicago.

As we both knew he would be, he was quite willing to do anything he could and created in me the rosy warmth of confidence which he always manages to generate.

Best regards.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. W.

M. A. Wright

MAW:ejg

WALTER P. REUTHER
PRESIDENT

JOHN V. RIFFE
EXECUTIVE VICE-PRESIDENT

JAMES B. CAREY
SECRETARY-TREASURER

Hearst

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR
and
Congress of Industrial Organizations

REGION 8
PAUL R. CHRISTOPHER
DIRECTOR

TENNESSEE, KENTUCKY
NORTH CAROLINA, VIRGINIA

TELEPHONE: 2-6780
TELETYPEWRITER KX 89
216 FLATIRON BUILDING
705 BROADWAY, N. E.
KNOXVILLE 17, TENNESSEE

ERNEST B. PUGH
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
102 N. BELVIDERE STREET
RICHMOND 20, VIRGINIA

PHONE: 3-4770

December 12, 1955

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Thanks for a copy of your recent Memorandum to "Appropriate Board Members" of the Southern Regional Council, Inc., concerning the attacks made upon certain SRC Board members by the Hearst press.

I have previously written to Dr. George Mitchell on this and have provided him with a brief bibliography. I still favor legal suit for libel, although it is recognized that it would be better to wait until I know all the ramifications such legal action would entail.

The Southern Regional Director of the Textile Workers Union of America, AFL-CIO, Mr. Boyd Peyton, told me last week in New York that one of the newspapers in Anderson, S. C. also carried a reprint of the New York Journal American article of November 7, but he did not know the date. This too was inserted as a paid advertisement by one of the White Citizens Council groups, according to Mr. Peyton.

If it is not asking too much and you have an extra copy available for gratis distribution I would like to have a copy of the statistical book, "Public Education in the South, Today and Tomorrow" by E. W. Swanson and John Griffin.

I am sorry it was necessary for me to miss the October meeting of the Board and the annual meeting in November. I still do not know if I shall be able to remain on the SRC Board, but will let you know later when I have been authoritatively informed.

Sincerely,

Paul R. Christopher

Paul R. Christopher
AFL-CIO Regional Director
Region 8 - Kentucky and Tennessee

PRC:llr
liu 1695 cio

December 14, 1955

Mr. Paul R. Christopher, Regional Director
AFL-CIO
216 Flatiron Building
Knoxville 17, Tenn.

Dear Paul:

Thanks for your letter. We hope to have some word on the advisability of legal action very shortly; the lawyers seem to move even more slowly than the rest of us.

I have sent you a copy of the Swanson-Griffin book today.

We missed you at the Annual Meeting and we would be appalled at the thought of your not being able to continue on the Board. That would be a sore loss indeed.

I hope to see you soon.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming,
Assistant Director.

HCF:mf

E

FISK UNIVERSITY

NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

13 December 1955

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I have been following with much interest the attacks on the Fund for the Republic, which have involved the gratuitous libeling of members of the Executive Board of the Southern Regional Council, including myself.

It always sounds ridiculous denying ridiculous charges, and I have appreciated all the more your suggestion of a biographical statement, providing my positive record of constructive effort within the framework of the American democracy.

I am somewhat amazed myself when I bring together all these organizations, but I think the list of these organizations speaks for itself.

It is certainly not expected that you would want to use all of this personal documentation, but under the circumstances, I have made it fairly comprehensive in order that you might select the activities that you feel would be most pertinent in the case at hand.

If there are any questions, I would be very glad to amplify these observations or clarify them.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Charles S. Johnson

C
S
J/vlr

RECEIVED DEC 23 1955

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Charles Spurgeon Johnson

Charles Spurgeon Johnson was born in Briston, Virginia on July 24, 1893, the son of a Baptist minister. His education was received at Wayland Academy and Virginia Union University in Union, Virginia, and at the University of Chicago, where he pursued graduate study in the field of sociology.

While at the University of Chicago, he assumed responsibility of Director of Research and Investigations for the Chicago Urban League, and in 1919 was appointed Associate Executive Secretary of Chicago's Commission on Race Relations created by the Governor of Illinois, following the race riots in that city. The volume, THE NEGRO IN CHICAGO (672 pages), published by the University of Chicago Press (1922), resulted from this work.

He served during World War I as Regimental Sergeant Major in the 803rd Pioneer Infantry, taking part in the Meuse-Argonne offensive. In 1921, he became Director of Research for the National Urban League, and founded the periodical, OPPORTUNITY, a Journal of Negro life, which he edited until 1928. In 1928, he became Head of the Department of Social Sciences at Fisk University and remained in this post until his election to the Presidency of this institution in 1946.

His Alma Mater, Virginia Union University, awarded him the honorary degree, Doctor of Letters in 1928; Howard University awarded him the degree of Doctor of Humane Letters in 1941; Columbia University awarded the degree of Doctor of Letters in 1947; Harvard University awarded the degree of Doctor of Laws in 1948; the University of Glasgow (Scotland) awarded the degree of Doctor of Laws in 1952; and Lincoln University (Pennsylvania) awarded the degree of Doctor of Laws in 1955.

In 1930, he was appointed by the State Department as American Member of the International Commission of the League of Nations to investigate slavery and enforced labor in Liberia, and the report of this Commission, written very largely by him, is among the State Department Archives and among the publications of the Government Printing House. In that same year, he received the William E. Harmon gold medal for distinguished achievement among Negroes in the field of science.

Among the major responsibilities might be included the secretaryship of the Commission on Negro Housing for President Hoover's Conference on Home Building and Home Ownership; authorship of the volume on Negro Housing; organizer of the Institute of Race Relations at Swarthmore College in 1933; membership on the President's Committee on Farm Tenancy under President Roosevelt; member of the White House Conference on Children in Democracy and consultant on minority problems for the Children's Bureau; member for the public on the Wage and Hours Committee of the Department of Labor for the Railroad Carrier Industry, and the Cigarette and Tobacco Industry; member of the American mission of twenty educators sent to Japan in 1946 at the request of General MacArthur to advise on the reorganization of the educational system of that country following the war; appointed by President Truman in 1946 as one of the ten U.S. delegates to the first session of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization in Paris and in 1947 to the second session in Mexico City; member of the Executive Committee of the United States National Committee for UNESCO; appointed in 1947 as member of the President's Board of Foreign Scholarships under the Fulbright Act, where he served until May, 1954; member of the President's Commission on the Health Needs of the Nation in 1952.

He was director of the Race Relations Division of the American

Missionary Association of the Congregational and Christian Churches of America from 1944 to 1950, and Co-Director of the Race Relations Program of the Julius Rosenwald Fund from 1943 to 1948, and at the same time was a member of the Board of the Julius Rosenwald Fund. He is past president (1945) of the Southern Sociological Society; member of the Executive Committee of the American Sociological Society; chairman of the Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council; honorary vice president of the American Social Hygiene Association; delegate to the Assembly of the World Council of Churches in Amsterdam, Holland in 1948.

(See attached list of organizations on which he has held membership.)

In 1946, he was elected President of Fisk University and between 1946 and 1955 has doubled the educational budget, added five major buildings to the physical plant and over a million dollars to the endowment, and piloted the institution into a condition of acceptance for a Chapter of the American Association of University Women, the Association of Schools of Music and Phi Beta Kappa.

Following is a list of publications for which he is responsible as author or co-author. (See attached printed bibliography.)

In the Fall of 1955, he was invited by the Social Science Section of UNESCO to participate in a Conference of experts on race and race relations in the world, and was provided full security clearance by the United States Department for International Service, and was elected President of this Conference. Following this, on invitation of the American-Scandinavian Foundation and the Universities of Stockholm, Oslo and Copenhagen, he made a lecture tour of the Scandinavian Countries.

Three of the citations received by him in recent years are quoted:

(1) On the awarding of the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws from Harvard University in 1948, the following citation was made:

> "CHARLES SPURGEON JOHNSON, DOCTOR OF LAWS -- Educator, author and social statesman; wise in his unremitting efforts to move America forward towards our historic goals of real equality and justice."

(2) On the occasion of the awarding of the Social Action Churchmanship Award in 1948, the following citation was made:

> "As sociologist and educator, servant of the United States and United Nations, we cite you for a Social Action Churchmanship Award because you are a prophet of the new day ascending in the culture of our times. With a well directed passion for humanity, you have competently contributed to our understanding of ourselves and others, and helped to lay the foundation for an enduring society."

(3) On the occasion of the awarding of the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws from the University of Glasgow in 1952, the following citation was made:

> "Time marches on. Today we smile to re-read the declaration of the South Carolina Legislature in 1835 that Negroes had no soul and therefore no vote. It was a tenuous logic at best that would connect the two, and a daring in a nation dedicated but two generations earlier to the proposition that all men are created equal. But those propositions are few in politics whose implementing comes with their enunciation. Some men, the satirist has reminded us, are more equal than others. And among the more heartening features of the American scene in the past half century has been the way in which the Negro has himself translated theory into reality, not by demanding equality but by demonstrating it. What the politician said the educationalist has proved, until now the scientist has no option but to confirm. We do but honour therefore our common humanity, in this century of the common man, by conferring distinction on one already so distinguished as Charles Spurgeon Johnson. Outstanding as a sociologist, prominent in every movement for the advancement of his race

(and not only in the United States: it is now close on a quarter of century since he served on a League of Nations Commission to Liberia), author of a dozen works on this great humanitarian cause, the latest of them under the significant title INTO THE MAIN STREAM, President since 1946 of Fisk University, Tennessee, has shown with what fulness of title he may claim that main stream as his and his people's by his membership of the United States Educational Mission to Japan in 1946, of the Executive Committee of the United States Commission for UNESCO, of the Fulbright Board for Foreign Scholarships, and by other like activities numerous beyond mention.

Booker T. Washington, first in the great line of Negro educators in the United States, left France after a visit to Europe fifty years ago with the enigmatic statement that the more he saw of French society the more confident he felt of the future of his own race in America. We would not wish President Johnson to leave Scotland with the same reasons for increase of faith, were such increase indeed possible. But in token that his cause commands our fullest sympathy, and the greatness of his contribution to it all our respect, I would ask now, Mr. Chancellor, to admit him to the company of our honorary Doctor of Laws."

William C. Atkinson
18 VI 52

He holds a certificate for his work in the field of race relations from the CIO; a citation for meritorious public service from his Alma Mater, the University of Chicago; the Russwurm Award for Public Service from the Negro Newspaper Publishers Association; a certificate of recognition from the National Urban League; certificate of merit from the Chicago Defender, and was selected by the Newspaper Radio Guild as "Man of the Year" in Nashville in 1954.

He is a member of the Congregational Church, a Deacon in the Fisk Union Church; member of Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity; member of the Agora Assembly in Nashville; and member of Chi Boule of Sigma Pi Phi Fraternity.

LIST OF COMMITTEES

Advisory Committee on Citizenship - Department of Justice
(Member of Committee in 1948)

Allied Youth Incorporated
(Member of Sponsoring Committee)

American Association for the United Nations, Inc.
(Member of Board of Governors)

American Cancer Society
(Member of Board of Directors as a Lay Director-at-Large, beginning 1954 expiring 1956)

American Christian Palestine Committee
(Member of National Advisory Council)

American Citizens Committee for Economic Aid Abroad

American Civil Liberties Union

American Committee for Cultural Freedom, Inc.

American Council for the Community
(Member of Board of Directors)

American Council on Education
(Member of Committee on Relationships of Higher Education to the Federal Government - now expired)

American Council on Race Relations
(Member of Board of Directors)

American Education Fellowship
(Member of Board of Directors in 1944)

American Friends Service Committee

American Jewish Congress
(Member of Research Advisory Council - now expired)

American Missionary Association

American Museum of Immigration
(Member of National Committee)

American Overseas Aid - United Nations Appeal for Children
(Member of Board of Directors - now expired)

American Social Hygiene Association
(Honorary Vice President)

American Sociological Society

Association of American Colleges
(Member of Special Committee on National Scholarship Program - now expired)

Association on American Indian Affairs, Inc.
(Member of Board of Directors)

Board for Fundamental Education
(Member of Board of Consultants, appointed in 1953)

Boy Scouts of America
(Member of the Middle Tennessee Council)

Building for Brotherhood of the National Conference of Christians and Jews
(Member of the Committee for Planning)

Chicago Commission on Human Relations
(Now expired)

Christianity and Crisis
(Member of Board of Sponsors)

Citizens Committee for Hoover Report
(Member of the Schools and University Advisory Board)

Committee for a Free Asia
(Member of Board of Directors)

Committee for African Students in North America
(Membership now expired)

Committee of 100

Committee of 100 Against Communist Inhumanity
(Honorary Chairman - Appointed 1953)

Committee on Community Projects
(Appointed 1954)

Committee on Research and Training in Government in the South

Conference on Science, Philosophy and Religion
(Conference Fellow; Chairman 1956 Conference)

Council Against Intolerance in America
(Member of the Council, appointed in 1953)

Defense Orientation Conference Association

Diplomatic Affairs Foundation: Board of African Students
(Membership now expired)

Fellowship of Southern Churchmen

Four H Club Foundation
(Member of National Planning and Advisory Committee)

Free China Fund
(Sponsoring Member, appointed in 1954)

Fund for the Advancement of Education
(Member of the Committee on College Self Studies)

Fund for the Republic
(Member of the Commission on Minority Housing)

International Children's Emergency Fund: U. S. Committee for

Illinois Commission on Human Relations
(Now expired)

Institute of Ethnic Affairs
(Member of Board of Directors - expired 1953)

Institute of International Education, Inc.
(Member of Board of Trustees)

Interprofessional Commission on Marriage and Divorce Laws
(Member of Advisory Council)

Masaryk Memorial Fund - American Association for the UN
(Member of the Committee, appointed 1949)

Meharry Medical College
(Member of Board of Trustees)

Mental Health Association of Middle Tennessee
(Member of Board of Directors)

Mid-Century White House Conference on Children and Youth
(Membership expired, 1953)

National Advisory Council on International Education
(Council dissolved in 1953)

National Book Committee

National Committee for Rural Schools, Inc.

National Conference of Christians and Jews, Inc.
(Member of Board of Directors)

National Council on Social Work Education

National Civil Liberties Clearing House
(Member of Advisory Board)

National Community Relations Advisory Council
(Member of Special Committee on Reassessment and Invited Participants in the Meeting of December 9-11, 1954)

National Consumers League for Fair Labor Standards
(Member of the Citizen's Committee on Migratory Labor, appointed 1952)

National Council on Agricultural Life and Labor
(Member of Board of Directors)

National Council on Family Relations
(Member of Advisory Council)

Nashville Educational Television Foundation
(Member of Board of Directors, appointed 1953)

National Fund for Medical Education
(Associate Member)

National Manpower Council
(Appointed 1951)

National Planning Association)
(Member of Committee of the South)

National Sharecroppers Fund, Inc.
(Vice Chairman of the National Board)

National Social Welfare Assembly, Inc.
(Member-at-large, expired 1954)

National Society for Crippled Children and Adults
(Member of Research Committee)

National Student Association
(Member of Advisory Council, expired 1954)

National Urban League
(Member of Board of Trustees)

New York State Colonization Society
(Member of Board of Trustees, term expires 1957)

The People Act
(Member of National Committee, appointed 1951)

Pestalozzi Foundation of America
(Member of National Council)

Save the Children Federation
(Member of Tennessee Committee)

Sociological Research Association

Southern Education Reporting Service
(Member of Advisory Board)

Southern Regional Council
(Member of Board of Directors)

Southern Regional Education Board
(Member of the Steering and Study Committees on Research and Training in Government; Consultant for the Mental Health Training and Research Project in 1954)

Southern Sociological Society
(Member of the Nominating Committee; Past President)

Tennessee Education Congress
(Member of Executive Committee)

Tennessee State Nurses' Association
(Member of Intergroup Relations Committee)

UNESCO, The United States National Commission for
(Member of Executive Committee)

United Nations Association
(Member of Speakers' Bureau, appointed 1953)

United Nations Day, 1953, 1954
(Member of Advisory Council, appointed 1953; Member of Executive Committee, appointed 1954)

University of Oslo Summer School
(Member of the Summer School's Advisory Committee in the USA, appointed 1952)

U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare
(Member of Council of Advisors, appointed 1952, dissolved 1953.)

John Hay Whitney Foundation
(Trustee and Consultant)

BROOKS HAYS
5TH DISTRICT, ARKANSAS

LITTLE ROCK OFFICE
214 FEDERAL BUILDING

HCP

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

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FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE

SECRETARY:
JOHN S. MCLEES

ASSISTANTS:
MRS. LURLENE WILBERT
MISS KITTY JOHNSON

IN CHARGE OF LITTLE ROCK OFFICE:
H. A. EMERSON

December 16, 1955

Criticism — General

RECEIVED DEC 21 1955

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

In Congressman Hays' absence I wish to acknowledge receipt of your letter of December 14 with reference to Roy Harris' column in the Augusta Courier.

You may or may not know that Congressman Hays' mother passed away last week and he went directly from New York to Arkansas where he will remain until after the holidays. His address there is 126 East Fifth Street, Russellville, Arkansas.

I am placing your letter on Mr. Hays' desk for personal attention upon his return.

Sincerely yours,

John S McLees

John S. McLees
Secretary

December 16, 1955

Mr. Herbert Davidson, Editor
Daytona Beach News Journal
Daytona Beach, Florida

Dear Mr. Davidson:

This is to let you know that, at Dr. Mitchell's behest, Mr. Morris Abram is going to New York on December 29 to confer with experienced libel lawyers there. Mr. Abram, as you know an able Atlanta lawyer, will seek to determine the availability of good counsel on a contingent fee basis for those interested in legal action against the New York Journal-American.

We will advise you of the results.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming,
Assistant Director.

HCF:mf

Same letter to:

Paul Christopher
Charles Johnson
Rufus Clement
Andrew Turnipseed
Carter Wesley
C. G. Gomillion
Caroll Brooke
Josephine Wilkins
J. M. Ellison
L. E. Thomas

Jour.-Amer.

The Fund for the Republic INC.

Please reply to

1820 Jefferson Place, N.W.

Washington 6, D. C.

December 19, 1955

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Hal,

Thank you for sending me a copy of your letter to Russell Wiggins.

Apparently Mr. Wiggins himself doesn't have a copy of the attack, and all he knows is that it appeared in the Rock County Star, Luverne, Minnesota, some time in the last two weeks. He has promised a copy of his reply.

Best regards.

Sincerely yours,

Adam

Adam Yarmolinsky

Jour-Amer.

Tuskegee Institute

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE
ALABAMA

OFFICE OF THE
DEAN OF STUDENTS

December 20, 1955

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thank you for your letter of December 16, informing me that Mr. Morris Abram will be going to New York on December 29 to confer with experienced libel lawyers in the interest of the twenty-one persons who have been designated as "Pro Reds" by the New York Journal-American. It is kind of you to keep me informed as to the progress in this case.

Sincerely yours,

C. G. Gomillion

C. G. Gomillion
Dean of Students

cgg:m

Criticism of SRC — Jour. Amer.

The INFORMER Group of Newspapers

FAIRFAX 8347

THE INFORMER · THE DALLAS EXPRESS · MEMBER A.B.C.

★

P.O. BOX 3086
2418 LEELAND
HOUSTON 3, TEXAS

December 21, 1955

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E. - Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thanks for yours of December 16, and I hope that Attorney Abram will have success in his search in New York. I am all for it and will be happy to be a client, if the movement develops.

Merry Christmas.

Sincerely,

Carter Wesley

Carter Wesley

/d

THE MARKET
• 2,800,000 PEOPLE
• PLENTY MONEY
• WILLING TO BUY
• AWAITING INVITATION

Jour-Amer.

Virginia Council on Human Relations

100 EAST FRANKLIN STREET

RICHMOND 19, VIRGINIA

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President

JOHN M. ELLISON
1st Vice-President

MRS. SARAH PATTON BOYLE
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JOHN H. MARION
Executive Director

WILLIAM M. COOPER
Assoc. Executive Director

January 4, 1956

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thank you for passing on Mr. Wright's New Year letter. We also received the additional copies and have sent them out to members of our Board. Since we got from you only about twenty-five copies of the letter and we have about forty members of the Board, I would appreciate it if you could send us about sixteen additional copies if you have any left.

Ever since the Journal-American attack on the Southern Regional Council we have been expecting that some group in Virginia would echo its charges and try to palm them off on the people as factually sound. Last Sunday the American Legion did this in a release put out under the name of the state commander, Mr. Anderson Renick of Roanoke. The attack made the same old charges, and they will doubtless serve to confuse the minds of a sizable group who regard the Legion as one hundred per cent patriotic and infallible. As you will see by the enclosed clipping from Monday's Times-Dispatch, the reporter gave me a chance to reply to Mr. Renick's charges Sunday afternoon. The release was given out around noon Sunday, and I have an idea that New Year's Day was carefully selected as the date in hopes that I might be off somewhere and unable to reply. It so happened I was in the office part of the afternoon and went over to the newspaper office and tried to set the record straight shortly before the paper's early deadline around six o'clock.

We are having a Board meeting this week and I am preparing a somewhat fuller statement which I hope our Executive Committee and the Board will release to the public later this week. Several other important facts need to be brought out more clearly than I was able to do the other day. We shall keep in touch with all of you in the central office about the developments.

The big debate waxes warmer and warmer as our referendum

date draws closer, and it is hard to say just how big a vote the anti-amendment group will be able to pile up on Monday. Many of us are hoping for a big protest vote, although the chances for defeating the proposal outright seem pretty slim. A lawyer friend told me the other day that he understands that plans are afoot for an attack on all Virginia preachers who have come out in favor of integration or in opposition to the amendment. He says he understands that some groups will attempt to brand them as subversive or unwittingly pro-communist. If this is done it may indirectly help the Southern Regional Council and our Council since it should make clearer to all reasonable people that political desperation may be one prime motive of the attacks upon us.

Best wishes for the New Year.

Cordially yours,

John H. Marion

JHM:plr
Enclosures

P.S. The random clippings in addition to last Sunday's Legion story will indicate something of the temper and extent of the debate over the referendum. As usual, I'd like to have them back (keep the Legion story) when you finish with them. The Virginian-Pilot is doing a really swell job. J.M.

P.S. I might add that we've been leaning over backward to avoid any sort of activity, as an organization, that might be termed certainly political.

Jour - Amer

REV. W. CARROLL BROOKE
POST OFFICE BOX 208
STAUNTON, VIRGINIA

January 18, 1956

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Room 432; 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Enclosed you will find my expense account for the trip to Atlanta yesterday.

It seems that the staff now has the gist of the thinking of some of us; and I want you to know that I am ready to go through with this if you feel that you need me. As I said yesterday, I am not particularly anxious to get into it but I think there is a larger principle involved in the whole country.

It was good to see you and the members of the staff.

Faithfully yours,

Carroll Brooke

Enclosure
(as above)

THE CHATTANOOGA TIMES

Next to the News

By ALFRED MYNDERS

THE SOUTHERN Regional Council has been attacked in the Hearst press as having had pro-Communist taints. The council is the outgrowth of the old Southern Interracial Commission and the council was formed at the call of distinguished people including Bishop Arthur J. Moore, of the Methodist Church; Bishop Gerald P. O'Hara, of the Catholic Church; Bishop John Moore Walker, of the Protestant Episcopal Church; the Rev. M. Ashby Jones, famous Baptist minister; Rabbi David Marx of Atlanta and others.

Now that the cold war is more than ever a battle of ideas and ideologies instead of a potential atomic shooting war, the position of religious leaders on communism should be understood. An address by the Rt. Rev. Edmund P. Dandridge of Sewanee, retired bishop of the Tennessee Diocese of the Protestant Episcopal Church, which was delivered at St. Paul's Church here several years ago, seems more potent now that when it was made.

————*

BISHOP DANDRIDGE said that in the Book of Common Prayer and the constitution and canons of the Episcopal church the word "Communism" is not mentioned. But he asserted that there is abundant mention and condemnation of some of the things which Marxian Communism teaches and does. "The church teaches belief in God; Marxian Communism is atheistic. The church teaches that man is a spiritual being made in the image of God; Marxian Communism teaches that man is of this earth and this life only. The church teaches that human personality is of supreme value; Marxian Communism teaches that the state or the class is of supreme value and man is a puppet. The church teaches that truth, justice and righteousness have universal validity as expressions of the eternal will of God; Marxian Communism teaches that there are no universally valid moral principles, but the supreme law is what the state deems expedient."

Bishop Dandridge quoted two resolutions adopted by the Lambeth conference, composed of bishops of the Angelican communion the world over. In 1948, the Lambeth conference resolved: "The conference, while recognizing that in many lands there are Communists who are practicing Christians, nevertheless declares that Marxian Communism is contrary to the Christian faith and practice, for it denies the existence of God, revelation and a future life, it treats the individual man as a means and not an end; it encourages class warfare. * * * The conference holds that while a state must take the precaution it regards as necessary to protect good order and peace from subversive movements, it is the special duty of the church to oppose the challenge of the Marxian theory of communism by sound teaching and the example of a better way, and that the church, at all times and in all places, should be a fearless witness against political, social and economic injustice."

————*

THE second Lambeth conference resolution quoted by Bishop Dandridge said: "The conference believes that communism is presenting a challenge to Christian people to study and understand its theory and practice so that they may be well instructed as to which elements in it are in conflict with the church's view of man and must therefore be resisted, and which elements are a true judgment on the existing social and economic order."

Bishop Dandridge pointed out that in the confusion, honest, earnest and devoted people who are intent on

Episcopal church the word "Communism" is not mentioned. But he asserted that there is abundant mention and condemnation of some of the things which Marxian Communism teaches and does. "The church teaches belief in God; Marxian Communism is atheistic. The church teaches that man is a spiritual being made in the image of God; Marxian Communism teaches that man is of this earth and this life only. The church teaches that human personality is of supreme value; Marxian Communism teaches that the state or the class is of supreme value and man is a puppet. The church teaches that truth, justice and righteousness have universal validity as expressions of the eternal will of God; Marxian Communism teaches that there are no universally valid moral principles, but the supreme law is what the state deems expedient."

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————*

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Bishop Dandridge pointed out that in the confusion, honest, earnest and devoted people who are intent on needed reforms become easy victims of the clever, fanatical and unscrupulous men in the Kremlin. "The totalitarian tyrants use the honest liberals as allies until they achieve power, and then crush them."

Bishop Dandridge said the resolutions quoted from the Lambeth conference show that the church leaders recognize the right of the state to take the precautions it regards as necessary to protect good order and peace from the subversive movements.

"But," the bishop declared, "in seeking to discover and destroy subversive movements, we ought not only as Christians, but as honest and intelligent people, to beware of being swept away by a wave of hysteria, and to refuse to take part in or condone baseless charges, false accusations which assassinate character and rob honest and patriotic Americans of their peace and reputation. There has been a shocking amount of this lately, and it seems to me to be especially cowardly when it is done under the protection of congressional immunity."

————*

THE Lambeth resolutions "recognize the special duty of the church to oppose the challenge of the Marxian theory of communism by sound teaching and the example of a better way," said Bishop Dandridge. "We are awakening to the realization that Soviet imperialism must be met by force, and that our institutions must be guarded against subversives at home.

"But Soviet Communism is not only a mighty military machine; it is also a fanatical, intolerant, materialistic faith. You cannot bomb an idea. Only a faith can conquer a faith. Only the true faith can overcome the false.

"Therefore the church—and that means you and me as Christians—has a special responsibility to meet the challenge on the intellectual and spiritual levels, to teach the Christian faith and Christian ethics and morals with renewed devotion, earnestness and clarity, both at home and abroad."

In concluding, Bishop Dandridge told the Laymen's League of St. Paul's: "The church's stand on communism is not and cannot be a blind championing of our present social and economic and political system against all change. It must be and is Kingdom of God, seeking to preserve all in the present civilization that is in harmony and to resist all that would destroy those values and at the same time pushing on to bring our way of life a little closer to that Kingdom which is strength and peace and joy in the Holy Ghost. Marxian Communism was born in despair and hatred; it must ultimately be overcome by faith and hope and love."

Jour - Amer

Tennessee Council on Human Relations

AFFILIATED WITH THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL INC.

CLARENCE L. HUGHES
OFFICE MGR.

January 23, 1956.

420 JACKSON BLDG
CHATTANOOGA 2, TENN.
TELEPHONE 7-9761

RECEIVED JAN 24 1956

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell,

Enclosed is a newspaper clipping of January 22, 1956, pertaining to the Southern Regional Council having been attacked in the Hearst press as to have had pro-Communist taints; written by Alfred Mynders, editor of the Chattanooga Times.

Clarence L. Hughes
Clarence L. Hughes

CLH:bjd

Original
Copies of this letter were sent to:

The Rev. A. S. Turnipseed
Paul R. Christopher
W. C. Brooke
Herbert Davidson
J. M. Ellison
Charles G. Gomillion
Charles S. Johnson
Benjamin L. Mays
Carter Wesley
Josephine Wilkins

Curious
Heard
Journal & Guide file

January 9, 1956

Dr. Rufus E. Clement, President
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Clement:

As you will recall, Mr. Morris Abram was to go to New York, at the behest of Dr. Mitchell, personally, to explore the legal possibilities of libel action against the Hearst newspapers. Mr. Abram has completed the trip and is prepared to advise interested board members on what may be done.

Can you attend a meeting in the offices of the Southern Regional Council at 3:30 p. m., Tuesday, January 17? Mr. Abram will be present and we hope at that time to discuss the situation in detail. The Council will bear travel expenses.

Please let me know as promptly as possible whether or not you will be able to attend.

With best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming,
Assistant Director.

HCF:mf

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF
. . . . HAROLD C. FLEMING . . . .

Jour-Ames File

1-17-56

no Turnipseed ✓
yes Christopher X
yes W C Brooke ✓
no Davidson X
yes? Ellison
? Gomillion X
yes Johnson ✓
yes Mays ✓
yes Wesley X
yes Wilkins ✓
yes? Clement X
yes Mitchell ✓
Haas
No Atwood

✓ = present

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF
. . . . RUBY HAMILTON . . . .

1-13-56

Mr. Harold Fleming

Dr. Rufus E. Clement received a letter from you concerning Mr. Morris Abrams visit to New York.

Dr. Clement will not be able to attend the meeting to be held on January 14th. He will be out of town until the 19th ___ Sorry

Daytona Beach Evening News
DAYTONA BEACH MORNING JOURNAL
The Sunday News-Journal

OFFICE OF THE EDITOR DAYTONA BEACH, FLORIDA

Jan. 13, 1956

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I can't get away to attend that Jan. 17 meeting. But you may, if you like, express to the Board my opinion that the libel action would not be worth while. While I believe a cause of action exists, I believe it would be difficult to prove damages and that the trial of the case would be exhausting and perhaps embarrassing to all concerned. Mr. Loescher tells me, moreover, that he understands that Hearst management realizes that the writers went too far and that it is unlikely such an offense will be repeated. Has any effort been made to take up the matter with Seymour Berkson, publisher of the N.Y. Journal-American?

I guess I am just not litigious.

As ever,

Herbert

Herbert M. Davidson/eb

The INFORMER Group of Newspapers

FAIRFAX 8347

THE INFORMER · THE DALLAS EXPRESS · MEMBER A.B.C.

★

P.O. BOX 3086
2418 LEELAND
HOUSTON 3, TEXAS

January 12, 1956

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432 - 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thanks for your letter of January 9. I am always running into impossible situations with the SRC. The Publishers have a Workshop meeting beginning there on the 19th, (January) running through the 21st. I can't see how I can get there for Tuesday, the 17th, and stay through. Neither would I like to come there on Tuesday and double back again for the 19th.

So I'll have to abide by the decision of the group that meets with Mr. Abram on the 17th, expressing now my willingness to go along, if there is a possibility of a suit's being effective.

Very truly yours,

Carter Wesley

/d

THE MARKET
• 2,800,000 PEOPLE
• PLENTY MONEY
• WILLING TO BUY
• AWAITING INVITATION

The Methodist Church
MOBILE DISTRICT - ALABAMA CONFERENCE
Telephone GR 7-5050 251 Island Court
Mobile, Alabama

A. S. TURNIPSEED
District Superintendent

Jan. 12, 1956

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Asst. Director,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Room 432, 53 Auburn Avenue, N. E.,
Atlanta, 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I will be in Atlanta, Tuesday January 17, 1956 at 3:30 P. M., for the meeting in the Southern Regional Council offices when Mr. Morris Abram will be present.

Sincerely,

A. S. Turnipseed
A. S. TURNIPSEED
District Supt.

AST:ZDT

FISK UNIVERSITY
NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

12 January 1956

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432 - 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I have your letter about the meeting of the Southern Regional Council, at their offices in Atlanta, on Tuesday, January 17 at 3:30 p.m. I am interested in attending, and having the opportunity to discuss in detail the results of Mr. Morris Abram's recent trip to New York. There is, however, some slight difficulty. I have scheduled meetings in Minneapolis this week end and will be in Chicago the first part of next week. My present plan is to try and finish up business matters in Chicago earlier than at first planned, and fly from there to Atlanta for the meeting. I trust this will prove satisfactory.

Sincerely yours,

Charles S. Johnson

CSJ:aef

Tuskegee Institute

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE
ALABAMA

OFFICE OF THE
DEAN OF STUDENTS

January 11, 1956

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director, SRC
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thank you for your letter of January 9, concerning the meeting with Mr. Morris Abram in the office of the Regional Council at 3:30 p. m., Tuesday, January 17. I regret greatly that it will not be possible for me to attend this meeting as I must attend the annual business meeting of the Conference of Alabama Colleges at Talladega College on Tuesday, January 17. I would appreciate information as to the decisions reached at the meeting in Atlanta.

Thank you for keeping me informed as to the progress in this matter.

Very truly yours,

C. G. Gomillion
Dean of Students

cgg:m

WALTER P. REUTHER
PRESIDENT

JOHN V. RIFFE
EXECUTIVE VICE-PRESIDENT

JAMES B. CAREY
SECRETARY-TREASURER

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR
and
Congress of Industrial Organizations

REGION ~~xx~~ 8
PAUL R. CHRISTOPHER
DIRECTOR

TENNESSEE, KENTUCKY
NORTH CAROLINA, VIRGINIA

TELEPHONE: 2-6780
TELETYPEWRITER KX 89
216 FLATIRON BUILDING
705 BROADWAY, N. E.
KNOXVILLE 17, TENNESSEE

ERNEST B. PUGH
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
102 N. BELVIDERE STREET
RICHMOND 20, VIRGINIA

PHONE: 3-4770

January 11, 1956

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

By now George Mitchell probably has already given you the answer to the question posed in your letter of January 9th. He was by the office last Monday, when my secretary informed him I was confined to the hospital.

I would dearly love to be in Atlanta for the meeting with Morris Abram on January 17th. However, my doctor says I will not be released from the hospital before next Monday, January 16th at the very earliest, and the latest word from him is that I should be prepared not to be disappointed if my stay is continued for at least one more week beyond January 16th.

I believe you know how I feel about this matter, and you can tell Morris Abram and others who attend the meeting that I am ready to be a party to the suit and will do my share. I would also appreciate a report of some kind on the decision arrived at, and what is expected of me in the way of my share and contribution.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

Paul R. Christopher

Paul R. Christopher

PRC:llr
liu 1695 afl-cio

REV. W. CARROLL BROOKE
POST OFFICE BOX 208
STAUNTON, VIRGINIA

January 11, 1956

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Thank you for your letter of the ninth.

I am planning to be present at 3:30 on Tuesday afternoon, January seventeenth.

I hope that we can come to a definite conclusion at this time.

With best regards to you, I am

Sincerely,

Carroll

Jour - Amer

MOREHOUSE COLLEGE

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

January 18, 1956

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Please let me know what you decided about the Suit against the Hearst newspapers. I certainly hope we can get seven (7) or eight (8) people to cooperate in this matter.

With kindest regards and best wishes, I am

Yours truly,

Benjamin E. Mays
President

BEM/m

Jour - Amer.

The Alabama State College

Montgomery, Alabama

FOUNDED IN 1874

H. COUNCILL TRENHOLM, PRESIDENT

January 26, 1956

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

IN RE: Your Memorandum of January 23

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I herewith acknowledge receipt of your special memorandum of January 23 as an up-to-date indication of the status of the "libel case". I have been in receipt of your previous communication on this item for which I have maintained a special file.

In response to your request for an indication of my personal reaction I wish to advise that at the present time I would choose to be identified with the small group of those who have indicated to you that they do not prefer to share in a suit. I am both aware and appreciative of the several aspects of this matter. However, it is my considered judgment that I would prefer at this time not to anticipate participation in the considered suit.

Pleased to have shared the conference yesterday with Dr. Mitchell and hoping possibly that you may have on your schedule the annual meeting of the Alabama Council on Saturday, February 11, I am

Yours very truly,

H. Councill Trenholm

HCT:A

H. Councill Trenholm

Jour - Amer.

ATLANTA UNIVERSITY

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

January 26, 1956

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, Northeast
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I was sorry I was not able to be present at the conference with Mr. Abram relating to a possible libel action. Put me down most emphatically as one who desires to press the libel suit if legal and financial considerations permit.

Sincerely yours,

Rufus E. Clement

REC:1

MEMBER UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND

Journal American - File

February 7, 1956

President R. B. Atwood
Kentucky State College
Frankfort, Kentucky

Dear Mr. Atwood:

Thank you for your letter concerning the matter of a possible libel suit.

I am glad to have your thinking on the question.

I am also glad to know that the Hearst charges have had no repercussions in Kentucky. They have been picked up by the American Legion and various prosegregation groups in other areas and are being used with some vigor to embarrass the work of the Council and the individuals so defamed.

We will not continue to circularize you about the on-going developments with respect to this question, but if at any time you wish to be brought up to date let me know and I shall be glad to comply.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming,
Assistant Director.

HCF:mf

Kentucky State College

Frankfort, Kentucky

OFFICE OF PRESIDENT

January 27, 1956

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Room 432
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

This will acknowledge receipt of your memorandum of January 23 to appropriate board members.

I have not had opportunity to discuss the matter with anyone. However, little or no attention has been paid to the matter in this area. My present thinking is that a suit will simply stir it up and give honor to a matter apparently dying or dead.

I am, therefore, inclined to leave it alone, at least, for the present.

Very sincerely yours,

R. B. Atwood

R. B. Atwood
President

RBA:wts

Journal American File

February 7, 1956

Dr. Charles S. Johnson
Fisk University
Nashville, Tenn.

Dear Dr. Johnson:

Thank you for your thoughtful letter concerning the matter of a possible libel suit. I believe the attitude you express so well is that of all of the individuals who are interested in this possibility. You will be hearing from Dr. Mitchell shortly about next steps.

Meanwhile, I enclose two further repercussions of the Hearst charges which you may not have seen.

With kindly regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming,
Assistant Director.

HCF:mf

Enc.

Journal
Com File

FISK UNIVERSITY
NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

30 January 1956

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I have your mimeographed statement concerning the matter of a possible suit for libel, on the part of members of the Board of the Southern Regional Council.

I was emotionally disturbed by the irresponsible and libelous publication of the Hearst papers, and wanted immediate correction of equal volume and outreach. I am still of the opinion that the irresponsible press should be held to account for its slanders, and will join with any others who wish to pursue a course of legal action.

In spite of the libel and slander, it has seemed to me that the Hearst Press has been more seriously condemned for its irresponsibility than I have been injured by its inaccuracies. Of course, I may find, at some unexpected point, that these printed statements may carry a critical weight too late to correct through the normal channels. This, I assume, is the really important reason for a formal challenge now.

There is such obvious ridiculousness about the article carried and the individuals castigated, the case to be brought would be one that was against irresponsible journalism than any issue involving politics or beliefs, per se.

I am, of course, very much less interested in any punitive damages that might come out of this than public correction of false statements and interpretations. Is there such a thing as having the same group of lawyers representing the libeled individuals, require first a full and definitive repudiation through the same press, to be followed by legal action if this is denied.

The time, trouble and annoyance of legal procedure, unless one is seriously damaged professionally or financially, might well be recognized in this kind of a situation. However, as a general matter of the public welfare and the protection of individuals from the indiscriminate and irresponsible calumny of financially strong agencies of public news and communications, I would be quite willing to join other responsible associates in carrying forward such legal action.

Sincerely yours,

Charles S. Johnson

CSJ:vlr

CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL
of New York, Inc.
20 VESEY STREET
NEW YORK 7

via: Air Mail

February 14, 1956

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Just for the record, I thought you would want to know that the material and your letter, dated February 10, and evidently mailed the same day in Atlanta, "via Air Mail", did not reach me until today, Tuesday, at 3 p.m.

Looking forward to seeing you tomorrow, at 4 p.m., I am,

Sincerely yours,

George K. Hunton

GKH:a

HCF

TELEPHONE 3-3377

RECEIVED FEB 20 1956

L. E. THOMAS
ATTORNEY AND COUNSELOR AT LAW
1035 N. W. SECOND AVENUE
MIAMI 36, FLORIDA

February 17, 1956

Dr. George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta - Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

This will acknowledge receipt of copies of your letters to several Board members concerning the liebel suit. I have decided to simply ignore the whole thing.

With kindest personal regards, I am

Yours very truly,

L. E. Thomas

L. E. Thomas

LET/vel

HCF

ATLANTA UNIVERSITY
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

RECEIVED FEB 18 1956

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

February 17, 1956

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, Northeast
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Doctor Mitchell:

Thank you for your letter of February 14. I met with Messrs. Fleming and Wright in New York on Wednesday of this week where we had an opportunity to discuss the libel question with an eminent New York attorney. We should probably make no firm plans until Messrs. Fleming and Wright report on our New York conference.

With appreciation.

Sincerely yours,

Rufus

REC:l

UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND

HCF

MOREHOUSE COLLEGE

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

RECEIVED FEB 16 1956

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

February 15, 1956

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Although it would be a little hard on me, I think it is worth my sacrificing a thousand dollars if we can get a good case against the Hearst Paper. Keep me informed as to the reaction of the others.

Sincerely,

Benjamin E. Mays
President

BEM:J

RECEIVED FEB 16 1956 HCF

WALTER P. REUTHER
PRESIDENT

JOHN V. RIFFE
EXECUTIVE VICE-PRESIDENT

JAMES B. CAREY
SECRETARY-TREASURER

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR
and
Congress of Industrial Organizations

REGION 4xx 8
PAUL R. CHRISTOPHER
DIRECTOR

TENNESSEE, KENTUCKY
NORTH CAROLINA, VIRGINIA

TELEPHONE: 2-6780
TELETYPEWRITER KX 89
216 FLATIRON BUILDING
705 BROADWAY, N. E.
KNOXVILLE 17, TENNESSEE

ERNEST B. PUGH
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
102 N. BELVIDERE STREET
RICHMOND 20, VIRGINIA

PHONE: 3-4770

February 15, 1956

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Rm. 432
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear George:

This is in reply to your letter of February 14th, with regard to the proposed law suit.

Like you, I don't have the $1000, but will get it. I would like at least 30 days' notice before it has to be made available.

Sincerely,

Paul Christopher

Paul R. Christopher

PRC:llr
liu 1695 afl-cio

ACF

Tuskegee Institute

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE
ALABAMA

OFFICE OF THE
DEAN OF STUDENTS

February 17, 1956

RECEIVED FEB 18 1956

Dr. George S. Mitchell
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Thank you for the copies of your letter of February 14 to Mr. Benjamin Mays, Mr. Rufus Clement, Dr. Charles S. Johnson, Miss Josephine Wilkins, Mr. Paul Christopher, Mr. Carter Wesley, et. al. Concerning possible legal action in behalf of persons who seemed to have been libelled by the New York Journal American. If the majority of the persons libelled are interested in supporting legal action, and feel that their records are such that they are not vulnerable, I shall be glad to cooperate in supporting the action. The limit, however, of my financial support would be a maximum of $500.00. If this sum is acceptable, you may count on me for that much.

Sincerely yours,

C. G. Gomillion

C. G. Gomillion

cgg:m

Sous. - Amer.

REV. W. CARROLL BROOKE
POST OFFICE BOX 208
STAUNTON, VIRGINIA

February 21, 1956

Mr. George S. Mitchell
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

Thanks for the copy of your letters to the individuals concerned in the possible litigation.

I don't see where there is a possible chance of my raising a thousand dollars. In the first place, I don't have it; and I am very poor as a money-raiser. I will do what I can, however, in exploring the possibility.

You will be glad to know that the first experiment with the state councils last Saturday was a great success. We had about fifteen members of our Board present; and Fred Routh and Dr. Parrish, along with Mr. Hope and his consultants did a grand job. I Was especially impressed with the ability of Mr. Hope to lead a group. More than likely they will find ways in which they can enlarge upon their work as they move southward to the other states. It was the unanimous feeling that this was a splendid move on the part of the Southern Regional Council.

With every good wish for you, I am

Sincerely yours,

Carroll Brooke

Your - Answer. HCF

The INFORMER Group of Newspapers

FAIRFAX 8347

THE INFORMER · THE DALLAS EXPRESS · MEMBER A.B.C.

P.O. BOX 3086
2418 LEELAND
HOUSTON 3, TEXAS

February 21, 1956

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E. - Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

In answer to yours of February 14, I don't have $1000 lying around loose, either. But if enough of the other people libelled in this SRC deal will put up $1000 to satisfy the lawyers, I will undertake to find the $1000 by the time it has to be paid. I want to emphasize that I won't put up $1000 in any pot less than the minimum that the lawyers will accept as sufficient for their research, so that they will have the possibility of frittering it away in research then telling us later that they don't have enough and can't carry on the suit. If $10,000 is the minimum that they will accept for the research, then I mean that my $1000 will be one of the $10,000 committed, and on condition that there is such firm commitment.

I am not questioning the selection of lawyers or their plans, or anything else, I am leaving these things to you and your associates, whom I'll trust. As you notice, I am merely trying to make sure that there will be no abortive attempt to get ready and then dropping of the case.

Very truly yours,

Carter Wesley

/d

THE MARKET
• 2,800,000 PEOPLE
• PLENTY MONEY
• WILLING TO BUY
• AWAITING INVITATION

File - Attacks - Hearst

Mentzer, Bush

AND COMPANY

EDUCATIONAL PUBLISHERS · 2210 SOUTH PARK WAY, CHICAGO 16, ILLINOIS

Richmond, Va.
Feb. 5, 1956

Dear George,

I spent Thursday and Friday in New York re our trouble with the N. Y. Journal - American. Thursday morning and lunch was occupied with Monsignor McCarthy, Chancellor of the Military Ordinariate (Catholic Chaplains in the Armed Services) and Monsignor Walsh, Director of the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine. They listened to our story with sympathy and strong through their connections to get me an appointment first with Jack Herbert, a Catholic, publisher of the Journal-American and then with Frank Conniff who was close to Mr Hearst senior. Neither was available so we had to settle with a conference with John Clements, Director of Public Relations (see attached card). Both McCarthy and Walsh thought my best bet at the moment was to make a contact, give my impressions of the SRC and ask for a later appointment for a full dress presentation with officials of the SRC present with representatives of the J - A.

My visit with Clements though cordial was entirely too brief. He had to interrupt our session and go to another meeting. He did agree to a meeting with SRC officials at an early date mutually agreeable when the case could be aired in detail. He mentioned

(over)

that he would ask a Mr. Matthews to sit in on the proposed meeting. This was somewhat disturbing because Matthews is the person who wrote the articles charging, quite unfairly I believe, that one-third of the Protestant ministers in the U.S. have been tinged with Communism.

But at least Clements is agreeable to reviewing the case and to hearing our side of the story. Clements is a hard hitting individual and, I judged, not one to be easily convinced that writers of the J-A. have erred. I left with Clements the blow-up article from the Va-Pilot, Mynders' editorial defending the SRC and our folder "SRC Towards the So. of the Future". He asked for some literature and I didn't desire to give him too much at this time.

Thursday night I saw Fr. LaFarge and George Hunton of the Catholic Interracial Council. They suggested that I see Judge John F. X. McGohey of the U.S. District Court. This I did the next day. McGohey, you will recall, prosecuted the 11 Communists in the celebrated 9 month's trial, which led to their conviction. Soon after he was named Judge. I gave an overall picture to the Judge and he seemed much impressed. He expressed his willingness to review all materials which we might send him and to sit in with SRC officials

Mentzer, Bush
AND COMPANY
EDUCATIONAL PUBLISHERS · 2210 SOUTH PARK WAY, CHICAGO 16, ILLINOIS

a day in advance of the meeting with Clements when this is set. I think with some persuasion the Judge could be induced to join you and the SRC groups as an advisor when you meet with Clements – if the meeting were "off the record". At least the Judge will meet a day in advance and advise you.

The Judge is plenty keen, he is willing to fight when justice is at stake and he has a tendency to sympathize with the under dog. I liked him immediately. The Judge is a Catholic and is not afraid of the J-A crowd who respect the Judge very much.

The Judge also suggested that Gerard Carroll counsel of the Grace Lines (Steamship) be invited to the meeting ahead of the appointment you make with Clements. Carroll is Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Catholic Interracial Council. I know Carroll is a fine gentleman and an exponent of fair play. Both Carroll and the Judge are highly respected around NYC and they have the ear of Cardinal Spellman if ~~they~~ there is any chance, which presently

(over)

I doubt, of bringing the Cardinal into the picture.

The Judge suggests that you prepare a strong fact sheet to support your argument and to send him a set of your materials. Or, you can send them to me and I'll send them to the Judge. I expect to be home all week.

I suggest that you write Clements for an early date for meeting with him. Set up the meeting with the Judge and perhaps Carroll and also George Hunter a day ahead, if possible, of the J-A. meeting. Of course it is important that Marion Wright be present with you - I am assuming that. It might be a good idea to have Dr. Rufus Clement at the meeting. Or Leonard Haas, or Hal Fleming.

This is not as good a report as I should like to send you but, under the circumstances, the best that I could accomplish. If the date you decide on is one I can make, and you want me, I'll be glad to join you in N.Y. But I cannot make it this coming week beginning tomorrow: perhaps the following week - early part say Tuesday and Wednesday. But my presence is not essential and the earliest date you can settle the better it will be.

I will send no expense sheet for my trips to N.Y. but I will charge off my expenses as a donation to SRC - for tax purposes.

Please explain to Marion why I am sending this to you. I trust you will send him a transcript.

Best regards always

Sincerely
Paul

PIEDMONT HOTEL

450 ROOMS • 450 BATHS • ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

For Judge – Sent

✓ Anti-Cook Memos (edited)

✓ Bios data

Changing Patterns

✓ CCS Awards – 3

✓ Hearst article

✓ Articles stemming from Hearst

✓ Msgr McNamara's ltr.

✓ Howard Odum's

✓ McDowell Richards

Editorials –

South of Future ("What They Say")

Your Hotel in Atlanta

Confraternity of Christian Doctrine
31 East 50th Street
New York 22, N. Y.
Plaza 9-1400

Mr. John A. Clemments will see Mr. Williams this afternoon at 2:00 p.m. at the Hearst Magazine Building
959 Eighth Avenue
(corner of 57 Street)
Third floor
Mr. Clemments is the Director of Public Relations.

Hon. John F. X. McGohey,
370, First Ave.,
New York 10, N. Y.

Criticism - Jones - Dunn

CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL

of New York, Inc.
20 VESEY STREET
NEW YORK 7

February 28,1956

Harold C. Fleming, Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thank you for your very kind letter of the 25th. We are very glad to cooperate and to know that our assistance was helpful.

Please be assured that we are more than happy to lend any assistance that lies within our power and hope that you will not hesitate to call on us whenever you think we can be helpful.

With best wishes to Dr. Clement, Mr. Wright George Mitchell and yourself, I am,

Sincerely yours,

George K. Hunton

GKH:a

George K. Hunton

Journal Amer.

ATLANTA UNIVERSITY
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

February 28, 1956

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thank you for your letter of February 27 and the enclosure. I think you have made an excellent summary of the conferences I participated in while in New York recently.

With kind regards.

Sincerely yours,

Rufus E. Clement

REC:c

MEMBER UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND

March 15, 1956

Mr. Ivor A. Trapolin
National Bank of Commerce Building
New Orleans, Louisiana

Dear Mr. Trapolin:

That's most kind and thoughtful of you.

I enclose the following items:

Leaflet - "The Southern Regional Council."
Story from Hearst Journal-American, Nov. 7, 1955
Information about the persons libelled in the Journal-American story
Column from Chattanooga Times, November 13, 1955
List of all persons who had been members of Executive Committee of SRC through October, 1955
News story from Richmond Times-Dispatch, April 25, 1953
List of members of the Board of Directors of SRC as of March 14, 1956
Memorandum re "Attack on the SRC," prepared in October, 1955, shortly after the Attorney-General of Georgia had made accusatory (though brief) mention of SRC in a talk mostly denouncing the NAACP
Letters from Prof. Howard Odum and from the Rt. Rev. Msgr. T. James McNamara, in 1954.
Publication of SRC entitled "Changing Patterns in the New South," as covering pretty well the Council's points of view in past years.
Policy Statement, adopted in 1951.
Interesting article re attitude of Communist Russia toward the U.S. Supreme Court's decision of 1954.

Any of these could be forwarded to responsible persons.

The truth is that the Southern Regional Council was formed and has been carried only by persons firmly American and anti-Communist. Understandable that bigots, attempting to score in unrelated campaigns of their own, should accuse us of being influenced by Communism; understandable, but in error; and deeply hurtful to the cause of Americanism.

Please let me know if further information is needed.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

Encs.

March 21, 1956

Father Raymond Bernard, S.J.
St. Louis University
St. Louis, Missouri

Dear Father Bernard:

Shortly after this booklet was published in South Africa I sent copies of it pretty well around to leading Protestant clergymen in the Southern States. I sent a scattered few copies out to Catholic Bishops whom I thought would take an interest in it.

The topic was not timely then and I daresay most of my precious copies found their way to inactive spots.

I have lately fetched over forty odd more copies and send them out again.

I send you one. I haven't enough to get them out widely to the Bishops. Nor do I suppose that the publication coming as it does from non-Catholic sources is of ready interest. But I do want some Catholic personage to get a copy; and I fasten upon you.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

Encl.

March 20,1956

Mr. Milton C. Vigo, Executive Director
Louisiana Council on Human Relations
303 Board of Trade Annex Building
New Orleans 12, Louisiana

Dear Milton:

Here are some items for Fr. Bernard.

The Winstom-Salem story has some swampy paragraphs in mid-page (middle of item "Sound Leadership"), but they are overtopped by our policy statement of 1951, attached and portions marked.

Any of the items sent Mr. Trapolin would be all right. So I send you herewith a "Trapolin Packet" - identical to what was sent to him, except that "Changing Patterns" is here omitted (only for economy and postage. Suggest you add one).

If Father Bernard will take an interest it would be most helpful. I do hope he can and will extend his plan sufficiently.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

LOUISIANA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

LOUISIANA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS — AMITY UNITY

303 BOARD OF TRADE ANNEX BLDG. NEW ORLEANS 12, LOUISIANA

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MILTON C. VIGO, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

MAGNOLIA 4295

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in Louisiana.

March 12, 1956

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED MAR 14 1956

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Mr. Ivor A. Trapolin, a local attorney and a lecturer at Loyola University, is interested in defending organizations such as the SRC, NAACP, etc. against false accusations by such groups as the American Legion.

As I told you this past Friday, I had sent some information to him about the SRC and the LCHR. He called again this morning to find out if the National American Legion had accused the SRC along with the Fund for the Republic of subversive activities. I told him that I wasn't sure of the statement about the National American Legion, however, I would give him your address so that he may write to you directly.

Another matter; Father Raymond Bernard, S.J. of Saint Louis University, and the Managing Editor of a Jesuit's publication, SOCIAL ORDER, had visited me in New Orleans about a month ago and is desirous of a write-up about the SRC and the LCHR besides the recent rebuttal to the attacks on the SRC and the Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation.

Do you have a sketch or an outline of the history and achievements of the SRC? This would provide him with some basis background information.

I would appreciate it very much if such an outline or sketch is available that you would send a copy to me at your earliest convenience.

Sincerely yours,

Milton

Milton C. Vigo
Executive Director

Avid by phone Mar 20 '56 elh.

MCV/jrb

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF
. . . . HAROLD C. FLEMING . . . .

Hearst File

For Mr. William Fowlkes, Pittsburgh Courier:

In their efforts to discredit the Fund for the Republic, the Hearst newspapers have made a wholly unjustified attack on the reputations of various board members of the Southern Regional Council, a recipient of Fund for the Republic aid. Included in this unprincipled attack were some of the most distinguished Negro Americans -- Charles Johnson, Rufus Clement, Benjamin Mays, and the like.

It is noteworthy that the Hearst story has been reprinted in a Southern paper by the Virginia equivalent of the White Citizens Council. Doubtless the other white supremacy organizations in the South will make use of this material from a New York newspaper to besmirch the good name of organizations and individuals who advocate compliance with the Supreme Court's desegregation rulings.

MEMORANDUM

FROM: HAROLD C. FLEMING

TO: Appropriate Board Members

SUBJECT: Attacks by the Hearst Press

As you know, The New York Journal American and other Hearst-owned newspapers on November 7 carried a story impugning the patriotism of 21 members of the SRC Board. Our concern over this slanderous article was increased by its use in Virginia and Tennessee to discredit SRC affiliates in those states. On November 15 and 16, I conferred with the staff of the Fund for the Republic and other agencies friendly to SRC, in New York. Subsequently, Dr. Mitchell, Mr. Wright, and Mr. Haas have discussed the situation. This memorandum summarizes what we know, at the moment, of the legal and public relations aspects of the matter.

Legal

Pending detailed legal study, it is the consensus that the 21 persons attacked may have legal grounds for a libel action. The Fund for the Republic has undertaken, through its counsel, to study the question in terms of jurisdiction and precedents in New York. The resultant findings will be purely advisory. Whatever they may be, the final decision will rest, individually, with the persons named in the newspaper story. However, should two or more persons decide to sue, the possibilities of a concerted action should be considered. The SRC, as an organization, would apparently have no basis for becoming a party to any legal action in this instance.

Mr. Leonard Haas, SRC's Counsel, has also done some preliminary study which reveals successful libel actions by persons who were falsely called"communists," "communist sympathizers," and "fellow-travelers"; the two latter terms, obviously, are closely analogous to the term "pro-red," which was that used by the Journal American headline.

As soon as the preliminary legal findings are available, we will pass them on to you. Meanwhile, we recognize that many extra-legal considerations are involved in contemplating libel actions; these may lead to differing individual decisions. We will, at any rate, summarize and circulate the most important extra-legal factors once the legal situation is clarified.

Public Relations

The Hearst papers are vulnerable to some extent, in terms of both circulation and public opinion, to the charge that they have defamed some of the nation's most prominent Negro citizens, as well as an organization which is working effectively for compliance with the Supreme Court's rulings in the South. Some of the steps in process are:

(1) The facts just mentioned are being brought to the attention of principals in the Hearst organization by such agencies as ADL and AJC, which are widely known and respected in New York.

(2) The NAACP either has protested, or will shortly, to the Hearst papers.

(3) The Negro press has strongly criticized the Hearst story; the use being made of it by white supremacy elements in the South has been called to the attention of the Negro press and may prompt further criticism.

(4) There is a possibility of direct protest to the Hearst papers from influential Catholic sources.

(5) We will undertake to get the positive story of the SRC and its work told by a national magazine of mass circulation, a network television program, or both.

(6) We will reproduce and distribute, through the Atlanta office and the state affiliates, favorable matter on SRC published by

newspapers or magazines. (A case in point was the recent column by Mr. Alfred Mynders in the Chattanooga Times.)

(7) The Atlanta office will work closely with the various state organizations in maintaining and strengthening the SRC's reputation throughout the South, as well as in meeting direct attacks.

Saturday

Dear Harold:

The laundry man found your letter yesterday--apparently, it had blown away when I got out of the car. So, just ignore my plea of Friday.

That's a masterful letter to Starzel and we're glad you marked Bem in on the second chapter. Please keep us posted on the next developments.

Margaret

Friday

Dear Harold:

Please solve a Price mystery: did you write to us this week? Yesterday afternoon I picked up the mail in our box and carried it in the house, along with assorted packages, papers, etc. I was sure I spotted a letter from you to Bem and told him so when I picked him up at the bus line last night. Then the search began, but no letter from you could be found.

Now I'm wondering: did I see one in the first place? It's a little like a Hitchcock movie, with someone bent on proving the heroine mad by a series of just such incidents. In brief, if you did write, will you please repeat?

I'm sure Bem somehow tossed it somewhere by mistake and he's positive I did the same or that I didn't see such a letter in the first place. Meanwhile, the house got a thorough going over and a little incidental dusting along the way, so all was not in vain.

Of course, in any event, we're both hoping to hear from you, as a follow up to the phone call last week-end. The whole situation is awful and I certainly hope those involved won't take this quietly. Please keep us posted, because we're both vitally interested.

Give me love to Jane and Gary and tell them I'll write soon.

—Margaret

THE ATTACK ON

THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

THE ATTACK ON FREE OPINION

Last March the Southern Regional Council declared:

"There is presently a concerted attempt by official leadership (in the deep South) to stamp out independent thought and stifle all dissent with respect to school segregation...."

In recent months, the attempt to intimidate and silence those who believe in an enlightened, law-abiding approach to race relations has gone into high gear.

The object of this attack on constructive Southern organizations is to frighten off the thousands of religious, civic, labor, and business leaders who have joined together to work positively at the South's most urgent problem. It is revealing that, although the work of these organizations goes back 35 years, only now have Southern politicians chosen to strike at them.

Most recently, the Hearst press -- in order to strike at the Fund for the Republic -- libelled some of the most distinguished members of the Southern Regional Council's board.

This, in brief form, is the story of the Southern Regional Council. Many Southerners may disagree with the Council's point of view. But no fair-minded person, in full possession of the facts will doubt that it is an honest and patriotic organization, responsible in both its methods and its aims.

HOW THE SRC BEGAN:

The Southern Regional Council and its predecessor, the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, have a history of 35 years of constructive activity. The Commission was founded in 1919 by a group of the South's leading church men and women. Among them were Dr. M. Ashby Jones, prominent Baptist minister, Mr. John J. Eagen, businessman and philanthropist, Dr. Plato Durham, dean of the Emory University Theology School, and Dr. Will W. Alexander, the Commission's director. Its work in behalf of sound race relations was acclaimed by the South's leading newspapers, religious leaders, and by many public officials. It provided a meeting ground where the best people of both races could work together to dispel prejudice, tensions, and violence. It made possible, through persuasion and education, much of the interracial progress of which Southerners today can be justly proud.

Early in the 1940s, leaders in the Southern interracial movement joined together to revitalize their efforts. As a result, the Commission on Interracial Cooperation merged in 1944 with the newly formed Southern Regional Council. The organizing meeting of the Council was held in response to a "call" issued by some of the South's finest leadership, including:

G.H. Gillman, Georgia Director, C.I.O.
George L. Googe, Southern Director, A.F.L.
M. Ashby Jones, Baptist minister
Ryland Knight, Baptist minister
Rabbi David Marx, The Temple, Atlanta
Bishop Arthur J. Moore, The Methodist Church
Ralph McGill, editor, The Atlanta Constitution
Stuart R. Oglesby, Presbyterian minister
Most Rev. Gerald P. O'Hara, Bishop of Savannah-Atlanta
Dean S. Paden, President, King Hardware Company
J. McDowell Richards, President, Columbia Theological Seminary
Bishop John Moore Walker, The Protestant Episcopal Church
Goodrich C. White, President, Emory University.

Following the deliberations of this group and a subsequent conference with Southern Negro leaders, the SRC was chartered early in 1944. The incorporators were Bishop Arthur J. Moore, Ralph McGill, Dr. Rufus E. Clement,

president of Atlanta University, Dr. Charles S. Johnson, president of Fisk University, and Dr. Howard W. Odum, professor of sociology at the University of North Carolina.

Since this auspicious beginning, the Council's membership has included distinguished Southerners, white and Negro, in all walks of life. Dr. Odum was the first president of the organization. He was succeeded by Paul D. Williams, of Richmond, Va., a prominent Catholic layman and co-founder of the Catholic Committee of the South. Mr. Williams served as president for six years -- from 1945 until 1951. He was succeeded by Mr. Marion A. Wright, widely known as a South Carolina attorney active in civic and educational affairs, now living in Linville Falls, N. C.

The Council's present and past board members number well over 150. The quality of its leadership may be measured by the list of members of the Executive Committee over the past 12 years, attached.

HOW SRC WORKS

The Southern Regional Council consists of a board of some 90 Southerners representing the major religious faiths, both races, and the 13 states of the region. The members, list attached, are respected residents of their states and their communities. These people are the Southern Regional Council. They make the policies and review all activities at an annual meeting. They elect an Executive Committee which meets at least every three months to give closer direction to the organization. And full reports of all activities are sent to the members quarterly. The Council is non-profit, non-political, and non-denominational.

WHAT SRC HAS DONE

The Council works through the sound methods of education, fact-finding, and persuasion. It seeks no legislation, it carries on no court action, and it uses no "pressure group" tactics. It collects the facts about racial problems and progress in the South and makes these available to private citizens and public officials. NEW SOUTH, the Council's monthly publication,

has built an unchallenged reputation for reliability and accuracy. Following are some of the areas with which the SRC's educational program has been concerned:

* Employment of Negro policemen in Southern communities.

* Newspaper handling of racial news.

* Community self-surveys, in which local people study their problems as a basis for achieving local solutions.

* Conferences of leading white and Negro Southerners with common concerns and a common desire to further democratic practices in their areas of interest -- health, housing, education, etc.

* Voluntary decisions to open professional associations, private colleges, public libraries, and the like to all qualified persons without respect to race.

* Impartial enforcement of the law and administration of justice in the South.

* Orderly adjustment at the community level to the recent decisions of the Supreme Court holding public school segregation unconstitutional.

AFFILIATED STATE ORGANIZATIONS

With the aid of a grant from the Fund for the Republic, the Southern Regional Council is assisting interracial organizations in 12 Southern states. Each of these organizations has its own membership, officers, and staff. In each case, people of the state involved make their own decisions as to policy and program. Affiliation with the Southern Regional Council is voluntary, and the purpose of the short-term financial aid from SRC is to help the state groups become strong, self-sustaining bodies.

CHURCH SUPPORT

Church people have always been the moving force in the Southern interracial movement. This is as true today as it was 35 years ago. All of the

major religious groups represented in the South have taken their stand in favor of the principle embodied in the Supreme Court's segregation ruling. The court ruling was endorsed by the Southern Baptist Convention, many of the Southern conferences of The Methodist Church, the General Assembly of the Southern Presbyterian Church, the Province of Sewanee (Southeastern) of the Protestant Episcopal Church, the Catholic Bishops of the South, the various Jewish religious and fraternal groups, and virtually all of the other denominations found in the South. It is only natural that many religious Southerners should seek to put the principles of their faith into everyday practice.

The Southern Regional Council and the affiliated state groups have enjoyed both financial and moral support from religious bodies representing the three major faiths.

Dr. George S. Mitchell, executive director of the Council, received the 1953 Annual Award of the Catholic Committee of the South "for his significant contribution to the welfare of the South."

COMMUNISM AND RACE RELATIONS

Those who seek, for political or other reasons, to fan the fires of racial prejudice have set out to brand interracial progress as "communist-inspired." By this means they hope to confuse the public and discredit the growing number of individuals and organizations who believe in equal citizenship for all.

Not only is this phony "anti-communism" vicious; it offends the intelligence of every thinking person. The international communist movement has one, and only one, interest in our racial problems -- that is, to exploit them throughout the world. Some two-thirds of the people of the earth are dark-skinned, and the communists are trying desperately to win them with the claim that our kind of democracy is available only to white persons. If there were no racial discrimination or segregation in this country, the communist movement

in Asia and Africa would lack its most effective weapon.

A perfect example of this fact is the reaction of Soviet Russian officialdom to the Supreme Court decision. For days, the government-controlled Russian press made no mention whatever of the decision. When at last they could ignore it no longer, they announced defensively that the decision meant nothing -- that it would never be implemented. This is precisely the argument that the demagogues make so noisily. Unwittingly perhaps, but undeniably, they do a great service to the cause of communism every time they raise their voices on behalf of "white supremacy".

Individuals and organizations that work responsibly and conscientiously for the growth of democracy in the South and the Nation are the opponents that the communists really fear. Yet it is precisely these individuals and organizations that irresponsible elements seek to defame and discredit. What could please the communists more than to get the credit for every effort to make our American ideal a working, living reality? What could please them more than a campaign to arouse suspicion and hatred of those citizens who work intelligently for a more just, democratic, and Christian society? How they must delight in the irony of such Americans being stigmatized as servants and dupes of the communist cause!

No informed person believes that the communists want to see Negroes accorded equal rights and dignity or that they want to see our racial problems solved through the orderly processes of the law and constructive community action. The communists want to see us hopelessly bogged down in our prejudices and our fears. They want to see us defying the law of the land, whipping up racial hatred for political purposes. In this respect, they have a common purpose with the white supremacists.

TO KEEP OPINION FREE

The Southern Regional Council is a realistic organization. It was organized by Southerners and is run by Southerners who have lived with the problems

of our region and know them well. Therefore, the Council recognizes the difficulties inherent in the changes now required of the South. But the people who make up the Council believe that we can and will -- as, indeed, we must -- make the transition to a society in which citizenship is not qualified by race.

The issue here is not whether everyone can agree with this point of view -- obviously many do not. The issue is whether or not citizens can voice this and other legitimate opinions without suffering abuse at the hands of officials and newspapers.

The answer must be "yes" if we are not to have thought-control in the South. The power of state officials is great, and if misused it is dangerous to all. If any citizens can be penalized for legitimate opinions honestly held, then all citizens can be penalized at the pleasure of a few.

- copy -

IT IS LIBELOUS PER SE TO CALL ANOTHER A "COMMUNIST" OR A "COMMUNIST SYMPATHIZER".

The cases generally hold it to be actionable per se, as subjecting the person charged to ridicule, contempt, shame and disgrace to publish or orally state that one believes in or follows certain political or sociological principles, practices, or views, which, in the main, are objectionable to the average person in the community.

33 Am. Jur. page 65.

Spanel v. Westbrook Pegler, 160 Fed. (2d) 619; 171 ALR 699.

Similarly, it has been consistently held to be actionable per se in libel to charge a person with being a "pro-Nazi," a "pro-Jap," a "Pro-Fascist," "un-American," etc.

Parmelee v. Hearst Publishing Co., 341 Ill. App. 399, 93 N.E. (2d.) 512.

The decisions make it apparent that the difference, if any, between calling a man a "communist" and stating that he is agent for the "Party", or a "Red", or a "Pink", or a "fellow-traveler", seems to be one of degree only, since the basis for the reproach is a belief that such political affiliations constitute a threat to our institutions and those who fear such threat are not likely to believe that it is limited to party members.

Farm Bureau Federation v. Nat'l P.U.S. Corp, 198, Fed. (2d) 20; 33 ALR (2d) 1186.

Holding it libelous to term one a "Communist" or a "Communist Sympathizer", the Court, in Americans for Democratic Action v. Meade, 72 Pa. DAC 306, held also that the published statement that the A. D. A. was "flirting" with communism, together with the charge that the A. D. A. was "infiltrated" with "Communists", could be found by a jury to be capable of the meaning that the A. D. A. had "Communist" members, espoused "Communist" doc-

trines, and was influenced in its policies by "Communists" or "Communism", and that a jury could find that the statement had a defamatory meaning, as tending to harm the reputation of another, to lower him in the estimation of the community, or to deter third persons from associating or dealing with him.

In Spanel v. Pegler, 160 Fed. (2d) 619, 171 ALR 699 the Federal Circuit Court for Appeals for the Seventh Circuit held that in Illinois it is libelous per se to write of another that he is a "Communist" or a "Communist Sympathizer", since the label of "Communist" to-day, in the minds of many average respectable persons, places one beyond the pale of respectability, making him a symbol of public hatred.

In Grant v. Readers Digest Ass'n, 151 Fed. (2d) 733, the Federal Circuit Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit held it libelous to write of a lawyer that he acted as a legislative representative for the Communist Party. In the well-reasoned opinion by Judge Learned Hand it is stated that although the publication did not say that the Plaintiff was a member of the "Party," its implication was that he was in general sympathy with its objects and methods, or, in other words, a "fellow traveler", was none the less odious.

In Hays v. American Defense Society, 252 N.Y. 266, a political pamphlet charging that some of the Directors of the organizations to which the Plaintiff belonged were "reds" or "red radicals", and were using certain members as dupes to contribute to the general purpose of the Communists, the Court held this was not libelous as to the Plaintiff, whose name did not appear in the pamphlet except in a list entitled "Index to Directorates." It may be noted by implication that a different result might have been reached had it been found that the opprobrium was directed at the Plaintiff.

CAN A NON-PROFIT ORGANIZATION, SUCH AS SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, FILE SUIT FOR SLANDER OR LIBEL?

A brief summary of the authorities indicates that there is no case in point where the exact question has been raised; in other words, in none of the cases that the writer has found has the point been raised that the Plaintiff was a non-profit organization.

In Farm Bureau Federation v. Nat'l F.U.S. Corp., 198 Fed. (2d) 20 33 ALR (2d) 1186, where the Plaintiff was awarded $25,000.00 damages in the suit, the first headnote of the case reads as follows:

"The general rule is that one who falsely, and without privilege to do so, publishes of a corporation for profit matter which tends to prejudice it in the conduct of its trade or business, or to deter third persons from dealing with it, is liable to the corporation".

Nothing is said in the case as to whether an action would lie by a non-profit organization as the point was not raised.

However, in the case of the JOINT ANTI-FASCIST REFUGEE COMMITTEE v. McGrath, 341 U.S. 123, 71 Sup. Ct. 624, in which the plaintiff organization applied for relief against the Attorney General of the United States for having been classified as a "Communist" organization and placed by him on the list of subversive organizations (where the U.S. Supreme Court reversed the decision of three lower courts and held that the Attorney General was required to give these organizations a hearing before so listing them as subversive) Mr. Justice Burton, in announcing the judgment of the court, stated that the acts of the Attorney General had the effect of crippling the functioning and damaging the reputation of the organizations, in their respective communities and in the nation, and, hence, violated each organization's common law right to be free from defamation.

It is interesting to note that in the Petition of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee it is alleged that the acts of the Attorney-General "have caused many contributors, especially present and prospective civil servants, to reduce or discontinue their contributions to the organization; members and participants in its activities have been vilified and subjected to public shame, disgrace, ridicule and obloquy, thereby inflicting upon them economic injury and discouraging participation in its activities; it has been hampered in securing meeting places; and many people have refused to take part in its fund-raising activities," (equivalent allegations might be made in the event Southern Regional Council undertook to reimburse any of its officers for legal fees and expenses incurred in any libel suit brought by such officer or employee.)

This suit involved not only the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee but also the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, Inc., and the International Workers Order, Inc., each of which were non-profit organizations.

We also find that the Americans for Democratic Action, a non-profit organization, was granted relief in a libel suit in its case hereinabove cited supra.

In view of the foregoing, while there is no case directly raising the point whether a non-profit organization may file suit for slander or libel, the writer is of the opinion that when the point is raised that the courts will decide that such anaction will lie for the reason, as stated by Mr. Justice Burton, in the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee case that each organization has a common law right to be free from defamation.

Respectfully submitted.

Union Calendar No. 290
80th Congress, 1st Session - - - - - - - - Report No. 592

REPORT ON

SOUTHERN CONFERENCE FOR HUMAN WELFARE

INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

EIGHTIETH CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

Public Law 601

(Section 121, Subsection Q (2))

JUNE 16, 1947.—Committed to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union and ordered to be printed

UNITED STATES
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
WASHINGTON : 1947

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BENJAMIN MANDEL, *Director of Research*

80TH CONGRESS } HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES { REPORT
1st Session } { No. 592

INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

JUNE 16, 1947.—Committed to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union and ordered to be printed

Mr. THOMAS of New Jersey, from the Committee on Un-American Activities, submitted the following

REPORT

SOUTHERN CONFERENCE FOR HUMAN WELFARE

(Formerly)

2124 UNION STREET, NASHVILLE, TENN.

(Now)

608 PERDIDO STREET, NEW ORLEANS, LA.

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Harry W. Schacter

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E. L. Abercrombie
Mary McLeod Bethune
Charlotte Hawkins Brown
Louis Burnham
Sam Freeman
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Percy Greene
R. L. Hickman
Myles Horton
J. C. Jacques
Lucy Randolph Mason
Mortimer May
George S. Mitchell
Frank Prohl
Samuel Rodman
Mrs. A. W. Simkins
Alva W. Taylor
John B. Thompson
Charles Webber

EX OFFICIO

Henry Fowler[1]
Mrs. Harry M. Gershon
Joseph L. Johnson
Lee C. Sheppard
Aubrey Williams

ADVISORY ASSOCIATES

Melvyn Douglas
Mrs. Marshall Field
Kenneth DeP. Hughes
Michael M. Nisselson
Channing H. Tobias
Henry A. Wallace
Palmer Weber

Tarleton Collier, secretary
J. Daniel Weitzman, treasurer[2]

[1] See p. 10.
[2] The Southern Patriot, December 1946.

The Southern Conference for Human Welfare is an organization which seeks to attract southern liberals on the basis of its seeming interest in the problems of the South. In the early history of the organization, some well-intentioned persons were misled into joining. Many of them have since severed their connections on learning its true character.

Careful examination of its official publication and its activities will disclose that the conference actually is being used in devious ways to further basic Soviet and Communist policy. Decisive and key posts are in most instances controlled by persons whose record is faithful to the line of the Communist Party and the Soviet Union.

Origin

In reporting to its constituents, the conference is extraordinarily vague as to the exact origin of the organization. "It was born in the hearts and minds of a large group of devoted southerners known as the Southern Policy Committee." No names are given. This nondescript group met several times early in 1938 in Birmingham, Ala. "Several other persons were asked to attend a meeting on July 21, and the idea of a Southern Conference was presented to them." The report does not say who presented the idea or who was present. "The persons present voted themselves in as sponsors and members of the arrangements committee" and subsequently a permanent organization meeting was called at Birmingham on September 6, 1938. (Report of the Proceedings of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, November 22, 23, 1938, pp. 3 and 4.) Its claim to represent any significant proportion of southern opinion is, therefore, entirely self-assumed.

While the conference has succeeded in confusing certain elements in the North by its pretensions, representative southerners harbor no illusions as to its real character. The Democratic Women's Club, of Alabama, an organization of long standing in the South, publicly demanded the disclosure of the names of the initiators of the conference, who provided the necessary finances and who appointed the delegates. They charged that the conference was of "questionable origin and purpose" (Birmingham News, November 25, 1938).

In their own inner circles the Communists were not nearly so reticent in claiming responsibility for the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. In his article in the Communist of January 1939, official monthly organ of the Communist Party, Robert Fowler Hall, then secretary of the Communist Party, of Alabama, and speaker at the April 1940 session of the conference, reveals the moves behind the scenes. Referring to an earlier speech of Earl Browder, at that time general secretary of the Communist Party, Mr. Hall wrote:

> Comrade Browder's remarks thus anticipated the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, held in Birmingham, November 20–23 * * *. Let us estimate the Southern Conference in the light of Comrade Browder's remarks at the tenth convention of the Communist Party * * *. In this sense, we can say that the Southern Conference was a brilliant confirmation of the line of the democratic front advanced by Comrade Browder at the tenth convention * * *. Our comrades * * * naturally watched the conference preparations closely and helped wherever possible * * *. Southern State organizations of the Communist Party were represented at the conference by five southern Communist delegates. Our party contributed in a modest but constructive manner to the

success of the conference * * *. In strengthening this movement, our party has before it a great task. On this basis, our party can and must proceed to recruit from the progressive ranks many hundreds of members (pp. 57, 60, 61, and 65).

In other words, the Communists were using the conference as a specific application of the so-called popular-front policy in the South. This line had been adopted by the Communist International at its seventh congress in Moscow in 1935 and was being applied by the Communist Parties throughout the world prior to the signing of the Stalin-Hitler pact. The honest liberals drawn into the conference were merely the most convenient guinea pigs.

While the Communist Party as such boasted of few delegates, it must be remembered that the bulk of the Communist supporters came from front organizations under their control, which participated in the conference. This was ultimately proven by test votes on various controversial issues.

Communist Party writers made every effort to emphasize the significance of the Conference for Human Welfare. Robert F. Hall, who today is Washington correspondent for the Daily Worker, called it a "representative of the new forces" in the South, working for the "development of a powerful movement of the southern masses for peace, democratic rights, and security" (Communist, August 1940, pp. 690 to 702). Thus the conference supplemented the activity of the American League for Peace and Democracy, the chief Communist front during this period.

James W. Ford, Negro Communist candidate for Vice President, speaking of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare and the Southern Negro Youth Conference, declared, with considerable pride that—

> The Communists, through their pioneering work in the South, may justly claim to have laid the foundation for these great social movements (Communist, September 1938, p. 828).

In a radio address delivered on November 27, 1938, over Station WOL, Earl Browder expressed the opinion that the Southern Conference for Human Welfare was one of the signs of the awakening of the American people. In a public hearing before the Special Committee on Un-American Activities he identified it as one of his party's "transmission belts."

Evidence before our committee indicates that the central committee of the Communist Party was intimately concerned with the affairs of the conference from its very inception. William Weiner, former treasurer of the Communist Party, testified that a subsidy of $2,000 had been paid to the Communist Party of Alabama in 1938, when the Southern Conference for Human Welfare was founded, that this conference had been discussed with Robert F. Hall, when he was in New York, and that it had also been discussed by the central committee of the Communist Party. Mr. Browder publicly admitted that the Communist Party had "suffered great hardships to maintain the growing southern movement."

COMMUNIST MANIPULATION

Not only do the Communists claim the conference as their own product, but they even disclose how they pulled the strings. Mr.

Hall, apparently the chief moving spirit, points out that the main work of the conference was carried out through sections or panels and that resolutions adopted in the panels were usually adopted by the conference as a whole (Communist, January 1939, p. 58). Here is how this plan actually operated.

A resolution on education was presented by Paul Crouch for the Communist Party of Alabama and unanimously adopted (Daily Worker, November 22, 1938, p. 6). Crouch was a member of the editorial staff of the Southern Worker, official organ of the Communist Party in the South. Associated with him on this board were Robert F. Hall and Ted Wellman, Communist Party State secretary for Tennessee. Crouch was convicted for treasonable activities within the armed forces of the United States in Hawaii on June 8, 1925. He subsequently made a pilgrimage to Moscow where he paraded in a Red Army uniform (Daily Worker, May 1, 1928, p. 5).

Members of the resolutions committee of the November 20-23, 1938, conference were:

Chairman, Clyde M. Mills, Georgia
Prentiss M. Terry, Alabama
William Mitch, Alabama
George Googe, Georgia
R. R. Moore, Alabama
Lucy Randolph Mason, Virginia
Father Rambouts, Louisiana
Donald Comer, Alabama
Stanton E. Smith, Tennessee
Virginia Henry Mayfield, Alabama
Dr. Arthur Raper, Georgia
Myles Horton, Tennessee
Roy Lawrence, North Carolina
Julia F. Allen, Kentucky
Barry Bingham, Kentucky
Elizabeth Hawes, South Carolina
W. C. Kelley, Florida
Edwin A. Elliott, Texas
F. D. Patterson, Alabama
Leonard Logan, Oklahoma
Mrs. D. D. Terry, Arkansas
George McLean, Mississippi

There is no record in the proceedings or elsewhere of their opposition to the activities within the conference of such outstanding Communists as Paul Crouch, Robert F. Hall, Ted Wellman, John P. Davis, and Edward E. Strong. The committee adopted the following Communist Party line resolutions: Demand for the release of the Scottsboro boys, endorsement of the Communist-dominated Congress of Mexican and Spanish-American Peoples, and condemnation of the Dies Committee.

Joseph Gelders was active in the conference's committee on plans for a permanent organization. Representing the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, Gelders was also the secretary of the strategy committee in the campaign for the Geyer anti-poll-tax bill. He was formerly secretary of the National Committee for Defense of Political Prisoners, which has been cited as subversive by Attorney General Biddle. Gelders personally accompanied Earl Browder on a visit to the Scottsboro boys (convicted of rape in Alabama) (Daily Worker, September 15, 1936, p. 3). He raised his voice in protest against the arrest of Communists in Chattanooga (Daily Worker, April 6, 1938, p. 3). He was also leader of a lobby for the American Peace Mobilization which conducted a picket line about the White House and denounced President Roosevelt as a "war-monger" (Sunday Worker, September 8, 1940, p. 3).

John P. Davis, identified as a leading member of the Communist Party by testimony before our committee and former secretary of the National Negro Congress, cited as a subversive organization by the Attorney General, was a leading speaker in the panel on constitutional rights of the first conference in 1938 and the 500 delegates applauded

his report. He was also vice president of the conference (Daily Worker, November 22, 1938, p. 6; April 17, 1940, p. 4).

Yelverton Cowherd, signer of a resolution against the Dies committee in 1939, who appeared before the La Follette committee in 1937 to defend the case of Joseph Gelders, was a member of the nominating committee at the first conference, according to its official proceedings.

Edward E. Strong, described by James W. Ford, Communist Vice Presidential candidate, as "a coming leader of the Negro people," present secretary of the National Negro Congress, contributor to the Communist youth magazine, The Champion, and signer of a statement in March 1941 defending the Communist Party, was a prominent speaker in the panel on youth problems in the 1938 conference, together with Howard Lee, attorney for Oscar Wheeler, Communist candidate for Governor of West Virginia. Strong was elected a member of the executive committee of the Council of Young Southerners, described on its letterhead as having "its origin at the Youth Commission of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare." He has been cited as a member of the "special branch" of the Young Communist League.

Dr. Herman C. Nixon was elected executive secretary of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare in 1938. He had been forced out of Tulane University for his social views. He had been cochairman of the Citizens Committee to Investigate Vigilantism in Gadsden, Ala., an offshoot of the International Labor Defense, and a member of the National Committee for People's Rights and the provisional committee of the National Conference on Constitutional Liberties. The International Labor Defense, as well as the last two committees named, have been cited as subversive by the Attorney General. Nixon's book Forty Acres and Steel Mules, has been highly praised by Robert F. Hall, then Communist secretary for Alabama, in the New South of February 1939 (p. 10).

Two known Communist Party members who have supported the conference in recent years are Don West, poet and professor; Langston Hughes, writer. Paul Robeson, who has frequently defended the Communist Party and attended its meetings, voiced an appeal for the release of Earl Browder at the conference's meeting in 1942. His appeal was echoed by Frank P. Graham in a statement sent to the President.

JAMES DOMBROWSKI

At the April 1942 sessions of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, James Dombrowski was elected executive secretary. He was the signer of a statement defending the Communist Party in March 1941 and a speaker for the National Conference for Constitutional Liberties in 1940. The latter organization has been cited as subversive by the Attorney General.

Dombrowski, together with Myles Horton, a member of the present board of representatives of the conference, helped launch a joint Socialist-Communist united-front movement in the South in 1935. As Socialist Party leaders in Tennessee, the two men endorsed a united-front plan of action which included campaigns against the AAA and for a "rank and file" movement in the American Federation

of Labor (Chattanooga Times, January 28, 1935, p. 5). They have both been charged with operating as stooges for the Communist Party within Socialist circles.

A clue to Dombrowski's political views is given in his book, The Early Days of Christian Socialism in America (1936). Dombrowski asserts that the Rev. George D. Herron, whom he considers "by far the most able man" in the early days of the Christian Socialist movement, pointed out in the last decade of the nineteenth century:

> . . . that class lines were becoming more sharply defined, that the logic of the inherent contradictions within capitalism was leading inevitably to more and more concentration of wealth, to the enrichment of the few at the expense of the masses (p. 30).

Dombrowski goes on to defend Herron's views on violence. Herron, he says:

> . . . did not think that violence was inimical to a religious approach to social change. Peace at the expense of justice was not a religious solution to social problems. And resorting to his social interpretation of the cross, according to which all moral progress is made at the expense of suffering and sacrifice, he looked upon a revolution by violence, provided it promised a more just society, as a possible technique for social change worthy of the sanction of religion (p. 193).
>
> In his acceptance of the fact of the class struggle went the implicit recognition of the necessity for coercion (p. 192).

Frank P. Graham, head of the University of North Carolina, was the first chairman of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare and today remains as its honorary president. He is not a Communist and no doubt on occasion has had some differences with the Communist Party. He is, however, one of those liberals who show a predilection for affiliation to various Communist-inspired front organizations.

Graham urged freedom for Earl Browder and served as sponsor for a dinner which the publication, Soviet Russia Today, held to celebrate the 25th anniversary of the Red Army. He also was associated with the International Labor Defense, legal arm of the Communist Party; American League for Peace and Democracy; American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born; American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom; American Friends of Spanish Democracy; China Aid Council; China Aid Council of the American League for Peace and Democracy; Committee for Boycott Against Japanese Aggression; Conference to Lift the Embargo; Coordinating Committee to Lift the Embargo; Medical Bureau; and North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy.

OTHER OFFICERS

The roster of conference officers for 1947–48 shows that pro-Communists and fellow travelers still hold the reins of the organization. James Dombrowski continues to occupy his same key position under the new title of administrator. Serving as his associate and also as editor of the conference organ, the Southern Patriot, is Frank C. Bancroft, who has a lengthy record of Communist Party front activity.

Bancroft defended the Communist Party on March 5, 1941, and April 26, 1947, and also defended Sam Darcy, a Communist Party candidate for Governor of California, who was convicted of perjury. Bancroft signed an open letter calling for closer cooperation with the Soviet Union and held the responsible post of managing editor with

Social Work Today, a publication which promulgated Communist propaganda among social workers.

His other Communist front associations include the American Peace Mobilization, which picketed the White House during the Stalin-Hitler pact; the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, which defended Communist cases; the American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom, which defended Communist teachers; People's Institute of Applied Religion, headed by Claude C. Williams, a Communist Party member; and the Social Workers Committee for Russian War Relief.

Rounding out the administrative staff of the conference is Mrs. Edmonia Grant, also an associate to Dombrowski. A member of the conference since its inception, she defended the Communist Party on April 26, 1947, and supported the front organization, National Negro Congress.

CLARK HOWELL FOREMAN

Clark Howell Foreman, president of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, has no open affiliation with the Communist Party. He has frequently denied any such affiliations or connections. He has been most successful in confusing the people as to the Communist-front character of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare.

Foreman has written a book entitled "The New Internationalism" in which his understanding of the international Communist movement and his sympathies with it are reflected on almost every page. The book displays marked contempt for European democratic Socialists and reformists, who are equivalent in this country to liberals who prefer democratic rather than revolutionary methods. Foreman does not hesitate, however, to exploit and deceive such liberals to the limit in the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. And although he ventures certain mild criticisms of Soviet policy, he has not recently expressed any such strictures toward either the Soviet Government or the American Communists.

We cite certain passages from Foreman's book to illustrate his views:

> Karl Marx arose as the great philosopher for the laboring man (p. 26).
> Lenin correctly described the Russian bourgeoisie as the weakest link in the capitalist chain (p. 44).

After showing the break-down of capitalist internationalism, Foreman quotes G. M. Stekloff, well-known Russian Communist writer, as follows:

> But whereas the internationalism of the bourgeoisie is continually frustrated by the mutual competition of national capitalism, the internationalism of the proletariat is nourished and strengthened by the active solidarity of the interests of all the workers, regardless of their dwelling place or nationality (p. 74).
> * * * The Paris Commune stands next to the Russian revolution as an achievement of the Socialist theory (p. 77).

Criticizing the reformist Socialist leaders, Foreman quotes J. Lenz, a leading Communist writer:

> The overwhelming majority of the party and trade-union leaders drew from the experiences of the Russian revolution the opposite conclusion—that of retreat from decisive conflicts with the class enemy, of avoiding struggles which demanded sacrifice as the struggles in Russia had done, of adaptation to the bourgeois order of society, of limiting the movement to parliamentary methods of struggle (p. 79).

In an appeal to the Socialists of all countries, the Petrograd Soviet said: "This war is a monstrous crime on the part of the imperialists of all countries who, by their lust for annexations, by their mad race for armaments, have prepared and made inevitable the world conflagration" (p. 83).

The militant leaders of the Marxian bolsheviks, under the cry of "Peace, Bread, and Land," appealed to the popular desires of the masses (p. 84).

To all the colonial and semicolonial peoples, however, Russia's successful break from the capitalist system was a great inspiration (p. 88).

* * * the more powerful Stalin had banished Trotsky and his friends and had eloquently announced to the world his Five-Year Plan of industrialization (p. 90).

Internally, the Russians, despite their liberality to the minorities in the U. S. S. R., were almost inevitably bound to consider their success in nationalist terms (p. 90).

With such a set-up it is patent that the U. S. S. R. is potentially capable of being both self-sufficient in case of war and prosperous in times of peace (p. 139).

Foreman is associated with the Progressive Citizens of America, an allegedly liberal organization which believes in cooperating with Communists. He has also been affiliated with the following Communist-front groups: The Win-the-Peace Conference; the Washington Committee for Democratic Action, which defended Communist cases before the United States Civil Service Commission; and the National Citizens Political Action Committee.

Foreign Policy

The most conclusive proof of the Communist domination of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare is to be found in the organization's strict and unvarying conformance to the line of the Communist Party in the field of foreign policy. It is also a clear indication of the fact that the real purpose of the organization was not "human welfare" in the South, but rather to serve as a convenient vehicle in support of the current Communist Party line.

In 1938, when the Communist Party was advocating collective security of the democracies against the Fascist aggressors, a letter of greeting from President Roosevelt brought 2,000 conference delegates to their feet cheering (Daily Worker, November 22, 1938, p. 1). The conference voted to endorse—

* * * an American peace policy, such as proposed by President Roosevelt and Secretary of State Hull, to promote the national security of our country, to curb aggression and assist the democratic peoples of the world to preserve peace, liberty, and freedom.

The change of the Communist line resulting from the signing of the Stalin-Hitler pact invoked a bitter struggle in the Southern Conference for Human Welfare at its meeting in April 1940. Robert F. Hall, secretary of the Communist Party of Alabama, acting as the Communist whip, presented an eight-point program which demanded "an uncompromising peace policy." The liberals led by Frank P. Graham and W. R. Couch, of the University of North Carolina, supported the policy of the Roosevelt administration. At one stage in the battle there was a threat of fisticuffs. But the liberals were no match for the Communist steam roller, which castigated them with the high crime of being "anti-Soviet." The thousand delegates denounced war and "pro-Allied propaganda," as threatening America with war. They declared themselves "unalterably opposed to loans to the Allies and other belligerents" and denounced war appropriations "at the expense of the welfare of the American people at home." The only consolation which the liberals salvaged from the fracas was a mild resolution

condemning aggression by "Nazis, Communists, or imperialists." The Communists could grant their opponents this convenient sop since in their eyes the Soviet invasion of Finland and Poland was not aggression but liberation (Daily Worker, April 17, 1940, p. 4).

The rift between the Communists and the liberals was quickly healed as soon as Hitler invaded the Soviet fatherland and the Communists suddenly relinquished their "unalterable" opposition to the war. Wholehearted agreement marked the sessions of the conference held on April 19, 20, 21, 1942 devoted to "the South's part in winning the war for democracy." The convention demanded that all "join in a great offensive now, to work, to produce, to sacrifice, to win" (Daily Worker, April 23, 1942, p. 3).

With the end of World War II, the attitude of the conference on foreign policy veered once more in line with the new policy of the Communist Party. A resolution supported by the Southern Conference for Human Welfare and several other organizations, in April 1947, declared:

> Monopoly corporations' profits are draining dry the Nation's purchasing power; and this lust for profits is not only threatening our Nation with early economic disaster but is leading, behind the smoke screen of the false issue of communism, to imperialist adventures and more profit hunting abroad, and may yet pile a war on our heads as well as an economic depression (Daily Worker, May 6, 1947, p. 5).

Eugene Dennis, general secretary of the Communist Party in America, voiced exactly the same idea in his pamphlet, What America Faces, March 1946 (p. 14):

> * * * we are witnessing how the monopolists and their reactionary congressional coalition, aided by the administration, are reconverting. Theirs is a reconversion * * * as they hope, to union busting and the open shop, to soaring profits and prices and sinking wages and living standards, to aggression upon the democratic rights of the people here and upon the democracies abroad; theirs is a reconversion which, if they are permitted to pursue their course, is the road to the Hoover years of the great crisis, and to a new world war as the "way out" of capitalist crisis.

The new Communist Party doctrine is critical of any American "interference" in foreign politics but entirely favorable toward Russian expansionism. The conference organ, the Southern Patriot, clings closely to this line in its April 1946 issue. It quotes a leading conference spokesman as saying:

> * * * It was easy to gang up on the Russians * * * while the Czars were fighting the people of the country with their perfidious policies and police. It was easy to gang up on the Russians during the days of the Russian revolution. It has been easy for the rest of us to gang up ever since. I do not want to be a party to such a process (p. 3).
>
> * * * It comes with ill grace from certain world powers whose troops are stationed in every nation from Egypt to Singapore to make a world conflagration out of the movement of a few troops a few miles into a neighboring territory to resist an oil monopoly which they enjoy. And if American foreign policy is made the scapegoat for such imperialism it is more stupid than I thought it possible for it to be * * * (p. 5).
>
> * * * Before us then is the choice, war or peace, poverty or plenty, hopelessness or hope. If this decision were left to a free choice of the people of America, to the people of the Big Three, to the Russians whose faces are wreathed in smiles and friendship when one said "Amerikanski" to them, I know what the decision would be (p. 5).

The Southern Patriot editor suggested that readers could get full copies of this "strong and brilliant" appeal from the National Council for American-Soviet Friendship and went on to recommend the

council's biweekly propaganda sheet, Reporter on American Soviet Relations, as presenting "many facts not often available in the daily press."

President Truman's foreign policy in Greece and Turkey came in for abuse at the annual meeting of the conference's Washington committee in Washington, D. C., on April 7, 1947.

J. Raymond Walsh, a "frank apologist for the Communist line" according to Prof. John H. Childs of Columbia University, speaking for the Southern Conference in Washington, flayed President Truman's foreign policy in Greece and Turkey.

Insisting that America is a "radical nation," Walsh called upon the members to "defy fear and defy the forces who made the empty tables here tonight." "Some were afraid to come," he admitted.

Entertainer at the Washington meeting was Susan Reed, employed by Cafe Society, a night club owned by Barney Josephson, brother of Leon Josephson, leading Communist, Soviet Secret Service operative, charged with passport frauds. Mrs. Leon Josephson also owns an interest in this enterprise. Barney Josephson has been a supporter of the New York branch of the Southern Conference.

Conference President Clark Foreman, as toastmaster at the Washington meeting, denied that "anyone is afraid of communism."

The Washington committee of the conference obtained Henry Wallace, foremost critic of President Truman's foreign policy, for a public speech in the Nation's Capital, June 16, 1947. The committee scheduled on the same program, Zero Mostel, a favorite entertainer at Communist affairs and member of the American Youth for Democracy, formerly the Young Communist League.

The Washington committee's executive secretary is Robert Ware Straus, information director for the Office of Emergency Management who tried to get an OEM job for Ruth McKenney, well-known writer for the Communist publications, the Daily Worker and New Masses. Sponsors of the Washington group include Morris and Samuel Rodman, brothers associated with the pro-Communist Metropolitan Broadcasting Co.; and Mrs. Gifford Pinchot, a delegate to the Communist-controlled Women's International Democratic Federation in Paris in 1945.

At the South-wide fourth biennial convention of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, held in New Orleans, November 28–30, 1946, the chief speaker devoted most of his talk to a defense of Russia as a "misunderstood" government which will continue to remain at peace with the United States (Washington Daily News, November 29, 1946, p. 3, and New York Daily Worker, November 30, 1946, p. 4).

In January of that year, the Southern Patriot listed a Senator who calls for a strong Germany as one of the "representatives of the South in Congress, whose abandonment of the program the people voted for in 1944 should be remembered by their constituents when they come up for reelection" (p. 7). This position is in line with the discredited Morgenthau plan which has received enthusiastic Communist support.

The stand of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare on various other issues in which the Communist Party has been primarily concerned, serves to clinch the charge that the organization is merely a pliable instrument in the hands of pro-Communist wirepullers behind the scenes.

Public record fails to reveal that the conference has ever officially denounced communism or opposed Soviet policies.

The chairman of the committee for Virginia, Mr. Henry H. Fowler,[8] after seeing the preliminary press announcement of the committee's report, requested the committee to include by any mention of his name in the report, a notation that he had resigned from all affiliations with the southern conference as of April 15, 1947, after a membership of 1 year. His letter of resignation was duly acknowledged on April 28, 1947, by James A. Dombrowski, administrator. The reason he assigned for his resignation was stated in his letter as follows:

> The decisive factor in my present decision is the absence in the southern conference of any clear and positive stand against communism and the inclusion of Communists in the working organization and the unwillingness of my own State committee to initiate steps which would require a facing of this issue.

Elsewhere in his letter of resignation it appears that the State committee had rejected a resolution proposed by Mr. Fowler which expressed opposition to totalitarianism, be it Fascist or Communist, and would require each applicant for membership to assert by written pledge that he or she was—

> not a member of the Communist Party, or the Ku Klux Klan, or any other group or organization which to his knowledge, is opposed to the purposes and ideals of the organization as stated in this pledge.

Joint Activity With Communist Fronts

The Southern Conference for Human Welfare has further revealed itself as a Communist front organization by its cooperation with other Communist-dominated front groups.

Among these groups following the lead of the Communist Party in support of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare are the University of Virginia Chapter of the American Student Union (Student Almanac, p. 44), International Labor Defense (Yearbook 1939–41, p. 25), New South (October 1938, p. 15), Workers Alliance (Daily Worker, November 21, 1938, p. 1), Labor Research Association (pamphlet, Southern Labor in Wartime, p. 22) and the American Federation of Teachers at that time under Communist control (American Teacher, December 1938, p. 7).

In recent years, cooperation has also come from these Communist-controlled organizations: National Federation for Constitutional Liberties (April 4, 1946); United Office and Professional Workers of America, CIO (April 4, 1946); International Workers Order (February 1, 1947); League of Women Shoppers (September 8, 1946); United Public Workers of America, CIO (February 1, 1947); United Negro and Allied Veterans (September 8, 1946).

Samuel Neuburger, attorney for the Communist Party and for Leon Josephson, Soviet Secret Service operative charged with passport frauds, was one of the chief speakers at a mass meeting sponsored in Washington, D. C., April 4, 1946, by the local organizations of the Southern Conference, National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, and United Office and Professional Workers of America.

The president of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare (Clark H. Foreman) was a member of the initiating committee of the

[8] Referred to on p. 1.

Congress on Civil Rights, which met in Detroit, April 27–28, 1946, and which is now defending Gerhart Eisler, Comintern agent.

When the New York committee of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare held a 3-day street collection called Lend a Hand to Dixie Land September 19–21, 1946, the Communist-controlled American Labor Party of New York announced that its Bronx County clubs would hold street rallies in support of the drive. (Daily Worker, September 21, 1946, p. 5.)

The Daily Worker of May 27, 1947, publicized with approval the stand taken on southern issues by the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, the New Jersey State secretariat of the Communist Party, Civil Rights Congress, and the Progressive Citizens of America. Activities of the Southern Conference are generally featured prominently in the Daily Worker.

It is also interesting that funds totaling $1,500 were received by the conference in 1942 from the Robert Marshall Foundation—an organization which has donated heavily to the support of Communist front groups.

The Southern Patriot gives publicity to activities of such other front organizations as the Southern Negro Youth Congress and the National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax.

In June 1947 the conference organ also urged readers to demand local radio station outlets for a new weekly union radio broadcast, sponsored by the Communist-controlled United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers of America, CIO (p. 7).

Other publications recommended to Southern Patriot readers significantly include Facts and Fascism, by George Seldes, who edits the pro-Communist gossip and scandal sheet known as In Fact. Seldes' views have received high commendation from the Soviet press.

The Southern Patriot editor also has offered as reading suggestions: We Have Seen America, a collection of addresses by three Soviet journalists who toured America and bitterly criticized it, appropriately published by the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship; The Races of Mankind, a eulogy of Russia's treatment of minority groups that was condemned by the War Department; All Brave Sailors, a eulogy of the leftist National Maritime Union, written by John Beecher; and How Is Your Health? published by the Physicians Forum, a Communist front.

The conference publication in addition has defended the book, Our Good Neighbors in Soviet Russia, which was taken off the Texas school textbook list because of its pro-Soviet bias. The Southern Patriot has printed quotations from War Department orientation fact sheet No. 64—a fact sheet so suited to the Communist cause that the International Labor Defense, legal arm of the Communist Party, had it reprinted. The War Department subsequently withdrew this pamphlet from circulation.

Negroes

In allying themselves with the Communists and in permitting the Communists to control policy and strategic positions, the non-Communists in the Southern Conference for Human Welfare are

wittingly or unwittingly promoting the following fundamental principles of the Communist Party in dealing with the Negro question:

1. The Communists are not interested in the long-range welfare of the Negro. They are interested rather in using the issue as explosive and revolutionary tinder in destroying American democracy.

2. They have placed themselves on record as favoring an independent Negro Soviet Republic in the southern Black Belt which in essence is a call to civil war in which the Negro population would be the unhappy victims and in which all their social gains made in recent years would be sacrificed.

Denounced by Southerners

The pro-Communist bias of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare has been publicly attacked on several occasions. This committee formally cited the organization as a Communist front on March 29, 1944.

CIO leaders in April 1946 renounced the aid of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare in the union's southern organizational campaign, declaring: "No crowd, whether Communist, Socialists, or anybody else, is going to mix up in this organizing drive" (Baltimore Sun, April 19, 1946, p. 17).

The *Daily Worker* quickly sprang to the defense of the conference and denounced the CIO for a "red baiting" attack (Daily Worker, April 20, 1946, p. 5).

The Young Men's Business Club of New Orleans adopted the following resolution on November 14, 1946:

> *Be it resolved*, That the Young Men's Business Club of New Orleans go on record as being opposed to the activities of the organization known as the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, that the press and city officials be notified that many of the national officers of this group have definite communistic tendencies * * *.

Interlocking With Communist Causes

One could reasonably conceive of a group of individuals motivated by a desire to form an organization to promote human welfare in the South and with no trace of Communist sympathy or affiliation. One could even conceive of a group of well-intentioned but non-Communist individuals being enticed by camouflaged Communists into an enterprise strictly limited to this humanitarian cause. In the light of the fact that a significant number of the leading lights of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare are associated with organizations or campaigns for the defense of the Communist Party or individual Communists, or with organizations defending the Soviet Union, or its policies—issues which have nothing to do with the South—one is forced to the conclusion that, by and large, the common bond among its supporters is a certain degree of sympathy for the Soviet Union and/or the Communist Party, rather than any primary interest in human welfare in the South. One is further forced to conclude that the professed interest in southern welfare is simply an expedient for larger aims serving the Soviet Union and its subservient Communist Party in the United States.

Table showing connections with Communist front organizations or Ccommunist activities

Southern Conference for Human Welfare (name and position)	Statement defending Communist Party	Support or defense of individual Communists	Organizations defending Communists	Pro-Soviet relief or propaganda organizations	Organizations defending Soviet foreign policy
Ameringer, Oscar, sponsor			NFCL		ALWF, APM, CDAKOW.
Bancroft, Frank C., editor	Mar. 5, 1941	Darcy	ACDIF, NFCL	RWR	APM.
Bethune, Mary McLeod, member, board of representatives.		F. Smith, Herndon	ACPFB, NFCL	NCASF	ALPD.
Blanchard, Myles D., speaker			NFCL		ALPD.
Brown, Charlotte Hawkins, member, board of representatives.	Apr. 26, 1947	Mar. 18, 1945, Schappes	NFCL		WPC.
Buckmaster, Henrietta, member, New York executive board.		Dimitrov, Schappes	JARC, WCDA	NCASF	
Burnham, Louis, member board of representatives.		Browder	NFCL, ILD		APM.
Clement, Rufus E., member, executive board.			ACDIF, ACPFB	ACSR	
Coffee, John M., sponsor		Bloor	NFCL, NYCIR, ILD, JARC, WCDA, WTMC.	NCASF	ALPD.
Davies, Joseph E., sponsor			JARC	NCASF	
Davis, John P., sponsor, vice president		Herndon	NFCL, NYCIR, IJA, ILD, JCDBP, CRF, NLG, WCDA.		ALPD, APM.
DeLacy, Hugh, sponsor		Browder, Bridges, Schappes	NFCL, ACPFB, ILD, ACDIF	NCASF	APM.
DeLaney, Hubert T., sponsor		F. Smith, Herndon	NLG		
Dinwiddie, Courtenay, sponsor		Browder			
Dobbs, Malcolm Cotton, Alabama executive secretary.			NFCL		APM, CDAKOW.
Dombrowski, James, executive secretary, administrator.	Mar. 5, 1941		NFCL		
Douglas, Melvyn, advisory associate					ALPD
Dunjee, Roscoe, vice president	Apr. 26, 1947	Schappes, Herndon			
Durr, Virginia Foster, vice president			NCPR		
Emerson, Thomas I., sponsor			NLG, IJA		
Ezekiel, Lucille, supporter			WCDA, WTMC		
Feinberg, William, member New York executive board.		Dimitrov	JARC	RWR	
Foreman, Clark H., president			WCDA		WPC.
Frazier, E. Franklin, sponsor		Browder	WCDA		
Gelders, Joseph	Apr. 6, 1938		NCDPP, ILD, NFCL		APM.
Graham, Frank P., honorary president		Browder	ACDIF, ACPFB, ILD	NCASF	ALPD.
Grant, Edmonia, associate administrator	Apr. 26, 1947				
Granger, Lester, sponsor		Prestes	ILD		
Hall, Robert F., congress delegate, 1940 [1]					
Harriman, Mrs. J. Borden, supporter			JARC	ASCRR, NCASF.	
Harris, Gerald, member, executive board			NFCL	ACASF	APM, CDAKOW.
Hastie, William H., sponsor			NFCL, ILD, WCDA		
Hawes, Elizabeth, sponsor		Bloor, Flynn	NECDR	ACSR, NCASF	
Houston, Charles H., sponsor	(Mar. 5, 1941) (Apr. 26, 1947)	Schappes, Herndon	ACPFB, WCDA NFCL	NCASF	
Hughes, Langston, sponsor		Browder, Foster, Schappes	NCDPP, NFCL	FSU, NCASF	ALWF, APM.
Ickes, Harold L., speaker				NCASF	ASC.
Jernagin, William H., sponsor			NFCL, WCDA, WTMC		ALPD.
Jones, David D., sponsor	Apr. 26, 1947	Schappes	NFCL		
Josephy, Robert, sponsor		Browder	ACDIF, NFCL	ARI	
Kirchwey, Freda, sponsor		Schappes, Stamm, Bloor	ACDIF, LDC, NFCL	RWR	AAAIL.
Lee, Canada, sponsor		Schappes, F. Smith	ACPFB, ILD, SLDC		APM.
Lindeman, Eduard C., member, New York executive board.		Browder	JARC, NYCIR	ACSR	ALPD
Mays, Benjamin, member, nominating committee, 1947-48.	(Mar. 18, 1945 (Apr. 27, 1947	Bridges		NCASF	
McAvoy, Clifford, supporter	Mar. 5, 1941	Bridges, Browder, Darcy, Schappes.	ACDIF, NFCL, ACPFB, ILD	ACSR, NCASF	ALPD, CDAKOW.
McMichael, Jack, member, New York executive board.	do (Apr. 29, 1947		NFCL		(ALPD, APM, CDAKOW, WPC.
Mollegan, Albert T., sponsor	Mar. 19, 1940	Browder	NFCL, WTMC		ALPD.
Nixon, Herman C., executive secretary			NFCL, ILD, NCPR		
Parker, Dorothy, member, New York executive board.			ACPFB, NYTMC, HLDA, JARC, CRC.	ACSR	ALPD.
Peters, E. C., sponsor			ILD	ACSR, NCASF.	
Pressman, Lee, sponsor			IJA, NFCL, WCDA, NLG		
Reid, Ira DeA., speaker	Apr. 26, 1947	Browder	ACPFB, NFCL		ALWF.
Robeson, Paul, member, New York executive board.	(July 23, 1940) (Sept. 23, 1940) (Mar. 5, 1941) (Apr. 26, 1947)	Bridges, Browder, Schappes, F. Smith.	ACDIF, NFCL, ACPFB, JARC	RWR, NCASF	APM, WPC.
Smith, Lillian, sponsor		Browder			APM.
Smith, Mason, speaker		Browder, Schappes			APM, CDAKOW.
Spottswood, Stephen G., sponsor	Apr. 26, 1947				
Strong, Edward E., sponsor	Mar. 5, 1941				ALPD, APM, CDAKOW.
Taylor, Alvah W., member, board of representatives.	Mar. 18, 1945	Schappes, Bridges		ACSR	
Thompson, John B., member, board of representatives.			ACPFB		APM, CDAKOW.
Tobias, Channing, advisory associate		Dimitrov	NFCL	NCASF	ALPD, WPC.
Wallace, Henry A., advisory associate	May 29, 1947		ACPFB, ACDIF	ARI	
Walsh, J. Raymond, speaker	Dec. 14, 1939		ACPFB, NFCL	ACSR	
Webber, Charles C., member, nominating committee, 1947-48.		Bridges	ACSR, JARC, NFCL		ALWF.

[1] Member, national committee, Communist Party, U.S.A.

See table of symbols at end of table, p. 15.

TABLE OF SYMBOLS

AAAIL	All American Anti-Imperialist League.
ACDIF	American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom.
ACPFB	American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born.
ACSR	American Committee for Soviet Relations.
ALPD	American League for Peace and Democracy.
ALWF	American League Against War and Fascism.
APM	American Peace Mobilization.
ARI	American Russian Institute.
ASC	America Slav Congress.
ASCRR	American Society for Cultural Relations with Russia
CDAKOW	Committee to Defend America by Keeping Out of War
CRC	Civil Rights Congress.
CRF	Civil Rights Federation.
FSU	Friends of the Soviet Union.
HLDA	Hollywood League for Democratic Action.
IJA	International Juridical Association.
ILD	International Labor Defense.
JARC	Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee.
JCDBP	Joint Committee for the Defense of Brazilian People (Prestes).
LDC	Labor Defense Council.
NCASF	National Council of American-Soviet Friendship.
NCDPP	National Committee for Defense of Political Prisoners.
NCPR	National Committee for People's Rights.
NECDR	National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights.
NLG	National Lawyers Guild.
NYCIR	New York Conference for Inalienable Rights.
NYTMC	New York Tom Mooney Committee.
RWR	Russian War Relief.
SLDC	Sleepy Lagoon Defense Committee.
WCDA	Washington Committee for Democratic Action.
WPC	Win-the-Peace Conference.
WTMC	Washington Tom Mooney Committee.

Conclusion

The Southern Conference for Human Welfare is perhaps the most deviously camouflaged Communist-front organization. When put to the following acid test it reveals its true character:

1. It shows unswerving loyalty to the basic principles of Soviet foreign policy.
2. It has consistently refused to take sharp issue with the activities and policies of either the Communist Party, USA, or the Soviet Union.
3. It has maintained in decisive posts persons who have the confidence of the Communist press.
4. It has displayed consistent anti-American bias and pro-Soviet bias, despite professions, in generalities, of love for America.

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82d Congress, 1st Session - - - - - House Document No. 137

GUIDE TO SUBVERSIVE ORGANIZATIONS AND PUBLICATIONS

(AND APPENDIX)

REVISED

MAY 14, 1951

Prepared and released by the
Committee on Un-American Activities, U. S. House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

(Paid Advertisement)

FUND FOR REPUBLIC— "A GOOD INVESTMENT—" FOR WHAT?

The Virginian-Pilot
Norfolk-Portsmouth, Va.
Monday, Oct. 17, 1955

Ford Funds To Strengthen School Work

Regional Council Given $150,000 for Southern Project

ATLANTA, Oct. 16 (AP). — The Southern Regional Council announced today that it has received a new grant of $150,000 from the Ford Foundation's Fund for the Republic to strengthen its educational work in 12 Southern states . . .

See Virginian-Pilot Above Date

The Following is an Editorial in The Virginian-Pilot On The Same Date:

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The Fund for the Republic, which is coming in for criticism from American Legion spokesmen and others, was established to make scholarly studies to determine whether American liberties are being imperiled or undermined in various fields. In the words of Dr. Robert M. Hutchins, president of the Fund, its purpose "is to defend the American principles enunciated in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution."

The following appeared in The Richmond News Leader November 3, 1955

THE VIRGINIA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS — A State-wide group organized last July, the council is made up of professional, business and industrial participants representing both races and the three major religious faiths. It is one of 12 organized in Southern States as affiliates of the Southern Regional Council, and is financed by funds raised by the council and matched with funds from the Ford Foundation.

The following appeared in The New York Journal-American November 7, 1955

Name 21 Pro-Reds on Board of Dixie Race Study Council

By Leon Racht and Jeffrey Roche

The board of directors of a Southern organization granted $240,000 by the controversial Fund for the Republic includes 21 members with past pro-Communist affiliations, a survey revealed today.

Investigation of the background of the Southern Regional Council also revealed that 13 of these supported the now-defunct Southern Conference for Human Welfare,* cited as an arm of the Communist Party by two Congressional committees.

***Frank P. Graham, former President of UNC, who is speaking in Norfolk today was a former Honorary President of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare.**

HEADQUARTERS IN ATLANTA

The Council, with headquarters in Atlanta, operates in 12 Dixie states. Its stated aims, in substance, have been to explore relationships between white and Negro in the South.

Early last year, the Council received the grant from the Fund which has been under strong attack recently for alleged leftwing activities. The Fund was set up by the Ford Foundation under $15,000,000 no-strings-attached grant.

Out of 14 members of the Council's executive committee, four were

The Rev. A. S. Turnipseed, connected with the National Committee of Methodist Federation for Social Action, cited subversive by the House Un-American Activities Committee.

Paul R. Christopher: signed protest against Dies Committee, under auspices of National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, cited subversive by Attorney General.

Besides these commie-fronters who boss the Council, the partial records of other board members follow:

Rufus B. Atwood: signed statement supporting Negro People's Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy, according to Daily Worker, Feb. 8, 1939.

B. R. Brazeal: Civil Rights Congress sponsor.

W. C. Brooke: sponsored Bill of Rights Conference, cited by House Un-American Activities Committee.

G. E. Clary: signed statement for Committee for Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact, cited by Congress as Communist front.

Charles Clingman: sponsored dinner forum on behalf of Protestant Digest, cited by California Un-American Activities Committee.

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J. M. Ellison: signed statement for National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions according to Daily Mirror, June 29, 1951. Organization is on Attorney General's subversive list.

Ralph O'Hara Lanier: also on board of Southern Negro Youth Congress.

Benjamin L. Mays: has long list of affiliations with organizations cited by Attorney General and House Un-American Activities Committee.

Florence S. Sytz: sponsor, National Council of Arts, Sciences and Professions.

L. E. Thomas: signer of First Line of Defense, according to Daily Worker, Aug. 29, 1948.

H. Councill Trenholm: sponsored program for W. E. B. Dubois, Feb. 23, 1951. Dubois is a veteran pro-Communist.

Carter Wesley: sponsored dinner honoring Communist leader Ferdinand C. Smith.

Josephine Wilkins: sponsored Council of Young Southerners, cited as Communist-front by House committee.

Those who were members of the openly pro-Communist Southern Conference for Human Welfare include Atwood, Christopher, Clary, Clement, Davidson, Johnson, Mitchell, Trenholm, Wilkins, Gomillion, Mays and Ellison.

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Organized by the Ford Foundation but now enjoying an independent status, the Fund for the Republic has a $15 million endowment. It has a board of directors composed of eminent citizens . . .

The Following Appeared In The Richmond News-Leader October 26, 1955:

Dean Resigns Fund Group Post

NEW YORK, Oct. 26 (AP) —Arthur H. Dean, former United States ambassador to Korea, said today he has resigned as a director of the Fund for the Republic for "policy reasons."

Asked if this meant he was quitting because of the organization's policies, Dean said, "yes." He declined to go into details.

The fund, an independent foundation set up to promote the principles of the Constitution, Bill of Rights and Declaration of Independence, has been accused by some groups of left-wing activities.

Dean, a corporation lawyer and head of the United Nations truce team that negotiated the peace terms in Korea, said he resigned September 27 as a member of the fund's 16-member board of directors.

The Following Appeared In The Journal and Guide Nov. 5, 1955:

For Legal Defense Fund

Fund for the Republic Gives NAACP $50,000

NEW YORK — A $50,000 grant was made to the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc., by the Fund for the Republic, Thurgood Marshall, Director-Counsel of Legal Defense, announced Monday.

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Out of 14 members of the Council's executive committee, four were found to have supported pro-Communist enterprises in one form or another. They are:

George S. Mitchell, executive director: sponsor of the Civil Rights Congress, cited subersive by the Attorney General.

Rufus E. Clement, chairman: sponsor of American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, one of the oldest subversive organizations in the United States. In addition, Clement has been a member of many other Communist fronts.

The Rev. A. S. Turnipseed, connected with the National Committee of Methodist Federation for Social Action, cited subversive by the House Un-American Activities Committee.

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J. M. Ellison: signed statement for National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions according to Daily Mirror, June 29, 1951. Organization is on Attorney General's subversive list.

Albert D'Orlando: signed Amicus Curiae on behalf of the Rev. John Howard Mellish when latter was before Supreme Court fighting his ouster from a Brooklyn church for alleged pro-Communist activities.

Charles G. Gomillion: On advisory board and secretary of Southern Negro Youth Congress on Attorney General's subversive list.

Charles S. Johnson: sponsor of of American Committee for Foreign Born. Has other affiliations in same direction.

Ralph O'Hara Lanier: also on board of Southern Negro Youth Congress.

Benjamin L. Mays: has long list of affiliations with organizations cited by Attorney General and House Un-American Activities Committee.

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Disclosure of the Southern Regional Council's heavily pro-Communist tinge is the latest blow at leftwing activities of the Fund for the Republic.

Earlier, the Fund came under strong anti-Communist attack for its allegedly slanted bibliography on communism in the United States; its employment of Earl Browder, former secretary of the American Communist Party, as a "paid informant"; and employment of Amos Landman as publicity man, three weeks after he took the 5th Amendment when asked if he ever was a Communist.

Editorial Page

THE NEWS and COURIER
South Carolina's Most Outspoken Newspaper
Charleston, S. C., Friday, October 28, 1955

Do-Gooders Stirring Bloodshed

In the 1850s, before the Civil War, Northern do-gooders gave money to stir racial strife in the South. John Brown's murderous raid at Harper's Ferry, Va., for example, was financed by supposedly responsible people. Among the notable contributors was Gov. Salmon P. Chase of Ohio. Later he was chief justice of the United States.

Brown bought guns and pikes to arm a slave rebellion. His men seized a federal arsenal. The bewildered Negroes didn't rebel. But Brown's fanatics did some shooting anyway. Their first victim was a free Negro. He failed to halt on orders and stopped a bullet.

Wendell Phillips, New England orator, declared the State of Virginia a pirate and called John Brown a lord high admiral commissioned to sink every pirate. Ralph Waldo Emerson, the poet and philosopher, compared the "glorious" scaffold on which John Brown was hanged to the cross at Calvary. The governor of Virginia announced that any further invasions from other states would be met with armed reprisals. Meanwhile—it was 1859—federal troops kept order in "Bloody Kansas."

Today Northern do-gooders again are pouring money into organizations to goad the South. One of these is the **Fund for the Republic.** It has just donated an additional $150,000 to the **Southern Regional Council,** which is **dedicated to break down separation of the races in the South.** It is time that donors of money take responsibility for their beneficiaries. Money is power.

While slavery and secession no longer are issues, violence can take many forms. Already such incidents as the kidnaping of the Till boy in Mississippi are being blown up to inflame the public.

In Chicago a Negro policeman last week beat a 72-year-old man to death on the street. In Brooklyn, a judge sentenced three Negro members of a teenage gang to prison when they pleaded guilty to killing a rival youth. Meanwhile, another juvenile gang death was reported in the neighborhood as the toll of violence mounts.

Usually the race angle is omitted in the Northern press on crime news in its own backyards. Race is played up whenever a victim is a Negro in the South. Both white and colored Southerners know the tension is reduced and peace promoted by separation of the races. An unbiased review of the facts, both past and present, proves this contention.

A Member Of

THE DEFENDERS OF STATE SOVEREIGNTY
and INDIVIDUAL LIBERTIES

The Virginian-Pilot
Norfolk-Portsmouth, Va.
Saturday, Nov. 12, 1955

August 21, 1956

The Honorable Francis E. Walter
Chairman
House Committee on un-American Activities
The Capitol
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Walter:

A broadsheet lately issued by the Sumter County Citizens' Council, P. O. Drawer 429, Sumter, South Carolina, and issued over the printed names of F. E. Gibson, Chairman, Policy Committee and T. D. Keels, Chairman, Sumter County Citizens' Council, dated August 14, 1956, complains of a bi-racial meeting proposed to have been held in Sumter at some date in July. The broadsheet runs on: "This group styled themselves a 'Bi-racial' group, and appears to be connected with the South Carolina Council on Human Relations, which receives annual grants of approximately $12,000.00 from the Southern Regional Council. The Southern Reginal [sic] Council has been listed by the House Un-American Activities Committee."

Our Council is not aware that it has at any time been listed by your Committee.

We would appreciate information from you as to whether the Southern Regional Council has or has not been listed by your Committee.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

cc: Mrs. Alice Spearman
Mr. J. T. McCain

HCF

EIGHTY-FOURTH CONGRESS

FRANCIS E. WALTER, PA., CHAIRMAN
MORGAN M. MOULDER, MO.
CLYDE DOYLE, CALIF.
JAMES B. FRAZIER, JR., TENN.
EDWIN E. WILLIS, LA.
HAROLD H. VELDE, ILL.
BERNARD W. KEARNEY, N. Y.
DONALD L. JACKSON, CALIF.
GORDON H. SCHERER, OHIO
RICHARD ARENS, DIRECTOR

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES
WASHINGTON

August 22, 1956

RECEIVED AUG 24 1956

Visitors

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Wesley Memorial Building
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Allow me this opportunity to express my thanks for your helpful cooperation during my recent visit in your city.

The Committee must of necessity obtain the complete cooperation of every citizen if we are to carry on our legislative function of gathering information and data about the activities of the Communist Party.

I am looking forward to reading the next issue of "The New South" and learning of the progress of your organization.

Thanking you again, I remain

Yours very truly,

W. Jackson Jones

WJJ:v

FOR THE FILES
Dictated August 2

Circulate to:

HCF ✓
FBR
GSA ✓
JC
RHA ✓

Show to: CHP & JH when they arrive at central office.

This morning I had a visit at 10:00 from one W. Jackson Jones, an investigator for the House UnAmerican Activities Committee.

Mr. Jones turned out to be a resident of Conyers, Georgia, whose father had been a County Rural Rehabilitation Supervisor for the Farm Security Administration in the New Deal days, (about Washington Georgia, Lincolnton), and who got through the University of Georgia in the study of law and took a job in 1949 with the House Committee on unAmerican Activities. Duly exhibited his credentials.

Said he was down here on another matter; that he was aware of the fact that there had been charges and counter charges anent the Southern Regional Council; and thought he would take this opportunity to come to the Council and learn more about it. Said we were not in any sense under investigation; that I, Mitchell, was not in any sense under investigation; that he was merely satisfying his curiosity and building up his general knowledge.

I explained to him the history of the Interracial Commission; Dr. Alexander; the efforts against lynching; the comparative complacency as to segregation; and the origin of the Southern Regional Council in 1942, 1943 and 1944; said it was chartered in Georgia; mentioned some of those who chartered it; spoke of our statement against segregation in 1951.

Two specific questions were as to when the Council was set up and as to where we got the money? Both were answered in reasonable detail.

He made reference to the memo which I, Mitchell, had filed with his Committee a year or so ago disclaiming any connection with an asserted George Mitchell by the House Committee on unAmerican Activities to have been an elector for the Communist Party for the State of Illinois in the year something or other; I forgot. And that he had concluded from the directness of my statements in that memo that he could converse with me freely as to the Southern Regional Council.

Said I would recognize a communist if I saw one. He said that he was anxious to ascertain if there had been any evidence in recent months of communist climbing aboard. I instanced the only two Board members we had ever had as to whom any accusations of communist affiliation had been leveled. Spoke of two plain members, Alice Burke and Charlie Smolikoff, who may have been communists and whose memberships lapsed when they ceased to renew their dues. Spoke of two wandering journalists who interviewed me a couple of months ago and subsequently wrote in that they were representing the Daily Worker. I told them that the Southern Regional Council had been set up by an entirely different stripe of people than those that had established the Southern Conference for Human Welfare; that it was established by those who did not like the Southern Conference for Human Welfare; but that frankly everybody thoughtful in the Southern states had been linked with the Southern Conference for Human Welfare in its early years, and it is only natural that some of them should have been on the Board of the Southern Regional Council.

Mr. Jones expressed himself as opposed to the too-ardent pressure of some groups in the present controversy. I judged that he was referring to the NAACP, and gave him a two-minute lecture on the utter Americanism of the NAACP. Whereupon at 11:20 Mr. Jones excused himself proposing, I believe, to visit Mr. McGill.

Mr . Jones subscribed to New South and bought for 50¢ a copy of Changing Patterns.

George S. Mitchell

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RICHARD ARENS, DIRECTOR

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES
WASHINGTON

August 30, 1956

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432 - 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

This will acknowledge receipt of your letter of August 21, 1956, concerning the Southern Regional Council.

For your information, the Southern Regional Council has not been cited as subversive or un-American by this Committee nor by the Attorney General.

Sincerely yours,

Francis E. Walter

Francis E. Walter
Chairman

TESTIMONY

of

FRANK WILKINSON

A First Amendment Challenge

of the

COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

of the

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

December 7, 1956 · Los Angeles, California

INFORMATION FROM THE FILES OF THE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

U. S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

DATE: January 23, 1957

FOR: Honorable James C. Davis, M. C.

SUBJECT: Philip G. Hammer

The public records, files and publications of this Committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this Committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow-traverler unless otherwise indicated.

The name of one Philip Hammer (no middle initial shown), 324 North Thomas Street, Arlington, Va., appears on a membership list of the Washington Book Shop (C-1944; A-1942), secured by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities by subpeona served May 16, 1941.

An undated leaflet entitled "Look Southward Angel!" contained the name of Philip G. Hammer, President, Washington Committee, Southern Conference for Human Welfare (C-1944).

* (SOUTHERN CONFERENCE FOR HUMAN WELFARE)

(1. Cited as a Communist front which received money from Robert Marshall Foundation, one of the principal sources of funds by which many Communist fronts operate.)
(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, p. 147.)

(2. Cited as a Communist-front organization "which seeks to attract southern liberals on the basis of its seeming interest in the problems of the South" although its "professed interest in southern welfare is simply an expedient for larger aims serving the Soviet Union and its subservient Communist Party in the United States."
(Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 592 on the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, June 16, 1947.)

* (Taken from Page 81 of the "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications (And Appendix) Revised and published as of January 2, 1957, to supersede Guide published on May 14, 1951.)

(Prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, U. S. House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.)

INFORMATION FROM THE FILES OF THE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES
U. S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

DATE: January 23, 1957

FOR: Honorable James C. Davis, M. C.

SUBJECT: Washington Book Shop

The public records, files and publications of this Committee contain the following information concerning the subject organization. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this Committee. It should be noted that the organization is not necessarily Communist or Communist-front, nor should any individuals who may be mentioned herein be considered Communists, Communist Sympathizers, or fellow-travelers, unless otherwise indicated.

The Washington Book Shop, also known as the Washington Cooperative Book Shop and the Washington Book Shop Association, was first cited by the Attorney General of the United States as follows:

"The Washington Cooperative Book Shop, under the name, The Book Shop Association, was incorporated in the District of Columbia in 1938....It maintains a book shop and art gallery at 916 Seventeenth Street, N. W., Washington, D. C., where literature is sold and meetings and lectures held.

"Evidence of Communist penetration or control is reflected in the following: Among its stock the establishment has offered prominently for sale books and literature identified with the Communist Party and certain of its affiliates and front organizations....certain of the officers and employees of the book shop, including its manager and executive secretary, have been in close contact with local officials of the Communist Party of the District of Columbia." (Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, page 7688.)

The Washington Book Shop has also been cited as a Communist-front organization by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities in a report dated March 29, 1944 (page 150). It was again cited by the Attorney General in 1947 and 1948 as subversive and Communist (press releases of December 4, 1947 and September 21, 1948; redesignated April 27, 1953).

The most recent testimony concerning the Washington Book Shop is contained in the enclosed copy of this committee's Hearings Regarding Communism In the District of Columbia - Part 1 (June and July, 1949 - pages 717-732, 763 and 768).

On February 28, 1950, the Board of Trustees of the subject organization issued a printed letter which stated in part: "The Bookshop membership, present at a special meeting on February 22, unanimously approved a resolution presented by the Board of Trustees to close the Washington Cooperative Bookshop. This decisive measure was taken by the Board after months of discussion and deliberation. Financial difficulties made maintenance of the shop impossible. .....We are convinced that the need for such an organization remains -- and that the principles and the spirit upon which the Bookshop was founded will not dies."

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(Not printed at Government expense)

Congressional Record

United States of America

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 85th CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

A Statement Concerning the President's Recommendations on Immigration

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANCIS E. WALTER

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 4, 1957

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Speaker, if the President's recommendations were enacted into law, this country would admit over 200,000 people annually in excess of the number of immigrants which we receive at this time. Here is the breakdown of this figure:

The President wishes to admit escapees selected by the Secretary of State, the number of whom "should not exceed in any 1 year the average number of aliens who over the past 8 years have been permitted to enter the United States by special acts of Congress outside the basic immigration system."

Under 3 such laws, enacted in 1948, 1950, and 1953, respectively, this country has admitted outside the basic immigration quotas approximately 400,000 displaced persons and 200,000 refugees. This total of 600,000 represents an annual average of 75,000, which, under the President's recommendations, could be admitted each year as escapees over and above the present quota system.

Under another of the President's recommendations, an additional 65,000 quota immigrants would be admitted and, under still another of his recommendations, unused quota numbers would be available to countries which consistently fill their immigration quotas. Based on official statistical figures for fiscal years from 1952 to 1956, inclusive, this recommendation will produce an additional 60,000 immigrants annually.

Further, the canceling of the so-called "mortgage" on quotas would have the effect of admitting 8,000 immigrants annually. Thus, the total effect of the President's recommendations would be to increase the number of quota immigrants—75,000 plus 65,000 plus 60,000 plus 8,000—by 208,000 each year.

It is necessary to remember that our regular annual intake of immigrants now exceeds 200,000. Should the President's recommendations be enacted into law, our annual intake of immigrants would undoubtedly average well in excess of 500,000.

In view of the fact that 4 million Americans are brought into the world each year, I do not believe that this country's housing and educational facilities, institutions of health and welfare, and employment opportunities are sufficient to accommodate the additional number of those that would have to be integrated into our economy.

It is also important to remember that the President does not recommend any change in the system of our nonquota admission of immigrants. This means that the continuous influx of immigrants from Mexico—60,000 last year and 80,000 in the current year, approximately—would not be curtailed.

Regarding the President's recommendation under which the Attorney General, and not the Congress, would provide relief in immigration cases where the law does not offer solution in individual cases, my personal opinion is that the Congress should exercise its constitutional prerogative to redress grievances and that it is much more equitable to have the Congress weigh the merits involved in each individual case on a completely impartial basis than to have a politically appointed officer of the administration exercise the authority to grant or deny relief to individuals.

Many of the technical amendments to our immigration laws that the President recommends are already embodied in the bill, H. R. 4008, which I have introduced earlier this week.

As to the problem of Hungarian refugees, I do not wish to make any comment at this time, since my subcommittee is right now engaged in an extensive investigation of this matter. I expect it will be terminated shortly, permitting us to explore the matter fully in public hearings.

416235—61278

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE: 1957

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EIGHTY-FIFTH CONGRESS

FRANCIS E. WALTER, PA., CHAIRMAN

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RICHARD ARENS, DIRECTOR

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES
WASHINGTON

March 27, 1957

RECEIVED APR 1 1957.

Mr. M. A. Wright
President
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Mr. Wright:

I wish to acknowledge receipt of your letter of March 14, 1957, to which you attached a letter written by you to State Senator W. M. Rainach of Louisiana, under date of March 14, 1957.

Your letter, together with the copy of your letter to State Senator W. M. Rainach, has been made a part of the Committee records.

Sincerely yours,

Francis E. Walter

Francis E. Walter
Chairman.

March 14, 1957

The Honorable Francis E. Walter, Chairman
The House Committee on Un-American Activities
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Walter:

I am taking the liberty of sending to you, in your capacity of Chairman of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, the enclosed copy of a letter to State Senator W. M. Rainach of Louisiana.

It is our understanding that on occasion the House Committee on Un-American Activities incorporates into its files material developed by state legislative committees concerned with these matters. We thought that it would be both proper and desirable, therefore, for you to be alerted to the demonstrably false and irresponsible testimony discussed in the attached letter.

If this testimony or similar charges should at any time come within the purview of your Committee, we respectfully urge that you make your own determination of the facts. In this way, responsible and patriotic citizens will be spared needless injury, and your Committee will safeguard itself against victimization by an uninformed and unscrupulous accuser.

The Southern Regional Council will be glad at any time to cooperate in sober efforts to establish the truth of its origin, history, and activities.

Sincerely,

M. A. Wright
President

MAW/eab
Encl.

Requested March 1957
Loyalty Investigation

ADDRESS REPLY TO
"THE ATTORNEY GENERAL"
AND REFER TO
INITIALS AND NUMBER

UNITED STATES
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

In response to your recent communication, there is enclosed a consolidated list dated November 1, 1955, of all the organizations designated by the Attorney General in connection with the Federal employee security program pursuant to Executive Order No. 10450, the only authority under which the Attorney General may characterize organizations. Membership in or affiliation with a designated organization is one factor to be considered by the departments and agencies of the Federal government in connection with the employment or retention in employment of individuals in Federal service.

Sincerely,

WILLIAM F. TOMPKINS
Assistant Attorney General
Internal Security Division

Joseph Alderman

By:
JOSEPH ALDERMAN, Chief
Subversive Organizations Section

ORGANIZATIONS DESIGNATED UNDER EXECUTIVE ORDER NO. 10450

Compiled from Memoranda of the Attorney General dated April 29, July 15, September 28, 1953, January 22, 1954, April 4, September 21, and October 20, 1955

CONSOLIDATED LIST—NOVEMBER 1, 1955

This list is prepared solely for the information of Federal civilian officers and employees and for the convenience of persons completing applications for Federal employment. Membership in or affiliation with a designated organization is one factor to be considered by the departments and agencies of the Federal Government in connection with the employment or retention in employment of individuals in Federal service.

Abraham Lincoln Brigade
Abraham Lincoln School, Chicago, Illinois
Action Committee to Free Spain Now
Alabama People's Educational Association (see Communist Political Association)
American Association for Reconstruction in Yugoslavia, Inc.
American Branch of the Federation of Greek Maritime Unions
American Christian Nationalist Party
American Committee for European Workers' Relief (see Socialist Workers Party)
American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born
American Committee for Spanish Freedom
American Committee for the Settlement of Jews in Birobidjan, Inc.
American Committee for Yugoslav Relief, Inc.
American Committee to Survey Labor Conditions in Europe
American Council for a Democratic Greece, formerly known as the Greek American Council; Greek American Committee for National Unity
American Council on Soviet Relations
American Croatian Congress
American Jewish Labor Council
American League Against War and Fascism
American League for Peace and Democracy
American Lithuanian Workers Literary Association (also known as Amerikos Lietuviu Darbininku Literaturos Draugija)
American National Labor Party
American National Socialist League
American National Socialist Party
American Nationalist Party
American Patriots, Inc.
American Peace Crusade
American Peace Mobilization
American Poles for Peace
American Polish Labor Council
American Polish League
American Rescue Ship Mission (a project of the United American Spanish Aid Committee)
American-Russian Fraternal Society
American Russian Institute, New York, also known as the American Russian Institute for Cultural Relations with the Soviet Union
American Russian Institute, Philadelphia
American Russian Institute of San Francisco
American Russian Institute of Southern California, Los Angeles
American Slav Congress
American Women for Peace
American Youth Congress
American Youth for Democracy
Armenian Progressive League of America
Associated Klans of America
Association of Georgia Klans
Association of German Nationals (Reichsdeutsche Vereinigung)
Association of Lithuanian Workers (also known as Lietuviu Darbininku Susivienijimas)
Ausland-Organization der NSDAP, Overseas Branch of Nazi Party
Baltimore Forum
Benjamin Davis Freedom Committee
Black Dragon Society
Boston School for Marxist Studies, Boston, Massachusetts
Bridges-Robertson-Schmidt Defense Committee
Bulgarian American People's League of the United States of America
California Emergency Defense Committee
California Labor School, Inc., 321 Divisadero Street, San Francisco, California
Carpatho-Russian People's Society
Central Council of American Women of Croatian Descent, also known as Central Council of American Croatian Women, National Council of Croatian Women
Central Japanese Association (Beikoku Chuo Nipponjin Kai)
Central Japanese Association of Southern California
Central Organization of the German-American National Alliance (Deutsche-Amerikanische Einheitsfront)
Cervantes Fraternal Society
China Welfare Appeal, Inc.
Chopin Cultural Center
Citizens Committee for Harry Bridges
Citizens Committee of the Upper West Side (New York City)
Citizens Committee to Free Earl Browder
Citizens Emergency Defense Conference
Citizens Protective League
Civil Liberties Sponsoring Committee of Pittsburgh
Civil Rights Congress and its affiliated organizations, including:
- Civil Rights Congress for Texas
- Veterans Against Discrimination of Civil Rights Congress of New York

Civil Rights Congress for Texas (see Civil Rights Congress)
Columbians
Comite Coordinador Pro Republica Espanola
Comite Pro Derechos Civiles
(See Puerto Rican Comite Pro Libertades Civiles)
Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy
Committee for Constitutional and Political Freedom
Committee for Nationalist Action
Committee for Peace and Brotherhood Festival in Philadelphia
Committee for the Defense of the Pittsburgh Six
Committee for the Negro in the Arts
Committee for the Protection of the Bill of Rights
Committee for World Youth Friendship and Cultural Exchange
Committee to Abolish Discrimination in Maryland
(See Congress Against Discrimination; Maryland Congress Against Discrimination; Provisional Committee to Abolish Discrimination in the State of Maryland)
Committee to Aid the Fighting South
Committee to Defend Marie Richardson
Committee to Defend the Rights and Freedom of Pittsburgh's Political Prisoners
Committee to Uphold the Bill of Rights
Commonwealth College, Mena, Arkansas
Communist Party, U. S. A., its subdivisions, subsidiaries and affiliates
Communist Political Association, its subdivisions, subsidiaries and affiliates, including:
- Alabama People's Educational Association
- Florida Press and Educational League
- Oklahoma League for Political Education
- People's Educational and Press Association of Texas
- Virginia League for People's Education

Congress Against Discrimination
(See Committee to Abolish Discrimination in Maryland)
Congress of American Revolutionary Writers
Congress of American Women
Congress of the Unemployed
Connecticut Committee to Aid Victims of the Smith Act
Connecticut State Youth Conference
Council for Jobs, Relief and Housing
Council for Pan-American Democracy
Council of Greek Americans
Council on African Affairs
Croatian Benevolent Fraternity
Dai Nippon Butoku Kai (Military Virtue Society of Japan or Military Art Society of Japan)
Daily Worker Press Club
Daniels Defense Committee
Dante Alighieri Society (between 1935 and 1940)
Dennis Defense Committee
Detroit Youth Assembly
East Bay Peace Committee
Elsinore Progressive League
Emergency Conference to Save Spanish Refugees (founding body of the North American Spanish Aid Committee)
Everybody's Committee to Outlaw War
Families of the Baltimore Smith Act Victims
Families of the Smith Act Victims
Federation of Italian War Veterans in the U. S. A., Inc. (Associazione Nazionale Combattenti Italiani, Federazione degli Stati Uniti d'America)
Finnish-American Mutual Aid Society
Florida Press and Educational League (see Communist Political Association)
Frederick Douglass Educational Center
Freedom Stage, Inc.
Friends of the New Germany (Freunde des Neuen Deutschlands)
Friends of the Soviet Union
Garibaldi American Fraternal Society
George Washington Carver School, New York City
German-American Bund (Amerikadeutscher Volksbund)
German-American Republican League
German-American Vocational League (Deutsche-Amerikanische Berufsgemeinschaft)
Guardian Club
Harlem Trade Union Council
Hawaii Civil Liberties Committee
Heimusha Kai, also known as Nokubei Heieki Gimusha Kai, Zaibei Nihonjin, Heiyaku Gimusha Kai, and Zaibei Heimusha Kai (Japanese Residing in America Military Conscripts Association)
Hellenic-American Brotherhood
Hinode Kai (Imperial Japanese Reservists)
Hinomaru Kai (Rising Sun Flag Society—a group of Japanese War Veterans)
Hokubei Zaigo Shoke Dan (North American Reserve Officers Association)

Hollywood Writers Mobilization for Defense
Hungarian-American Council for Democracy
Hungarian Brotherhood
Idaho Pension Union
Independent Party (Seattle, Washington)
(See Independent People's Party)
Independent People's Party
(See Independent Party)
Independent Socialist League
Industrial Workers of the World
International Labor Defense
International Workers Order, its subdivisions, subsidiaries and affiliates
Japanese Association of America
Japanese Overseas Central Society (Kaigai Dobo Chuo Kai)
Japanese Overseas Convention, Tokyo, Japan, 1940
Japanese Protective Association (Recruiting Organization)
Jefferson School of Social Science, New York City
Jewish Culture Society
Jewish People's Committee
Jewish People's Fraternal Order
Jikyoku Iinkai (The Committee for the Crisis)
Johnson-Forest Group
(See Johnsonites)
Johnsonites
(See Johnson-Forest Group)
Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee
Joint Council of Progressive Italian-Americans, Inc.
Joseph Weydemeyer School of Social Science, St. Louis, Missouri
Kibei Seinen Kai (Association of U. S. Citizens of Japanese Ancestry who have returned to America after studying in Japan)
Knights of the White Camellia
Ku Klux Klan
Kyffhaeuser, also known as Kyffhaeuser League (Kyffhaeuser Bund), Kyffhaeuser Fellowship (Kyffhaeuser Kameradschaft)
Kyffhaeuser War Relief (Kyffhaeuser Kriegshilfswerk)
Labor Council for Negro Rights
Labor Research Association, Inc.
Labor Youth League
League for Common Sense
League of American Writers
Lictor Society (Italian Black Shirts)
Macedonian-American People's League
Mario Morgantini Circle
Maritime Labor Committee to Defend Al Lannon
Maryland Congress Against Discrimination
(See Committee to Abolish Discrimination in Maryland)
Massachusetts Committee for the Bill of Rights
Massachusetts Minute Women for Peace (not connected with the Minute Women of the U. S. A., Inc.)
Maurice Braverman Defense Committee
Michigan Civil Rights Federation
Michigan Council for Peace
Michigan School of Social Science
Nanka Teikoku Gunyudan (Imperial Military Friends Group or Southern California War Veterans)
National Association of Mexican Americans (also known as Asociacion Nacional Mexico-Americana)
National Blue Star Mothers of America (not to be confused with the Blue Star Mothers of America organized in February 1942)
National Committee for Freedom of the Press
National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners
National Committee to Win Amnesty for Smith Act Victims
National Committee to Win the Peace
National Conference on American Policy in China and the Far East (a Conference called by the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy)
National Council of Americans of Croatian Descent
National Council of American-Soviet Friendship
National Federation for Constitutional Liberties
National Labor Conference for Peace
National Negro Congress
National Negro Labor Council
Nationalist Action League
Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico
Nature Friends of America (since 1935)
Negro Labor Victory Committee
New Committee for Publications
Nichibei Kogyo Kaisha (The Great Fujii Theatre)
North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy
North American Spanish Aid Committee
North Philadelphia Forum
Northwest Japanese Association
Ohio School of Social Sciences
Oklahoma Committee to Defend Political Prisoners
Oklahoma League for Political Education (see Communist Political Association)
Original Southern Klans, Incorporated
Pacific Northwest Labor School, Seattle, Washington
Palo Alto Peace Club
Partido del Pueblo of Panama (operating in the Canal Zone)
Peace Information Center
Peace Movement of Ethiopia
People's Drama, Inc.
People's Educational and Press Association of Texas (see Communist Political Association)
People's Educational Association (incorporated under name Los Angeles Educational Association, Inc.), also known as People's Educational Center, People's University, People's School
People's Institute of Applied Religion
Peoples Programs (Seattle, Washington)
People's Radio Foundation, Inc.
People's Rights Party
Philadelphia Labor Committee for Negro Rights
Philadelphia School of Social Science and Art
Photo League (New York City)
Pittsburgh Arts Club
Political Prisoners' Welfare Committee
Polonia Society of the IWO
Progressive German-Americans, also known as Progressive German-Americans of Chicago
Proletarian Party of America
Protestant War Veterans of the United States, Inc.
Provisional Committee of Citizens for Peace, Southwest Area
Provisional Committee on Latin American Affairs
Provisional Committee to Abolish Discrimination in the State of Maryland
(See Committee to Abolish Discrimination in Maryland)
Puerto Rican Comite Pro Libertades Civiles (CLC)
(See Comite Pro Derechos Civiles)
Puertorriquenos Unidos (Puerto Ricans United)
Quad City Committee for Peace
Queensbridge Tenants League
Revolutionary Workers League
Romanian-American Fraternal Society
Russian American Society, Inc.
Sakura Kai (Patriotic Society, or Cherry Association—composed of veterans of Russo-Japanese War)
Samuel Adams School, Boston, Massachusetts
Santa Barbara Peace Forum
Schappes Defense Committee
Schneiderman-Darcy Defense Committee
School of Jewish Studies, New York City
Seattle Labor School, Seattle, Washington
Serbian-American Fraternal Society
Serbian Vidovdan Council
Shinto Temples (limited to State Shinto abolished in 1945)
Silver Shirt Legion of America
Slavic Council of Southern California
Slovak Workers Society
Slovenian-American National Council
Socialist Workers Party, including American Committee for European Workers' Relief
Socialist Youth League (see Workers Party)
Sokoku Kai (Fatherland Society)
Southern Negro Youth Congress
Suiko Sha (Reserve Officers Association, Los Angeles)
Syracuse Women for Peace
Tom Paine School of Social Science, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
Tom Paine School of Westchester, New York
Trade Union Committee for Peace
(See Trade Unionists for Peace)
Trade Unionists for Peace
(See Trade Union Committee for Peace)
Tri-State Negro Trade Union Council
Ukrainian-American Fraternal Union
Union of American Croatians
Union of New York Veterans
United American Spanish Aid Committee
United Committee of Jewish Societies and Landsmanschaft Federations, also known as Coordination Committee of Jewish Landsmanschaften and Fraternal Organizations
United Committee of South Slavic Americans
United Defense Council of Southern California
United Harlem Tenants and Consumers Organization
United May Day Committee
United Negro and Allied Veterans of America
Veterans Against Discrimination of Civil Rights Congress of New York (see Civil Rights Congress)
Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade
Virginia League for People's Education (see Communist Political Association)
Voice of Freedom Committee
Walt Whitman School of Social Science, Newark, New Jersey
Washington Bookshop Association
Washington Committee for Democratic Action
Washington Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights
Washington Commonwealth Federation
Washington Pension Union
Wisconsin Conference on Social Legislation
Workers Alliance (since April 1936)
Workers Party, including Socialist Youth League
Yiddisher Kultur Farband
Young Communist League
Yugoslav-American Cooperative Home, Inc.
Yugoslav Seamen's Club, Inc.

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INFORMATION FROM THE FILES OF THE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES
U. S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

DATE: May 3, 1957

FOR: Honorable James C. Davis, M. C.

SUBJECT: B. R. Brazeal, Educator, Morehouse College, Atlanta, Georgia

The public records, files and publications of this Committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this Committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow-traveler unless otherwise indicated.

Blailsford R. Brazeal, Chairman, Department of Economics, Morehouse College, Atlanta, Georgia, signed the January 1943 Message of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, addressed to the U. S. House of Representatives, as shown on a leaflet attached to an undated letterhead of the organization. Dr. B. R. Brazeal, Chairman, Economics Department, Morehouse College, Atlanta, Georgia, signed a statement of the National Federation . . ., supporting the War Department's order granting commissions to members of the armed forces who have been members of or sympathetic to the views of the Communist Party (undated leaflet entitled ". . . the only sound policy FOR A DEMOCRACY . . ."; also the Daily Worker of March 18, 1945).

The Attorney General of the United States cited the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties as an organization "by which Communists attempt to create sympathizers and supporters of their program"; and as subversive and Communist. (Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, page 7687; and press releases of December 4, 1947 and September 21, 1948; also included on consolidated list of April 1, 1954.) The Special Committee on Un-American Activities cited the National Federation . . . as "one of the viciously subversive organizations of the Communist Party" (Report of March 29, 1944; also cited in reports of June 25, 1942 and January 2, 1943). The Committee on Un-American Activities also cited the National Federation . . . as "actually intended to protect Communist subversion from any penalties under the law" (Report 1115 of September 2, 1947).

The Daily People's World of October 28, 1947 (page 4) named Brailsford R. Brazeal, Morehouse College, as one of the sponsors of the National Conference of the Civil Rights Congress which was held in Chicago November 21-23, 1947.

The Civil Rights Congress was cited as an organization formed in April 1946 as a merger of two other Communist-front organizations, the International Labor Defense and the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties; it is dedicated "specifically to the defense of Communists and the Communist Party" and "controlled by individuals who are either members of the Communist Party or openly loyal to it" (Report 1115 of the Committee on Un-American Activities dated September 2, 1947). The Attorney General cited the Congress as subversive and Communist (press releases of December 4, 1947 and September 21, 1948; also included on consolidated list released April 1, 1954).

INFORMATION FROM THE FILES OF THE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES
U. S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

DATE: May 3, 1957

FOR: Honorable James C. Davis, M. C.

SUBJECT: Paul R. Christopher

The public records, files and publications of this Committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this Committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow-traveler unless otherwise indicated.

The symbols in parentheses immediately following the name of any organization or publication below indicate when it was first cited by this Committee and/or the U. S. Attorney General. For example: (C-1942; A-1947) means that the organization, or publication, was first cited as a Communist front in a Committee Report published in 1942 and was included in a U. S. Attorney General's list released in 1947.

Paul R. Christopher was one of those who signed the January 1943 message of the National Federation of Constitutional Liberties (C-1942; A-1947) to the House of Representatives, opposing renewal of the Dies Committee, according to a leaflet attached to an undated letterhead of that organization on file with this Committee.

An undated leaflet, "The South Is Closer Than You Think", published by the New York Office of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare (C-1944) and received by this Committee about February 1947 listed Paul R. Christopher as Vice President of the organization. A letterhead of the Southern Conference dated June 4, 1947 listed Paul R. Christopher as Vice President and a member of the National Committee of the group. Walter Steele testified in public hearings of this Committee, July 21, 1947, p. 139, that Paul R. Christopher was a member of the Board of representatives of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. An official report of the group listed him as a consultant to the panel on Youth and Training: Civilian and Military.

Reference to Paul R. Christopher is found in the Congressional Record, June 10, 1946 (p. A3545).

INFORMATION FROM THE FILES OF THE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

U. S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

DATE: May 3, 1957

FOR: Honorable James C. Davis, M. C.

SUBJECT: Reverend C. Clingman

The public records, files and publications of this Committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this Committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow-traveler unless otherwise indicated.

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According to the invitation, Bishop Charles Clingman, Episcopal Bishop of Kentucky, was one of the sponsors of the "Protestantism Answers Hate" dinner-forum of the Protestant Digest (C-1944) Associates, February 25, 1941, in New York City.

EIGHTY-FIFTH CONGRESS

FRANCIS E. WALTER, PA., CHAIRMAN

[illegible] MO.
[illegible] CALIF.
[illegible] FRAZIER, JR., TENN.
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RICHARD ARENS, DIRECTOR

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES
WASHINGTON

May 3, 1957

RECEIVED
MAY 4 1957
JAMES C. DAVIS, M.C.

Honorable James C. Davis
Member of Congress
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Davis:

In response to your memorandum request of April 29, 1957, and subsequent letter of May 2, 1957, in which you requested that the list of Directors of the Southern Regional Council be given priority over the list of names you submitted on April 26, 1957, we are enclosing 14 reports of information, which were already prepared. Listed below are the names of the individuals, on whom we are enclosing reports:

R. B. Brazeal	Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton
Paul R. Christopher	Dr. Gordon B. Hancock
Reverend C. Clingman	Z. Alexander Looby
A. W. Dent	Right Rev. E. A. Penick
J. M. Ellison	Prof. Florence Sytz
Charles G. Gomillion	Josephine Wilkins
Mr. and Mrs. Philip Hammer	Morton A. Wright

Sincerely yours,

Richard Arens

Richard Arens
Director

Enclosures

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INFORMATION FROM THE FILES OF THE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES
U. S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

DATE: May 3, 1957

FOR: Honorable James C. Davis, M. C.

SUBJECT: A. W. Dent

The public records, files and publications of this Committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this Committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow-traveler unless otherwise indicated.

Albert W. Dent, President, Omega Psi Phi Fraternity and Director, Flint Goodrich Hospital, "joined in calling" the Fourth All-Southern Negro Youth Conference of the Southern Negro Youth Congress which was held in New Orleans, April 18-21, 1940 ("Daily Worker," March 1, 1940).

The Southern Negro Youth Congress was cited as subversive and "among the affiliates and committees of the Communist Party, U.S.A., which seeks to alter the form of government of the United States by unconstitutional means" by the Attorney General of the United States in a letter to the Loyalty Review Board, released December 4, 1947. The organization was redesignated by the Attorney General April 27, 1953, pursuant to Executive Order No. 10450, and included on the April 1, 1954 consolidated list of organizations previously designated. The Special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of January 3, 1940 (p. 9), cited the Southern Negro Youth Congress as a Communist front organization. The Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of April 17, 1947 (p. 14), cited the group as "surreptitiously controlled" by the Young Communist League.

A. W. Dent, Business Manager, Flint Goodrich Hospital, spoke before the Health Section of the conference held in Birmingham, Alabama, November 20-23, 1938, by the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, as shown on the printed program of that conference; the same source identified him as a member of the Southern Council of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, from Louisiana. A. W. Dent, Business Manager, Flint Goodrich Hospital, New Orleans, Louisiana, was one of the sponsors of the Second Southern Conference for Human Welfare which was held in Chattanooga, Tennessee, April 14-16, 1940, as shown on the call to that conference. Identified as President, Dillard University, New Orleans, Louisiana, he was named by the "Daily Worker" of May 20, 1947 (p. 5) as having signed a statement of the Southern Conference . . . . An undated report of the same organization named him as a consultant on Panel III, Youth and Training, Civilian and Military, of a conference held by the group in Nashville, Tennessee; he was identified in this source as President, Dillard University, New Orleans, Louisiana.

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The Special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of March 29, 1944 (p. 147), cited the Southern Conference for Human Welfare as a Communist front which received money from the Robert Marshall Foundation, one of the principal sources of funds by which many Communist fronts operate. The Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of June 12, 1947, cited the Southern Conference . . . as a Communist-front organization "which seeks to attract southern liberals on the basis of its seeming interest in the problems of the South" although its "professed interest in southern welfare is simply an expedient for larger aims serving the Soviet Union and its subservient Communist Party in the United States."

INFORMATION FROM THE FILES OF THE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES
U. S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

DATE: May 3, 1957

FOR: Honorable James C. Davis, M. C.

SUBJECT: J. M. Ellison

The public records, files and publications of this Committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this Committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow-traveler unless otherwise indicated.

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Prof. J. Ellison, Virginia Union University, Richmond, Virginia, endorsed the World Peace Appeal (C-1951), as shown on the statement "Prominent Americans Call For Outlawing Atomic Warfare."

A statement of the National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions (C-1949) to the American People, entitled "We Uphold the Right of All Citizens to Speak for Peace . . . " was signed by Dr. J. M. Ellison, as shown on the handbill, "Halt the Defamers Who Call Peace Un-American!" announcing an address at Town Hall, New York City, September 28, 1951.

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INFORMATION FROM THE FILES OF THE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES
U. S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

DATE: May 3, 1957

FOR: Honorable James C. Davis, M. C.

SUBJECT: Charles G. Gomillion

The public records, files and publications of this Committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this Committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow-traveler unless otherwise indicated.

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One Charles G. Gomillion was secretary of the Advisory Board of the Southern Negro Youth Congress (C-1940; A-1947), as shown on their letterhead of June 12, 1947, and a page from the organization's leaflet, used as Exhibit 46 by Mr. Walter S. Steele when he testified in public hearings before this committee July 22, 1947. A letterhead of the organization, dated August 11, 1947, contained his name in a list of members of the Advisory Board.

The Daily Worker of August 23, 1948, p. 11, reported that Charles G. Gomillion, Tuskegee Institute, Alabama, signed a statement attacking the arrest of Communist Party leaders; he signed a "Statement by Negro Americans" on behalf of the Communist leaders who were arrested (The Worker, August 29, 1948, p. 11, in which source he was identified as being from Alabama). He also signed a statement on behalf of Eugene Dennis, one of the Communist leaders who were arrested (Daily Worker, November 22, 1948, p. 7, which source identified him with Tuskegee Institute in Alabama).

INFORMATION FROM THE FILES OF THE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES
U. S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

DATE: May 3, 1957

FOR: Honorable James C. Davis, M. C.

SUBJECT: Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton

The public records, files and publications of this Committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this Committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow-traveler unless otherwise indicated.

The symbols in parentheses immediately following the name of any organization or publication below indicate when it was first cited by this Committee and/or the U. S. Attorney General. For example: (C-1942; A-1947) means that the organization, or publication, was first cited as a Communist front in a Committee Report published in 1942 and was included in a U. S. Attorney General's list released in 1947.

An undated leaflet, ". . . the only sound policy FOR A DEMOCRACY ..." listed Mrs. Grace Towns Hamilton, Urban League, Atlanta, Ga., as one who signed a statement of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties (C-1942; A-1942) supporting the War Department's order on granting commissions . . . "to members of the armed forces who have been members of or sympathetic to the views of the Communist Party." As shown by the "Daily Worker" of March 18, 1945 (p. 2), Mrs. Grace Towne Hamilton signed the above statement.

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INFORMATION FROM THE FILES OF THE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES
U. S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

DATE: May 3, 1957

FOR: Honorable James C. Davis, M. C.

SUBJECT: Dr. Gordon B. Hancock

The public records, files and publications of this Committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this Committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow-traveler unless otherwise indicated.

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The Daily Worker of October 9, 1940, p. 3, reported that Dr. Gordon Hancock, Negro minister of the Moore Street Baptist Church, Richmond, Virginia, permitted James W. Ford, Communist Party vice presidential candidate to hold a campaign meeting at the church when the Communist Party was unable to hire a meeting place in Richmond. According to the article Dr. Hancock made the following statement:

"We are not afraid of Communists at our church. I am not a Communist, but I don't fall out with people who are. The Communists are a legal party. They have a right to be heard and we have a right to hear them."

Dr. Gordon B. Hancock was a member of the Advisory Board of the Southern Negro Youth Congress (C-1940; A-1947) according to letterheads of the group dated June 12, 1947, and August 11, 1947. A page from a leaflet published by the organization also listed him as a member of the Advisory Board.

INFORMATION FROM THE FILES OF THE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES
U. S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

DATE: May 3, 1957

FOR: Honorable James C. Davis, M. C.

SUBJECT: Z. Alexander Looby

The public records, files and publications of this Committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this Committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow-traveler unless otherwise indicated.

A 1939 membership list of the National Lawyers Guild, on file with this Committee, contains the name of Alexander Looby, 419 Fourth Avenue, Nashville, Tennessee.

The Special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of March 29, 1944 (p. 149), cited the National Lawyers' Guild as a Communist front organization. The Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report on the National Lawyers Guild, September 17, 1950, cited the organization as a Communist front which "is the foremost legal bulwark of the Communist Party, its front organizations, and controlled unions" and which "since its inception has never failed to rally to the legal defense of the Communist Party and individual members thereof, including known espionage agents."

The "Daily People's World" of April 25, 1948 (p. 11) reported that Alexander Looby, attorney, Nashville, Tennessee, had spoken before the Southern Negro Youth Congress; "The Worker" of May 16, 1948 (p. 2), disclosed that Z. Alexander Looby, attorney, Nashville, Tennessee, had spoken before the same organization.

The Attorney General of the United States cited the Southern Negro Youth Congress as subversive and among the affiliates and committees of the Communist Party, U. S. A., which seeks to alter the form of government of the United States by unconstitutional means." (Letter to Loyalty Review Board, released December 4, 1947.) The Attorney General redesignated the group April 27, 1953, pursuant to Executive Order No. 10450, and included it on the April 1, 1954 consolidated list of organizations previously designated. The Special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of January 3, 1944 (p. 9), cited the Southern Negro Youth Congress as a Communist front organization. The Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of April 17, 1947 (p. [illegible]) cited the organization as "surreptitiously controlled" by the Young Communist League.

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INFORMATION FROM THE FILES OF THE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES
U. S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

DATE: May 3, 1957

FOR: Honorable James C. Davis, M. C.

SUBJECT: Right Reverend E. A. Penick

The public records, files and publications of this Committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this Committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow-traveler unless otherwise indicated.

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One Edwin A. Penick, Chairman, N. C. Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Raleigh, N. C., was a sponsor of the Second Southern Conference for Human Welfare (C-1944), Chattanooga, Tennessee, April 14-16, 1940, as shown by the "Call" to the Conference.

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INFORMATION FROM THE FILES OF THE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

U. S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

DATE: May 3, 1957

FOR: Honorable James C. Davis, M. C.

SUBJECT: Prof. Florence Syts

The public records, files and publications of this Committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this Committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow-traveler unless otherwise indicated.

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The conference call and the program (page 13) of the Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace (C-1949) which was held in New York City, March 25-27, 1949, both contain the name of Prof. Florence Syts in lists of sponsors of that conference, arranged by the National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions (C-1949).

INFORMATION FROM THE FILES OF THE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES
U. S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

DATE: May 3, 1957

FOR: Honorable James C. Davis, M. C.

SUBJECT: Josephine Wilkins

The public records, files and publications of this Committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this Committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow-traveler unless otherwise indicated.

A letterhead of the Council of Young Southerners listed Josephine Wilkins as a sponsor of that organization, cited by the Committee on Un-American Activities in its report of June 12, 1947 (p. 5) as "described on its letterhead as having 'its origin at the Youth Commission of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare.'"

An official report of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare listed Josephine Wilkins as elected vice chairman of the Program Committee of the Conference held in Birmingham, Alabama, September 6, 1938, and a member of the Committee on Plans for Permanent Organization. A letterhead of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare dated October 15, 1938 named her as Vice Chairman of the Program Committee. She was shown as Parliamentarian and a member of the National Committee of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare on a letterhead of the group dated June 4, 1947.

The Special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of March 29, 1944 (p. 147), cited the Southern Conference for Human Welfare as a Communist front which received money from the Robert Marshall Foundation, one of the principal sources of funds by which many Communist fronts operate. The Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of June 12, 1947, cited the Southern Conference for Human Welfare as a Communist-front organization "which seeks to attract southern liberals on the basis of its seeming interest in the problems of the South" although its "professed interest in southern welfare is simply an expedient for larger aims serving the Soviet Union and its subservient Communist Party in the United States."

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INFORMATION FROM THE FILES OF THE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES
U. S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

DATE: May 3, 1957

FOR: Honorable James C. Davis, M. C.

SUBJECT: Marion A. Wright

The public records, files and publications of this Committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this Committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow-traveler unless otherwise indicated.

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The Daily Worker of May 20, 1947 (p. 5) listed Marion A. Wright, South Carolina Division, Southern Regional Council, as one who signed a statement of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare (C-1944).

INFORMATION FROM THE FILES OF THE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES
U. S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

DATE: May 6, 1957

FOR: Honorable James C. Davis, M. C.

SUBJECT: Myra Jones Bryant

The public records, files, and publications of this Committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this Committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow-traveler unless otherwise indicated.

Myra Jones Bryant was one of the seven members from Alabama of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare in 1938-1939, according to an official report of the organization. She was identified in this source as a member of the NAACP.

The Southern Conference for Human Welfare was first cited as a Communist-front by a Special Committee on Un-American Activities in House Report 1311, March 29, 1944. The Conference was later cited by the Committee on Un-American Activities (House Report 592, June 16, 1947) "as a Communist-front organization" which seeks to attract southern liberals on the basis of its seeming interest in the problems of the South" although its "professed interest in southern welfare is simply an expedient for larger aims serving the Soviet Union and its subservient Communist Party in the United States".

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INFORMATION FROM THE FILES OF THE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES
U. S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

DATE: May 6, 1957

FOR: Honorable James C. Davis

SUBJECT: M. Lafayette Harris

The public records, files, and publications of this Committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this Committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow-traveler unless otherwise indicated.

The symbols, inserted in parentheses after the name of any organization or publication below, indicate the name of each Federal authority which has cited, or designated, that organization or publication and the year in which each Agency's first citation, or listing, of the subject appeared. Capital letters denote Agency names, as follows: A - Attorney General of the U. S.; C - Committee on Un-American Activities; I - Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee; J - Senate Judiciary Committee; and, S - Subversive Activities Control Board. (For more complete information on citations, see this Committee's "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications.")

M. La Fayette Harris signed the January 1943 message of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties (A-1942; C-1942) to the House of Representatives, as shown by a leaflet, attached to an undated letterhead of the organization. M. Lafayette Harris signed a statement of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties hailing the War Department's order on commissions for the Communists as shown by the Daily Worker of March 18, 1943 (p. 2), and an undated leaflet, ". . . the only sound policy FOR A DEMOCRACY ...." He was identified in both sources as President of Philander Smith College, Little Rock, Arkansas.

According to the New York Times of October 9, 1944 (p. 12), M. Lafayette Harris, President, Philander Smith College, Little Rock, Arkansas, signed an Open Letter to Governor Thomas E. Dewey requesting the pardon of Morris U. Schappes. The Open Letter was sponsored by the Schappes Defense Committee (A-1949; C-1944).

INFORMATION FROM THE FILES OF THE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES
U. S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

DATE: May 6, 1957

FOR: Honorable James C. Davis

SUBJECT: Guy B. Johnson

The public records, files, and publications of this Committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this Committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow-traveler unless otherwise indicated.

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An official report of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare (C-1944) listed Guy B. Johnson, Institute for Research in Social Science, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina, as a consultant to the organization's panel on Citizenship and Civil Liberties.

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INFORMATION FROM THE FILES OF THE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

U. S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

DATE: May 7, 1957

FOR: Honorable James C. Davis, M. C.

SUBJECT: Rufus E. Clement

The public records, files and publications of this Committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this Committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow-traveler unless otherwise indicated.

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The name of Rufus E. Clement appears in a list of signers of a petition issued by the American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom (C-1942), as shown in a mimeographed sheet attached to a letterhead of the organization dated January 17, 1940.

Rufus E. Clement is shown as a sponsor of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born (C-1942; A-1948) in the Daily Worker of October 28, 1940 (p. 3); the program of the Fifth National Conference which was held in Atlantic City, N. J., March 29-30, 1941; a leaflet of the Sixth National Conference in Cleveland, Ohio, May 9-10, 1942, p. 4; an undated letterhead summarizing the 1946 work of the organization; and a program and Call to a conference in Cleveland, Ohio, October 25-26, 1947.

Both the bulletin, "Spot News" (page 1) and an undated folder of the American Committee to Save Refugees (C-1944) named Rufus E. Clement as a sponsor of that organization.

Rufus E. Clement was listed as "among the 363 outstanding Americans who signed an Open Letter to the President of the United States sponsored originally by the American Council on Soviet Relations (C-1944; A-1942), urging a declaration of war on the Finnish Government in the interests of speedy victory by the United Nations over Nazi Germany and its Fascist allies" in an official folder of the organization.

The Civil Rights Congress (C-1947; A-1947) was the subject of a report by the Committee on Un-American Activities dated September 2, 1947, which listed Dr. Rufus E. Clement, President, Atlanta University, as one of the sponsors of the group.

The Daily Worker of March 18, 1945 (page 2) reported that the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties (C-1942; A-1942) had released a statement hailing the War Department order on commissions for Communists and listed among th

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signers of the statement Dr. Rufus E. Clement, president, Atlanta University. This same information is found on an undated leaflet entitled ". . . the only sound policy FOR A DEMOCRACY . . ."

The National Conference on American Policy in China and the Far East (a conference called by the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy) was cited as a Communist group (A-1949). The Call to that conference which was held January 23-25, 1948 in New York City, named Dr. Rufus E. Clement as one of the sponsors.

An article which appeared in the Daily Worker of February 21, 1949, (page 2) stated that Dr. Rufus Clement was one of the sponsors of the Scientific and Cultural Conference for World Peace (C-1949). The Call to the Conference, as well as the program (page 12) supplied the same information.

Rufus E. Clement was listed as a member of the Executive Board of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare (C-1944) in a report on the Conference by the Committee on Un-American Activities. He was also identified as a member of the Executive Board, a Consultant, and a Member at Large in an official report of the organization.

Dr. Rufus E. Clement was a member of the Advisory Board of the Southern Negro Youth Congress (C-1940; A-1947), as shown in a leaflet published by the organization; a letterhead dated June 12, 1947; and another letterhead of August 11, 1947.

Rufus E. Clement was an initiating sponsor of the Independent Citizens' Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions, (C-1949) as shown on a letterhead dated November 26, 1946, and the Daily Worker of December 24, 1944 (page 14).

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INFORMATION FROM THE FILES OF THE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES
U. S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

DATE: May 7, 1957

FOR: Honorable James C. Davis

SUBJECT: Dr. Benjamin E. Mays

The public records, files and publications of this Committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this Committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow-traveler unless otherwise indicated.

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The Daily Worker of March 4, 1948 (p. 2) named Benjamin E. Mays as one of the signers of a letter in behalf of Communist deportation cases, which was sponsored by the American Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born (A-1948; C-1942; I-1956). The Call and Program to the Fifteenth Anniversary National Conference of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, Chicago, Illinois, December 11 and 12, 1948, contained his name as one of the Sponsors. According to the Daily Worker of May 5, 1953 (p. 3), Dr. Benjamin E. Mays was among "one hundred and thirty" who "joined with the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born in signing a scroll presented to the Rt. Rev. Arthur W. Moulton" (honorary chairman of the American Committee) on his 80th birthday.

Benjamin E. Mays, President, Morehouse College, was a member of the initiating committee for a Congress on Civil Rights which was held in Detroit, April 27 and 28, 1946. (See: Urgent Summons to a Congress on Civil Rights.) He was an honorary National Chairman of the Civil Rights Congress (A-1947; C-1947; I-1956), New York, as shown by an undated letterhead concerning a conference held October 11, 1947. He signed a call for a national conference of the Civil Rights Congress to be held in Chicago (Daily Worker, October 21, 1947, p. 5). He was a sponsor of a meeting of the organization as reported in the Daily Worker, January 19, 1949 (p. 7).

Dr. Benjamin E. Mays was a signer of a letter of the Committee for Peaceful Alternatives (C-1951; I-1956) as shown by a photostatic copy of a letterhead of the group dated March 30, 1950, which contained a facsimile of his signature.

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The Call to the Mid-Century Conference for Peace (C-1951; I-1956), Chicago, Ill., May 29 and 30, 1950, and a letterhead of the group dated June 19, 1950 listed Dr. Benjamin E. Mays as an initiating sponsor of the organization.

Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, President, Morehouse College, Atlanta, Georgia, signed a statement by the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship (A-1947; C-1944; I-1956; S-1956), in praise of Wallace's open letter to Stalin, May 1948 (Pamphlet, How to End the Cold War and Build the Peace, p. 9). A leaflet, End the Cold War - Get Together for Peace! (December 1948) named Benjamin E. Mays as one of the signers of the National Council's appeal to the United States Government to end the cold war and arrange a conference with the Soviet Union. He was a member of the Sponsoring Committee of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, Committee on Education, as shown by the Proceedings of the Conference on Education About the Soviet Union, October 14, 1944, New York City (inside back cover) and a bulletin of the group, dated June 1945 (p. 22).

He signed an Open Letter sponsored by the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties (A-1942; C-1942) denouncing U. S. Attorney General Biddle's charges against Harry Bridges (Daily Worker, July 19, 1942, p. 4; booklet, 600 Prominent Americans, p. 25). He also signed a statement sponsored by this organization hailing the War Department's order on commissions for the Communists, as shown by the Daily Worker, March 18, 1945 (p. 2), an undated leaflet, "...the only sound policy FOR A DEMOCRACY...," and a page from a leaflet published by the organization.

Letterheads, dated June 12, 1947, and August 11, 1947, of the Southern Negro Youth Congress (A-1947; C-1940), list Doctor Mays as a member of the Advisory Board. A leaflet of the organization also contained the name of Dr. Benjamin Mays.

The Daily Worker of May 31, 1947 (p. 12) reported that Benjamin E. Mays, President of Morehouse College, was an official observer or consultant at the 1st constitutional convention of the United Negro and Allied Veterans of America (A-1947; 1-1956).

A leaflet, "America's Spokesmen Condemn the McCarran Act!" which was attached to a letterhead of the National Committee to Repeal the McCarran Act (I-1956) dated May 25, 1951, listed Dr. Benjamin E. Mays as one of those who urged repeal of the McCarran Act.

The Daily Worker, April 27, 1947 (p. 24), reported that Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, Georgia, signed a statement against the ban on the Communist Party. He signed a statement against the North Atlantic Pact, according to the Daily Worker of June 2 , 1949 (p. 2). He spoke at a conference on "Civil[illegible] in the Nation's Capital" (Daily Worker, December 22, 1950, p. 2.)

INFORMATION FROM THE FILES OF THE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES
U. S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

DATE: May 7, 1957

FOR: Honorable James C. Davis

SUBJECT: E. C. Peters, Atlanta, Georgia

The public records, files and publications of this Committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this Committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow-traveler unless otherwise indicated.

The symbols, inserted in parentheses after the name of any organization or publication below, indicate the name of each Federal authority which has cited, or designated, that organization or publication and the year in which each Agency's first citation, or listing, of the subject appeared. Capital letters denote Agency names, as follows: A- Attorney General of the U. S.; C- Committee on Un-American Activities; I- Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee; J- Senate Judiciary Committee; and, S- Subversive Activities Control Board. (For more complete information on citations, see this Committee's "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications.")

An official folder of the American Council on Soviet Relations (A-1942); (C-1944), named President E. C. Peters, Paine College, Augusta, Georgia as being "among the 363 outstanding Americans who signed the Open Letter to the President of the United States, sponsored originally by the American Council on Soviet Relations, urging a declaration of war on the Finnish government in the interests of speedy victory by the United Nations over Nazi Germany and its Fascist allies."

The following sources name Dr. E. C. Peters as a sponsor of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship (C-1944); (A-1947); (I-1956); (S- 1956): Call to the Congress of American-Soviet Friendship, November 6-8, 1943, page 4; back of letterheads dated February 2, 1944, and January 10, 1945; letterhead of March 13, 1946; memorandum issued by the Council, March 18, 1946; back of letterhead dated July 24, 1948.

The name of E. C. Peters, President, Paine College, Augusta, Georgia, appeared in the list of individuals who signed a message directed to the House of Representatives in January 1943, by the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties (A-1942); (C-1942).

The Call to the Second Southern Conference for Human Welfare (C-1944), held April 14-16, 1940, Chattanooga, Tennessee, listed Dr. Peters among the sponsors.

Dr. Peters was one of the sponsors of the Mid-Century Conference for Peace (C-1951); (I-1956), according to the Call to the Conference. The Conference was held by the Committee for Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact (A-1951); (I-1956).

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INFORMATION FROM THE FILES OF THE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

U. S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

DATE: May 7, 1957

FOR: Honorable James C. Davis

SUBJECT: J. L. Reddix, Jackson, Mississippi

The public records, files and publications of this Committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this Committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow-traveler unless otherwise indicated.

One Jacob L. Reddix, identified as being from the State of Indiana, was a member of the National Executive Council of the National Negro Congress, as shown on the official proceedings of that congress which was held in 1936 (page 41 of the proceedings).

The National Negro Congress was cited as "deliberately packed with Communists" and as a subversive and Communist organization by the Attorney General (Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, pages 7687 and 7688; press releases of December 4, 1947 and September 21, 1948, redesignated April 27, 1953); the Special Committee on Un-American Activities cited the organization as "the Communist-front movement in the United States among Negroes" (reports of January 3, 1949; January 3, 1940; June 25, 1942; and March 29, 1944).

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INFORMATION FROM THE FILES OF THE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES
U. S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

DATE: May 7, 1957

FOR: Honorable James C. Davis, M. C.

SUBJECT: H. Councill Trenholm

The public records, files, and publications of this Committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this Committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow-traveler unless otherwise indicated.

One H. Councill Trenholm, President, State Teachers College, Montgomery, Alabama, was one of the sponsors of the Second Southern Conference for Human Welfare which was held April 14-16, 1940, in Chattanooga, Tennessee, as shown on the Call to the Conference.

The Southern Conference for Human Welfare was first cited by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities in 1944.

INFORMATION FROM THE FILES OF THE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES
U. S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

DATE: May 7, 1957

FOR: Honorable James C. Davis

SUBJECT: Thomas W. Young

The public records, files, and publications of this Committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this Committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow-traveler unless otherwise indicated.

Attached is a copy of the subject individual's testimony before this committee in July 1949. We have no other information concerning him.

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EIGHTY-FIFTH CONGRESS

FRANCIS E. WALTER, PA., CHAIRMAN

MORGAN M. MOULDER, MO.
CLYDE DOYLE, CALIF.
JAMES B. FRAZIER, JR., TENN.
EDWIN E. WILLIS, LA.

BERNARD W. KEARNEY, N. Y.
DONALD L. JACKSON, CALIF.
GORDON H. SCHERER, OHIO
ROBERT J. McINTOSH, MICH.

RICHARD ARENS, DIRECTOR

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES
WASHINGTON

May 9, 1957

Honorable James C. Davis
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Davis:

In further response to your request of April 29, 1957, there are enclosed reports of information from the public records, files and publications of this Committee concerning Myra Jones Bryant, Rufus E. Clement, M. Lafayette Harris, Guy B. Johnson, Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, E. C. Peters, J. L. Reddix, H. Councill Trenholm, and Thomas W. Young.

References have been found on one Professor A. M. Kidd of the School of Jurisprudence, University of California in 1947. However, in the absence of further backfround information on your subject, Professor A. L. Kidd, Florida A & M University, Tallahassee, Florida, we are unable to determine whether there may have been a mistake in the middle initial in either case or that the references might possibly apply to the person on your list.

These reports, together with the 14 submitted to you on May 3, 1957, complete the information found on the names appearing on the mimeographed list of the Southern Regional Council, Board of Directors, which is returned herewith.

Sincerely yours,

Richard Arens

Richard Arens
Director

enclosures

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JAMES C. DAVIS
5TH DIST., GEORGIA

1109 HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING

HOME ADDRESS:
STONE MOUNTAIN, GEORGIA

COMMITTEES:
POST OFFICE AND CIVIL SERVICE
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
WASHINGTON, D. C.

May 13, 1957

AIR MAIL

Hon. Henry L. Bowden
Lokey and Bowden
C & S National Bank Bldg.
Atlanta, Georgia

My dear Henry:

With further reference to your letter of April 22, I promptly requested the House Committee on un-American Activities to furnish me such information as the Committee has in its files regarding the persons comprising the Board of Directors of the Southern Regional Council, Inc.

Mr. Richard Arens, Director, has furnished me reports from the Committee files on 23 of the persons whose names are contained on this list. I enclose you herewith letters from Mr. Arens dated May 3 and May 9, forwarding these reports.

If I can be of further service to you, I will be pleased to have you call upon me.

With personal regards and all good wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

JCD:gp

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LAW OFFICES
LOKEY AND BOWDEN
CITIZENS AND SOUTHERN NATIONAL BANK BUILDING
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

HAMILTON LOKEY
HENRY L. BOWDEN
CHARLES M. LOKEY
GLENN FRICK

May 16, 1957

Rev. Candler Budd
Glenn Memorial Church
Emory University
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Candler:

In accordance with our telephone conversation, I am sending you the correspondence that I received from James C. Davis, together with the enclosures. In my opinion, we should discontinue renting to the Southern Regional Council, Inc.

An examination of the material sent indicates that so many of the persons on the Board were now or formerly have been connected with so many organizations which, though not Communist, are serving as fronts for Communist activities, that the Methodist Church can ill afford to have any connection with the organization officially.

Although I know that renting to them does not indicate endorsement of their program, nevertheless we would not rent to a liquor store. I am not judging the Southern Regional Council, but I am stating that in my opinion, based on this information, it is of such a controversial nature, that the Church can ill afford to be connected with it.

Please cast my vote to that effect at the meeting Monday and express my regrets at my inability to be present.

Yours with personal regards,

HLB:lss

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The

WATKINS DECISION

of the

United States Supreme Court

June 17, 1957

AN HISTORIC REBUKE TO THE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

"The authorizing resolution of the Un-American Activities Committee was adopted in 1938 . . . It would be difficult to imagine a less explicit authorizing resolution.

"Who can define the meaning of 'Un-American'?"

CHIEF JUSTICE EARL WARREN

File

Notes on hearings of the
House Un-American Activities Committee
Atlanta 7/29-7/31/58

July 29 - present: Reps Walters (presiding), Willis, Tuck, Jackson

A.M.

Opening statement by Rep. Walters - communist activity in the South is directed from metropolitan centers of North.

Statement of welcome from Gov. Griffin, in person.

Witnesses

1. ARMANDO PENHA - undercover FBI agent within Party 1950-58. Resident now of New Bedford, Massachusetts. Described a trip to North and South Carolina in 1955 on organizational business. Described process of "colonizing" and named a number of "colonizers," including practically all subsequent witnesses. Names FANNY LICHT of New York as C. P. chief for South.

2. EUGENE FELDMAN - resident of Chicago, editor of Southern News-Letter. 5th Amend.

P.M.

Witnesses

1. IRVING FISHMAN - Customs Inspector from New York. Described quantity of mail received from Communist centers abroad. Named Georgia schools receiving it. (unsolicited)

2. PERRY CARTWRIGHT - southerner, native South Carolinian, now resident of Chicago, business manager of Southern Newsletter. Refused to discuss other people; answered questions about himself - no 5th.

3. CLARA (MRS. MITCHELL) SABA - office worker, Virginian and resident of Roanoke. Maiden name - Clara HUTCHERSON. Former FTA organizer. 5th Amend.

4. MITCHELL SABA - New Yorker, now resident Roanoke, unemployed. 5th Amend.

5. DON WEST - excused because of wife's health.

6. JOHN E. HESTER - Chicago student, resident of Georgia 1956-57. 5th Amend.

July 30 - present: Reps. Willis (presiding), Tuck, Jackson. (Tuck left during testimony of O'Dell)

A.M.

Witnesses

1. CARL BRADEN - field worker SCEF. Answered questions except those dealing with political opinion and associations: refused on grounds of 1st Amend, pertinence, vagueness of mandate. Charged repeatedly Comm. was after "integrationists."

2. FRANK WILKINSON - resident of Los Angeles, official of Emergency Civil Liberties Committee. Subpoenaed when he came to Atlanta to organize opposition to the bearings (so states Arens.) Refused answer any questions on grounds of "conscience and personal responsibility."

3. MADGE (SPURNEY) COLE - native New Yorker, A.B. Cornell, M.A. Syracuse, resident of Greensboro, N. C., textile worker. 5th Amend. (The only witness whom PENHA identified face-to-face.)

P.M.

Witnesses

1. WILLIAM JOSEPH ROBERTSON, III - Virginian, B. A. Univ. of North Carolina, now resident of Chicago. Former textile worker, FTA organizer. 5th Amend.

2. KARL R. KORSTAD - native Minnesota, A.B. ?, M. A. Syracuse, former FTA organizer, now a landscape gardener in Greensboro. 5th Amend.

3. JEROME VAN CAMP - North Carolinian, 2½ years at University of North Carolina, now resident of Philadelphia. 25 years old. 5th Amend. (This was the only witness to whom Arens proposed a grant of immunity; spurned.)

4. HUNTER PITTS O'DELL - resident of Montgomery. Matched Braden in pinning "harassment" charge on Committee. 5th Amend.

5. WILLIAM MATTHEWS - North Carolinian, now resident Brooklyn. 22 yrs. old. Categorically denied CP membership on discipline, past, present or future. 5th as to association.

July 31 - present: Reps. Willis (presiding), Jackson

A.M.

Witnesses

1. Name, residence undisclosed - Hungarian refugee, now living somewhere in the South.

Concluding statement by Rep. Willis-- (1) hearings had shown that pattern of CP activity in South similar to those in rest of country, (2) had added to the Committee's "fund of knowledge," (3) had shown that CP would increase southern efforts as southern industry grew.

September 3, 1958

The Honorable Francis E. Walter
House Committee on Un-American Activities
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Walter:

This is a further note on the matter about which Mr. M. A. Wright, then president of this Council, wrote you on March 14, 1957. Mr. Wright called to your attention our protest of certain unfounded charges against the Council made during the hearings of the Louisiana legislative committee headed by State Senator William Rainach.

Recently these same charges have been revived and publicized in a newspaper series. Since this material has probably come routinely to the attention of the staff of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, we should like to reiterate its baselessness and to send the enclosure for your files. This editorial from the Richmond Times-Dispatch represents the informed conclusions of a conservative Southern newspaper which differs fundamentally from the Council's racial views but is at pains to distinguish fact from injurious fancy.

We shall appreciate your making this editorial a part of the Committee's files. And

I should like to repeat Mr. Wright's earlier assurance that we will gladly cooperate with the Committee in any effort to establish the facts about the Southern Regional Council's origin, history, or activities.

With appreciation for your attention to this matter, I am

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1 (Richmond Times-Dispatch Editorial, 8/21/58)

NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO ABOLISH THE HOUSE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES COMMITTEE

NATIONAL OFFICE
WEST COAST REGIONAL OFFICE
555 NORTH WESTERN AVENUE / ROOM 2
mailing address / P.O. BOX 74757
LOS ANGELES 4 / CALIFORNIA
HOllywood 2-1329

AUBREY W. WILLIAMS / CHAIRMAN
c/o THE SOUTHERN FARMER
MONTGOMERY 1 / ALABAMA

ALEXANDER MEIKLEJOHN
HONORARY CHAIRMAN

DOROTHY MARSHALL / SECRETARY
ROBERT W. KENNY / TREASURER

FRANK WILKINSON
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
FIELD REPRESENTATIVE

MIDWEST REGIONAL OFFICE
CHICAGO COMMITTEE TO DEFEND THE BILL OF RIGHTS
431 SOUTH DEARBORN STREET / ROOM 424
CHICAGO 5 / ILLINOIS
PHONE 939-0675

EAST COAST REGIONAL OFFICE
NEW YORK COUNCIL TO ABOLISH HUAC
150 WEST 34TH STREET / ROOM 442
NEW YORK CITY 1
PEnnsylvania 6-3228

LEGISLATIVE OFFICE
WASHINGTON AREA COMMITTEE FOR THE ABOLITION OF HUAC
P.O. BOX 3595
WASHINGTON 7 / D.C.

September 15, 1963

Mr Leslie W Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta Ga

file

Reid 9/16/63

Dear Mr Dunbar:

The time has now come when it would be most helpful to have a supporting sponsoring group to the National Committee to Abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC).

We are enclosing a list of 200 distinguished Americans who have already signified their desire to become sponsors.

We ask you to add your name to this list.

The National Committee to Abolish HUAC has been increasingly effective in its work. Our progress stems from the emphasis we have placed on building Congressional District Committees to mobilize citizen educational and political action.

In addition, we have encouraged informational work among students at colleges in all parts of the country regarding HUAC's anti-civil liberties record.

A score of courageous Congressmen, reflecting the mounting public opposition to HUAC, voted this year to cut off further appropriations for the Committee, - and several times their number have voiced criticism of HUAC.

Despite these expressions of popular and Congressional disapproval, in recent weeks we have again witnessed the discredited files of HUAC being dredged up in an effort to frighten and divide our fellow countrymen in this crucial period of civil rights debate.

On July 29th last, segregationist Congressman E. C. Gathings of West Memphis, Arkansas, introduced into the Congressional Record no less than 30 pages of HUAC's so-called dossiers on alleged "Communist" associations of scores of leading figures within the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

We feel we should make it clear that those who have joined together with the National Committee to Abolish HUAC have adhered strictly to the First Amendment of the Bill of Rights and have not applied any political test for participation in its work.

Kindly sign the enclosed card and return the same to us. We would appreciate your prompt reply as we wish to publicize this list shortly to make known the high national character of support this movement has now garnered.

Yours sincerely,

Aubrey W. Williams

Aubrey Williams, Chairman

200

NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO ABOLISH
THE HOUSE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES COMMITTEE
555 North Western Avenue #2
Mailing Address: P O Box No 74757
Los Angeles 4, California

S P O N S O R S

(Partial List as of September 1, 1963)

(Titles and Institutions Listed for Identification Only)

REV GEORGE A ACKERLY, NYC - Minister, Trinity Methodist Church; Chairman World Fellowship, Inc
DONNA ALLAN, Washington, DC - Author, Industrial Relations; National Legislative Chairman, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF)
KATHARINE M ARNETT, Phila, Pa - Associate Secy, Women's International League (WILPF)
PROF MAX F ABELL, Durham, NH - Prof Emer, Agr Econ, Univ of New Hampshire; Chairman Social Action Comm, Congregational Christian Conference
RABBI A NATHAN ABRAMOWITZ, Washington, DC
PROF ROLAND H BAINTON, Sandy Hook, Conn - Prof of History, Yale University
REV CHARLES A BALDWIN, Providence, RI - Chaplain, Brown University, Providence
WILLIAM V BANKS, Detroit, Mich - Supreme Grand Master of Intl Masons and Eastern Stars
PROF STRINGFELLOW BARR, Princeton, NJ - Prof of Humanities, Rutgers University; President St John's College, Annapolis, Md
PROF MICHAEL V L BENNETT, NYC - Assoc Prof of Neurology at College of Physicians and Surgeons, Columbia University
JESSE F BINFORD, Chicago, Ill - Hull House
NELSON BENGSTON, NYC - Investment Securities Dealer; Pres Bengston & Co Investment Sec, NYC; Chrmn Comm for World Development & World Disarmament, NYC
HON ELMER A BENSON, Appleton, Minn - Former Governor of Minnesota
PROF DANIEL M BERMAN, Hyattsville, Md - Prof of Govt, American Univ, Washington, DC
PROF ROBERT BIERSTEDT, NYC - Chrmn Dept of Sociology & Anthropology, New York Univ
DR ALGERNON D BLACK, NYC - Leader, Amer Ethical Movement; Dir Ethical Culture Soc, NYC
PROF DERK BODDE, Philadelphia, Pa - Professor, University of Pennsylvania
* DEAN WARREN BOWER, NYC - Prof Dept of English; Div of Genl Education; New York Univ
* REV WALTER RUSSELL BOWIE, Alexandria, Va - Theologian
ELIZABETH B BOYDEN, Cambridge, Mass - On Exec Board of the Liberal Citizens of Mass
PROF EMILY C BROWN, Minneapolis, Minn - Professor, Vassar College, N Y
KAY BOYLE, Middletown, Conn - Wesleyan University; Author, Rowayton, Conn
PROF THEODORE BRAMELD, Newton, Mass - Prof of Political Science, Boston University
JOHN BRATTIN, Lansing, Mich - Attorney
BENJAMIN J BUTTENWIESER, NYC
* HELEN BUTTENWEISER, NYC - Attorney
JAMES L BREWER, Rochester, NY - Attorney
REV RAYMOND CALKINS, Belmont, Mass - Minister Emer, First Congregational Church in Cambridge, Mass
MRS EDWARD C CARTER, NYC
MISS ELIZABETH CHRISTMAN, Washington, DC
JOHN CIARDI, Metuchen, NJ - Poet
GRENVILLE CLARK, Dublin, N H - Attorney; Author
PROF WHITFIELD COBB - Asso Prof of Statistics, Hollins College
PROF JULIUS COHEN, Princeton, NJ - Rutgers School of Law
PROF ROBERT S COHEN, Boston, Mass - Chairman, Dept of Physics, Boston University
JOHN COLLIER, SR, Ranchos Le Taos, NM - Former US Comm of Indian Affairs; Prof Emer of Sociology and Anthropology, City College of New York
PROF CARL W CONDIT, Morton Grove, Ill - Prof Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill
PROF E U CONDON, Boulder, Colo - Wayman Crow Prof Physics, Washington Univ, St Louis
PROF HOLLIS R COOLEY, NYC - Professor, New York University
REV HENRY HITT CRANE, Detroit, Mich - Minister Emer, Centl Methodist Church of Detroit
JOHN O CRANE - Foundation Trustee
* MRS SYLVIA CRANE, Woods Hole, Mass
GEORGE DANGERFIELD, Santa Barbara, California
DR WILLIAM C DAVIDON, Haverford, Pa - Physicist, Haverford College
PROF HORACE B DAVIS, Sandwich, Mass - Professor Social Science
PROF DAVID B DAVIS, Ithaca, NY - Prof History, Cornell University, Ithaca
DR PERCY M DAWSON, Los Altos, Calif - Physician
JACK G DAY, ESQ - Attorney
BABETTE DEUTSCH, NYC - Author
EARL B DICKERSON, Chicago, Ill - Former Alderman; Attorney and Corporation Executive
IRVING DILLIARD - Trustee - Univ Ill; Columnist, Chicago American; former editor, editorial page, St Louis Post Dispatch
DR JAMES P DIXON, Yellow Springs, Ohio - President, Antioch College
FRANK J DONNER, NYC - Attorney; Author
BENJAMIN DREYFUS, San Francisco, Calif - Attorney
PROF RUPERT EMERSON, Cambridge, Mass - Professor, Harvard University
PROF THOMAS I EMERSON, New Haven, Conn - Professor, Yale Law

* INITIATOR

DR JOHN C ESTY, JR, Amherst, Mass - Dean of Amherst College
SARA BARD FIELD, Berkeley, Calif - Poet
REV W W FINLATOR, Raleigh, NC - Pullen Memorial Baptist Church, Minister
PROF ROBERT FINN, Palo Alto, Cal - Prof Math Dept, Stanford Univ, Stanford, Calif
RABBI OSCAR FLEISHAKER, Madison, Wisc - Co-Chrmn Religious Freedom Comm, Madison
WALDO FRANK, Truro, Mass - Author
ERICH FROMM - Psychoanalyst, Author
MRS RUTH GAGE-COLBY, NYC
MAXWELL GEISMAR, Harrison, N Y - Writer
* RABBI ROLAND GITTELSON, Boston, Mass - Temple Israel
RABBI JOSEPH B GLASER, San Francisco, Calif - Union of American Hebrew Congregations
A C GLASSGOLD, NYC - Hotel and Club Employees Union, AFL-CIO
RABBI ROBERT E GOLDBURG, Hamden, Conn - Congregation Mishkan Israel, New Haven-Harriden, Conn
MARCUS I GOLDMAN, The Woodner, Apt BG 66, Washington, D C
PROF JOHN D GOHEEN, Stanford, Calif - Dept of Philosophy, Stanford University
DR CARLTON B GOODLETT, San Francisco, Calif - Physician, S F; Publisher
RABBI DAVID GRAUBART, Chicago Ill - Rabbi, Chicago
DR A DAVID GUREWITSCH, NYC - Physician; Assoc Prof, Columbia-Presbyterian Med Cen, NYC
ROBERT GWATHMEY, NYC - Artist, New York
DR WALTER E HAGER, Bethesda, Md - Educator, Bethesda; Prof Emer Columbia Teach Col
VINCENT HALLINAN, San Francisco, Calif - Attorney, San Francisco
E Y HARBURG, NYC - Lyricist, New York
PROF FOWLER HARPER, New Haven, Conn - Professor, Yale Law School
ALFRED HASSLER, Nyack, N Y - Executive Secretary, Fellowship of Reconciliation
* PROF ROBERT HAVIGHURST, Chicago, Ill - University of Chicago
ARLINE D HAYS, Washington D C - Religious Freedom Committee, Falls Village, Conn
WILLIAM J AND BETTY HAYS, Washington, D C
PROF MICHAEL HEIDELBERGER, NYC - Prof Emer, College of Physicians and Surgeons, Columbia University; Member, Natl Academy of Sciences, New York
PROF ROBERT L HEILBRONER, NYC - Professor, Harvard University
DR EDWIN B HENDERSON, Falls Church, Va - NAACP, Arlington, Va
REV WILLIAM H HENDERSON, Lansdowne, Pa - Clergyman
HUGH B HESTER, St Petersburg, Fla - Brig General, U S Army, Ret
JOSEPH HIRSCH, NYC - Artist
PROF WILLIAM ERNEST HOCKING, Madison, N H - Professor, Harvard University
* REV JOHN HAYNES HOLMES, NYC - Rector Emeritus, Community Church
B W HUEBSCH, NYC - Publisher
* JAMES IMBRIE, Lawrenceville, N J - Retired Banker, Wall Street
MRS RAYMOND V INGERSOLL, NYC
DR HERBERT JEHLE, Charlottesville, Va - Physics Dept, Geo Washington Univ, Wash, DC
PROF PAUL E JOHNSON, Boston, Mass - Professor, Boston University
RABBI LEON A JICK, Mount Vernon, NY - Free Synagogue of Westchester, Mt Vernon, NY
WILMOT R JONES, Philadelphia, Pa - Principal Emer, Friends School, Wilmington, Dela
PROF ERICH KAHLER, Princeton, NJ - Professor, Princeton University
* ROBERT W KENNY, Los Angeles, Cal - Attorney; Former Attorney General of California
PROF JACK C KIEFER, Ithaca, NY - Dept of Mathematics, Cornell University
FREDA KIRCHWEY, NYC - Vice-Chrmn, Comm for World Development and Disarmament; former Editor, The Nation; Writer
BENJAMIN H KIZER, Spokane, Wash - Attorney
RABBI EDWARD E KLEIN, NYC - Free Synagogue, New York City
I M KOLTHOFF, Minneapolis, Minn - Scientist, Minneapolis
WILLIAM M KUNSTLER, NYC - Attorney, New York
REV JOHN HOWLAND LATHROP, Berkeley, Calif - Unitarian Minister Emeritus
JAMES LAWRENCE, JR, Brookline, Mass - Architect, Boston
MORTON LEITSON, Flint, Mich - Attorney, Flint
DR LEONARD W LEVY, Waltham, Mass - Dean, Grad School of Arts & Sciences, Brandeis U
DENISE LEVERTOV,(Mrs Mitchell Goodman), NYC - Poet
FREDERICK J LIBBY, Washington, D C
RABBI EUGENE LIPMAN, Washington, D C - Temple Sinai, Washington, D C
WALTER C LONGSTRETH, Philadelphia, Pa - Attorney, Philadelphia
PROF OLIVER S LOUD, Yellow Springs, Ohio - Prof, Antioch College, Yellow Springs
RT REV EDGAR A LOVE, Baltimore, Md - Bishop, Methodist Church, Baltimore
DR HELEN M LYND, NYC - Professor, Sarah Lawrence College, NY
* DR JOHN A MACKAY, Chevy Chase, Md - Pres Emeritus, Princeton Theological Seminary
ROLAND P MACKAY, MD - Prof Neurology, Northwestern University Medical School
B F McLAURIN - Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters AFL-CIO
HANS MAEDER, Interlaken, Mass - Director, The Stockbridge School
EDITH H MADISON, Redding, Conn
BRIAN G MANION, Beverly Hills, Calif - Attorney, Beverly Hills
LAFAYETTE MARSH, La Grange, Ill - Real Estate, La Grange
* DR C HERBERT MARSHALL, III, Washington, D C - Former President, Natl Medical Assoc
* MRS DOROTHY MARSHALL, Los Angeles, Calif - Real Estate; Former President, Los Angeles Catholic Women's Club
PROF HUBERT MARSHALL, Stanford, Calif - Professor, Dept of Political Science, Stanford University

* INITIATOR

LENORE MARSHALL, NYC - Writer
KIRTLEY F MATHER, Cambridge, Mass - Prof Emer of Geology, Harvard University
DR LEO MAYER, NYC - Chairman, Physicians Forum, New York
* DR ALEXANDER MEIKLEJOHN, Berkeley, Calif- Prof Philosophy; Pres Emer, Amherst College
PROF CLYDE R MILLER, NYC
RT REV WALTER MITCHELL, Rancho Santa Fe, Calif - Ret, Episcopal Bishop of Arizona
ASHLEY MONTAGU, Princeton, N J - Author, Anthropologist
PROF GLENN R MORROW, Swarthmore, Pa - University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa
GEORGE B MURPHY, JR, Washington, D C
* REV A J MUSTE, NYC - Secy Emer, Fellowship for Reconciliation
PROF CURTISS MacDOUGALL, Evanston, Ill - Professor, Northwestern University, Ill
CAREY McWILLIAMS, NYC - Editor, The Nation
JAMES McNAMARA, NYC - Labor Representative, New York (United Hat, Cap & Millinery Workers AFL-CIO, NY)
PROF OTTO NATHAN - Economist, New York
* DR REINHOLD NIEBUHR, NYC - Theologian, Union Theological Seminary, NYC
HARRY K NIER, JR, Denver, Colo - Attorney
DR VICTOR OBENHAUS, Chicago, Ill - Prof, Chicago Theological Seminary, Chicago
HARVEY O'CONNOR, Little Compton, R I - Author
RICHARD OTTINGER, Washington, D C - Attorney, Washington D C
PROF HOWARD L PARSONS, Cedar Rapids, Iowa - Professor of Philosophy, Coe College
AVA HELEN PAULING, Pasadena, Calif - V-P, Natl Board WILPF; Board, ACLU of So Calif
REV ARTHUR C PEABODY, Miami, Fla - Former Headmaster Groton School; Episcopal, Wellesley, Mass
RT REV MALCOLM E PEABODY, Cambridge, Mass - Ret, Episcopal Church of Central New York; Episcopal Bishop, Cambridge, Mass
BERNARD B PERRY, Bloomington, Ind - Editor, University of Indiana Press
REV EDWARD L PEET, Hayward, Calif - Wesley Methodist Church, Hayward; Minister, Central Methodist Church, Sacramento
REV DR DRYDEN L PHELPS, Berkeley, Calif - Retired
* CLARENCE E PICKETT, Philadelphia, Pa - Exec Dir Emer, American Friends Service Comm
SIDNEY PINES, Dallas, Texas - Chairman, American Zionist Council of Dallas
* HON JUSTINE WISE POLIER, NYC - Judge, New York City
SHAD POLIER, NYC - President, American Jewish Congress
PROF ROBERT PREYER, Cambridge, Mass - Professor, Brandeis University
OSCAR RADEMACHER, Medford, Wisc - Attorney
REV THEODORE A RATH, Bloomfield, N J - Pres, Bloomfield College & Seminary, E Orange
S ROY REMAR, Newton, Mass - Attorney; Pres Community Church, Chestnut Hill, Mass
OSCAR K RICE - Prof of Chemistry, University of North Carolina
PROF WILLIAM G RICE, Madison, Wisc - Law Prof, U of Wisconsin; Chrmn, Wisconsin ACLU
PROF WALTER B RIDEOUT, Madison, Wisc - Prof, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill
DEAN A ROBB, Detroit, Mich - Attorney, Detroit
MISS CATHARINE G RORABACK, New Haven, Conn - Attorney, New Haven
DR AND MRS THEODORE ROSEBURY - Prof, Washington University
DR SUMNER ROSEN, Boston, Mass - Research Assoc, Industrial Union Dept, AFL-CIO
DR W CARSON RYAN, Durham, NC - Kenan Prof of Education Emer, Univ of No Carolina
PROF MARIO G SALVADORI, NYC - Professor, Columbia University
PROF MEYER SCHAPIRO, NYC - Prof, Dept of Fine Arts, Columbia University
* DR HOWARD SCHOMER, Chicago, Ill - President, Chicago Theological Seminary
LAURENCE SCOTT, Washington, D C - Peace Action Center, Washington, D C
PROF PAUL ARTHUR SCHLIPP, Evanston, Ill - Prof Philosophy, Northwestern University
REV HARRY B SCHOLEFIELD, San Francisco, Cal - First Unitarian Church, San Francisco
REV ALBERT L SEELY, Tenafly, NJ - Protestant Chaplain, Univ of Mass, Amherst, Mass
DR BENJAMIN SEGAL, NYC - Pres, Physicians Chapter, American Jewish Congress
DR GUY EMERY SHIPLER, Arcadia, Calif - Editor, The Churchman
PROF PITRIM A SOROKIN, Winchester, Mass - Harvard Univ, Pres of Intl Soc for Comparative Study of Civilizations; Dir of Research Center in Creative Altruism; Member Royal Academy of Arts & Sciences of Belgium; Member Natl Acad of Arts and Sciences, Mass
HERBERT S SOUTHGATE, Alexandria, Virginia
PROF KENNETH M STAMPP, Berkeley, Cal - Prof Dept History, Univ of Calif, Berkeley
PROF NORMAN E STEENROD, Princeton, N J - Professor, Princeton University
MILTON R STERN, NYC - Asst Dean, Div of Genl Educa & Extension Services, New York U
DR OLIVIA PEARL STOKES, Boston, Mass - Physician
I F STONE, Washington, D C - Editor Stone's Weekly
NANCY P STRAUSS, Washington, D C
PROF ARTHUR L SWIFT, JR, Redlands, Cal - Prof Emer, Union Theological Seminary
ERNEST L TALBERT, Cincinnati, Ohio - Professor University of Cincinnati
JOHN E THORNE, San Jose, Calif - Attorney
BURTON H THROCKMORTON, JR, Bangor, Maine - Prof Bangor Theological Seminary
PAUL TILLITT, Princeton, NJ - Poli Sci Rutgers University, Princeton
A BUEL TROWBRIDGE
DR JAMES D TYMS, Washington, D C - School of Religion, Howard University, D C
HAROLD C UREY, La Jolla, Calif - Nobel Laureate, La Jolla
MARY VAN KLEECK, Woodstock, N Y - Industrial Sociologist
WILLIAM VICKREY, Hastings on Hudson, N Y - Prof Econ Columbia Univ

* INITIATOR

CLARA M VINCENT, Livonia, Mich - Women's Intl League for Peace & Freedom (WILPF)
PROF WALTER S VINCENT, Pittsburgh, Pa - Professor, University of Pittsburgh
PROF PAUL WAGER, Chapel Hill, N C - University of North Carolina
* REV WYATT TEE WALKER, Atlanta, Ga - Ex Dir So Christian Leadership Conference
LEROY WATERMAN, Ann Arbor, Mich - Prof Emeritus, University of Michigan
RABBI JACOB J WEINSTEIN, Chicago, Ill - KAM Temple, Natl Chrmn, Natl Comm Labor Israel
REV KENNETH WENTZEL, Rockville, Md
DEAN I G WHITECHURCH, Denver, Colo - College Dean, Kingfield, Maine
PROF HAROLD WIDON, Ithaca, N Y - Dept of Mathematics, Cornell University
* AUBREY W WILLIAMS, Thomasville, Pa
DAGMAR WILSON, Washington, D C - Illustrator children's books; Initiator WISP
MARSHALL WINDMILLER, Berkeley, Cal - CoEd, the liberal democrat; Prof San Fran St Col
BEE R WOLFE, Tacoma Park, Maryland
KURT H WOLFF, Newton Mass - Prof Sociology, Brandeis University
J CLARENCE YOUNG, Alexandria, Va - Attorney

* INITIATOR

Richmond Times-Dispatch

DAVID TENNANT BRYAN, *President and Publisher*

VIRGINIUS DABNEY, *Editor* JOHN H. COLBURN, *Managing Editor*

Thursday, August 21, 1958

A Race Agency and the Facts

Inaccurate statements as to its origins of the Southern Regional Council of Atlanta appeared recently in THE TIMES-DISPATCH, and should be corrected. They appeared — inadvertently, we are sure—in one of the series of articles by EDWARD B. SIMMONS of the New Bedford, Mass., *Standard-Times* concerning Communist efforts to incite racial strife in the United States.

MR. SIMMONS stated in the article appearing in our paper on August 5 that the Southern Regional Council, established in Atlanta in 1944, was an "offshoot of the old Southern Conference for Human Welfare, which was dissolved in 1948 after twice being described by the Federal Government as 'Communist front.'" He also said: "'The Communist *Daily Worker* openly boasted that JAMES E. JACKSON, chief of the Southern branch of the U. S. Communist party, was a co-founder of the Regional Council."

Taking these two charges in order, the Southern Regional Council was not an offshoot of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. It was established in response to an appeal from respected Southern Negro leaders, who met at Durham, N. C., in October, 1942, on the call of DR. GORDON B. HANCOCK, of the Virginia Union faculty here, and DR. P. B. YOUNG, of Norfolk, publisher of the Norfolk *Journal and Guide*. These Negro leaders did not ask for the elimination of segregation in the schools or anywhere else; they asked that "separate but equal" be made a reality.

Responding to their appeal, a group of white leaders met in Atlanta in the spring of 1943, and expressed a desire to cooperate. Out of this grew the Southern Regional Council. The Council was the successor to the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, founded in 1919 by leading churchmen. To repeat, it not only was no "offshoot" of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare; it was criticized in some quarters because it was more conservative than that organization and suspected of being in competition with it.

We must remember, too, that when the Southern Conference for Human Welfare was established in 1938, it was not suspected of having any Communist connections, and many well-intentioned and patriotic Southerners participated in its early meetings. A number of these later joined the Southern Regional Council when they discovered the true purposes of the Conference for Human Welfare.

As to the allegation of the Communist *Daily Worker* that JAMES E. JACKSON, chief of the Southern branch of the U. S. Communist party, was a "co-founder of the Southern Regional Council," there is nothing to support this.

A JAMES E. JACKSON is listed as having attended the Durham meeting of Negro leaders in October, 1942, but is not mentioned by the Norfolk *Journal and Guide* as having been on the committee which drew up the statement then issued. JACKSON did not participate in the meetings of white and Negro leaders in 1943 and 1944 which led to the establishment of the Southern Regional Council, and he was not at any time an officer, director, or member of that agency. The *Daily Worker's* statement that he was a "founder" is as unreliable and inaccurate as nearly everything else in that Communist sheet.

The late DR. HOWARD W. ODUM, noted and respected member of the University of North Carolina faculty, was the first president of the Council. He was succeeded in 1945 by PAUL D. WILLIAMS, prominent Catholic layman of Richmond and co-founder of the Catholic Committee of the South, who served until 1951. MR. WILLIAMS was succeeded in that year by MARION A. WRIGHT, South Carolina attorney, former chairman of the South Carolina Library Board and past president of the University of South Carolina Alumni Association.

It should be emphasized that SRC worked within the framework of "separate but equal" for seven years, and did not announce for integration until 1951.

While we disagree strongly and completely with its present position on this issue, we feel obligated to point out, in fairness, that it was in no sense Communist in its origins. The Southern Regional Council was established because of a sincere desire on the part of white and Negro leaders in the South to eliminate many of the disabilities and discriminations from which Negroes were suffering.

It was hoped that if these could be substantially lessened, the colored South would not look to the colored North for leadership. Insufficient progress was made, unfortunately, and the NAACP moved in and launched its drive for the complete elimination of segregation — sooner than it probably would have done if SRC's accomplishments had been larger.

That is where we stand today.

Defense file —

KNOXVILLE MINISTERIAL ASSOCIATION
Rev. W. Burney Overton, president
Knoxville, Tennessee

Workshop on Human Relations — February 3, 1959

Theme: "Problems and Progress in Human Relations"
Place: First Presbyterian Church

Rev. Tom P. Carriger, presiding
Chairman, Committee on Human Relations

9:00 - 11:00 a.m. - Toward a Clearer Understanding of What Confronts Us in Human Relations

Guest Leaders:

Rev. John Marion — Richmond, Virginia

Rev. J. Metz Rollins — Nashville, Tennessee

Rev. C. Thomas Baker, Jr. — Nashville, Tennessee

Dr. Fred Routh — Atlanta, Georgia

11:00 - 12:00 a.m. - Toward a Clearer Understanding of Our School and Law Situation

Guest Leaders:

Mr. E. B. Bowles — Sheriff, Knox County

John Burkhart, M.D. — Chairman, Board of Education, City of Knoxville

Miss Mildred Doyle — Superintendent of Schools, Knox County

Mr. David Garrison — Safety Director, City of Knoxville

Mr. Hop Bailey, Sr. — Chairman, Board of Education, Knox County

Mr. Thomas N. Johnston — Superintendent of Schools, City of Knoxville

12:00 - 1:00 p.m. - Luncheon and Informal Discussion

PLEASE MAKE YOUR LUNCHEON RESERVATION(S) IMMEDIATELY BY TELEPHONING 3-7195.

1:00 - 2:00 p.m. - Toward Seeking Solutions by Small Group Discussions with Guest Leaders

2:00 - 3:00 p.m. - An Hour of Worship, with reports on findings and recommendations from each small group

TOWARDS BETTER UNDERSTANDING—Four religious leaders offered suggestions toward a clearer understanding of the problems of human relations in a workshop today at First Presbyterian Church. From left are Dr. Fred Routh, Atlanta; the Rev. C. Thomas Bakers Jr., the Rev. J. Metz Rollins, both of Nashville, and the Rev. John H. Marion, Richmond, Va.

Ministers Offer Solutions

U.S. Suicide Seen in School Closings

Closing public schools during a time of of the scientific race with Russia is an invitation to national suicide, in the opinion of Dr. Fred Routh, Atlanta.

Dr. Routh, of the Southern Regional Council, spoke at the workshop on human relations of the Knoxville Ministerial Association today at First Presbyterian Church. He said to "it is inconceivable that responsible, thinking Americans would close their schools (because of integration problems) at such a time."

Dr. Routh was one of four out-of-town speakers who expressed views on the theme "Toward a Clearer Understanding of What Confronts Us in Human Relations." Other speakers were the Rev. John Marion, Richmond, Va., associate executive of the United Presbyterian Church U.S.A. department of social education and action; his colleague, the Rev. J. Metz Rollins, Nashville, and the Rev. C. Thomas Baker Jr., Nashville, executive secretary of the Tennessee Council of Churches.

Must Obey Laws

"The solution to the human relations problems which confront us must be worked out within the framework of the law," Dr. Routh said.

He saw one solution in "working with people and not just for them," and added that "this calls for recognition of each man's dignity as a child of God and as a human being, and points up our need to establish mutual respect among the various races and among those who hold differing opinions."

Dr. Routh, a native of Lynchburg, congratulated the people of Virginia "for their peaceful acceptance of the inevitable" in Norfolk and Arlington school integration and said "they're disgusted with mass resistance."

Solution Seen

Mr. Rollins sees a solution in somehow "getting people to know and understand each other."

"The people who have a desire to see the gap between groups closed must also have the courage and the insight to make the effort toward creative contact between groups and races regardless of the price they may have to pay," he said.

"Practice what most of us already know about democracy and brotherhood as one of the best ways to clearer understanding about race relationships," advised Mr. Marion. "Scholars tell us we learn by doing—this is true in race relations. Too many of us have tried to reach a clearer understanding of the problem by studying in the abtract."

A World Problem

Following desegregation of schools in many communities, people have seen that they can live together in good will and co-operation, he said.

Mr. Baker has found "the matter of living together in the midst of individual differences perhaps the greatest problem in the world today."

"Our inability to live together results in broken marriages, competitive churches, and warring nations," he said.

He declared the only solution "is to recognize the God-given differences, to remove the man-made artificial differences, and to live together graciously."

City and county law enforcement heads, school superintendents, and heads of school boards were to discuss "A Clearer Understanding of Our School and Law Situation" later in the program.

Won't Allow Integration, Bowles Says

The city and county law enforcement heads expressed themselves on integration at the human relations workshop at First Presbyterian Church today.

"It's all Communist-inspired and not a good proposition. You can depend on E. B. Bowles, as long as he's sheriff, not to let it (integration) happen," declared Sheriff Bowles.

"My duty is to maintain peace and order and I intend to perform that duty," said City Safety Director David Garrison. "I have little or no information of any racial pressures here. We are not closing our eyes to the possibility of some rash act, but we do not anticipate it. We think we are capable of maintaining law and order and are optimistic enough to think we will not have to meet any emergency."

One Youth Freed in Fireworks Case

One of three youths charged with possessing fireworks early on New Year's Day has drawn a $25 suspended fine, another forfeited cash bond, and the third was acquired.

Police said the three were throwing firecrackers from a moving car on Gay Street at 2 a. m. Jan. 1.

Paul Yates, Martin Mill Pike, drew a $25 suspended fine in City Court, Charles A. Callihan, Chapman Highway, forfeited his bond, and Hugh Jarnigan, Route 1, Mascot, was freed.

If you enjoy playing bridge, you'll enjoy the fine points of the game by expert Oswald Jacoby in The News-Sentinel.

be with this girl.
three friends of mine and they
could ever settle down to one girl.
destination? PLAYBOY

Security Is a Sham

DEAR PLAYBOY:

You've stated your case clearly, even to answering your own question. Destination? Emptiness and loneliness.

Excitement alone spoils. It glitters awhile and then turns a man bitter. Like spice too generously sprinkled, it ruins the flavor.

The security and stability she finds in you is a sham, as the excitement you find in her is probably shame.

Get out of her cheap orbit and put excitement at the bottom of your list of essentials for happiness. You may still find it.

M. M.

then had his choice between a club and a heart finesse. He chose the heart finesse since he felt certain that West held both high clubs.

It was a Hobson's choice. He

Wins Prize

Miss Anna Vance, 830 North Third Avenue, was winner of the color TV set, grand prize at the benefit parties given by Ossoli Circle Junior Department on Friday and Saturday. Party proceeds go to the Cerebral Palsy Nursery School.

strongly but jumped to three diamonds your hearts are weak.

TODAY'S QUESTION

Your partner jumps to two no-trump after your one-heart response. What do you do in this case?

Answer Tomorrow

Start Integration in Churches, Not Schools, Burkhart Advises

Dr. John H. Burkhart, president of City Board of Education, says he thinks public schools should not be first to have racial integration. "I think the church should be first," he said.

His remark came at a Workshop on Human Relations held yesterday at First Presbyterian Church by the Knoxville Ministerial Association.

Replying to a question by KMA President W. Burney Overton, Dr. Burkhart said he believes "integration is inevitable by the laws of God," but that it is an "evolutionary process and needs time for adjustment."

Seeks 'Least Tensions'

"This thing has to start down where the people can see it at work," he said. "I do not think the schools should be the first to integrate—I think the churches should be first."

Dr. Burkhart was a panelist in a discussion on "A Clearer Understanding of Our School and Law Situation." He said the Board of Education plans to "go on with the best education for every child in a way that will create the least tensions and get the best results."

He spoke after statements by Sheriff E. B. Bowles to the effect that integration in the schools is "all Communist-inspired and not a good proposition" and a promise that, as long as he is sheriff, he "would not let it happen," and assurance by Safety Director David Garrison that he had "little or no information of racial pressures here" and the promise that law and order would be maintaned.

Puts Education First

City Schools Supt. T. N. Johnson said that his chief interest is "in helping every child in the city schools achieve his greatest capacity and get the best education possible."

"I will not be a party to any plan that will disturb the orderly process of giving each child a good education," he said. "I hope we do not have a great deal of emotional upset and disturb the educational process. I will work for the best educational program for each child regardless of race.

'Better in Many Cases'

"I am amazed that since 1896 three generations have grown up with acceptance of the plan for separate but equal facilities as right—why did these ideas suddenly become wrong in 1954? If it wasn't wrong 62 years ago, why is it wrong now? Why haven't we preached against it before? Orderly processes can't be changed overnight without disturbance."

Roland McKeehan, director of instruction in the county schools, took the place of Supt. Mildred Doyle. Hop Bailey Sr., sixth invited member of the panel, did not appear. Mr. Bailey is chairman of the County Board of Education.

In describing facilities at eight county Negro elementary schools Mr. McKeehan said that "in many cases they are better than in comparable white schools."

The recommendations were passed: That the Knoxville Ministerial Association offer further opportunities for further meetings with secular leaders of the community; that KMA take the initiative in preparing a model program of education and sponsor discussions in local churches; that KMA co-sponsor an institute on human relations already planned by the Knoxville Area Council on Human Relations for Feb. 23 at Lawson McGee Library; and that a list of projects growing out of the human relations workshop be developed.

RADIO SERVICE
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Gives you all th
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Journal Feb 4

The Weather

NORTH CAROLINA—Occasional rain or scattered showers and considerably warmer with high 50-60.

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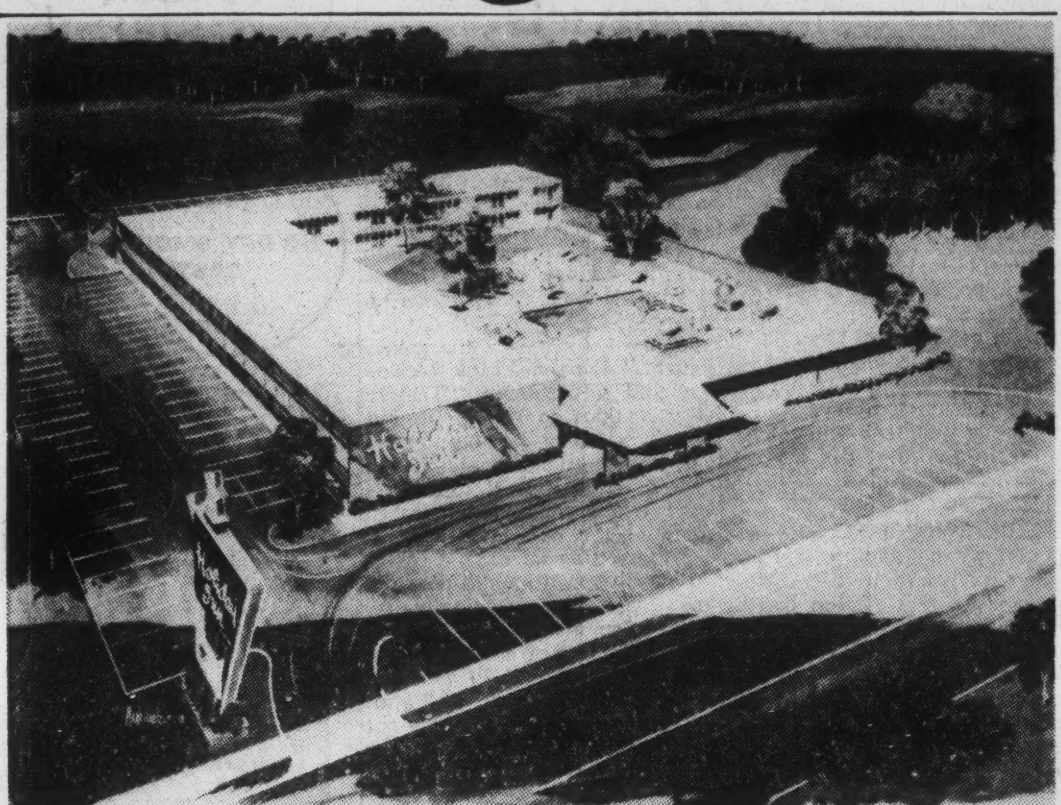
VIRGINIA—Cloudy with occasional rain, somewhat warmer, high 47-54.

(Weather Details, Page 10)

The Kn

120TH YEAR KNOXVILLE

Reds Ignore US



HOLIDAY INN — This is a sketch of the proposed new $850,000 Holiday Inn Motel which will be at New Asheville Highway and Holston Drive. It will contain 108 rooms and construction will start in about a month and be completed before the end of the year. The chain presently operates 67 motels from coast to coast and has 62 others either planned or under construction. Holiday Inn leased the 266,000 square foot tract for 99 years from Gene Monday, Knoxville real estate investor.

Holiday Inn Site Okehed By Planners

Knox County Commission yesterday approved by a unanimous vote and without a dissenting voice rezoning of a tract of land at Asheville Highway and Holston Drive for construction of a new Holiday Inn at a cost of about $850,000.

Gene Monday, Knoxville real estate investor, who leased the 266,000 square foot tract to Holiday Inns of America Inc. with general offices at Memphis, said construction will start on the 108-room motel in about a month.

Holiday Inns' own crews will build the inn, and they expect to complete it late this year.

The site fronts 380 feet on the new Asheville Highway and is about 700 feet deep. The tract adjoins Bell Avenue Baptist Church on the east.

The motels are scattered from coast to coast with the heaviest

Ministers Hear Highlander Leader

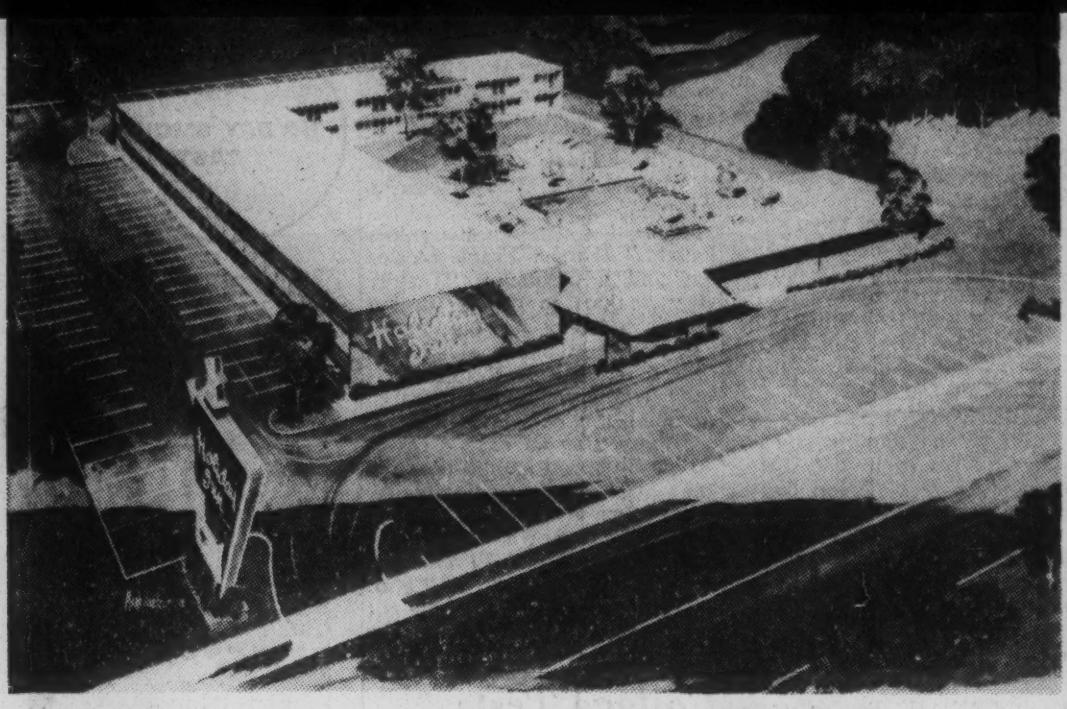
Fred Routh, one of the speakers at yesterday's discussion on human relations sponsored by the Knoxville Ministerial Association, has been associated with the Highlander Folk School as workshop leader and is an official of an organization founded by a Communist.

Routh, of Atlanta, Ga., is assistant director of the Southern Regional Council and in 1957 was a leader in the Highlander School at Monteagle which was attended by Mrs. Wilma (Dykeman) Stokely, Newport writer.

The Highlander school has been under fire for its left-wing activities for many years, and a former Communist, Paul Couch, in testifying before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee said it was operated "in close cooperation with the Communist Party."

Highlander Resolution Asks Probe

NASHVILLE, Feb. 3 (AP) — A resolution calling for an investigation of the Highlander Folk School, revised to meet Gov. Bu-



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The motels are scattered from coast to coast with the heaviest concentration in the South and East. There are 67 now open with 62 others either planned or under construction.

Lee F. Sutliffe, president and real estate manager of the motel chain, came here from his Memphis offices to represent his company. Monday's lease to Holiday is for 99 years.

Holiday Inns also is negotiating for a lease on the property where Graystone Presbyterian Church now stands for construction of another Holiday Inn.

Two Rezoning Pleas Deferred

County Commission yesterday deferred action on two rezoning requests to which opposition was voiced.

One of the requests, by Triangle Terminal of Chattanooga, was for rezoning from agricultural to industrial property on the south side of Middlebrook Pike at Knott Road for an office building and gasoline storage tanks. A lawyer for the firm said it is essential for the company to build there to tie into a pipeline.

The other request was from Mathis Bush, asking rezoning from Residential B to Residential A property on Valley View Drive for a 39-home subdivision.

The commission approved requests of:

Fonde-Brown Inc., rezoning from agricultural to residential B property west of Gallaher View Road and north of Kingston Pike for development of a subdivision.

Jake Metler, rezoning from commercial A to B property 2000 feet from northwest city limits of Knoxville fronting on south side of Clinton Highway.

The commission yesterda adopted a resolution requiri all matters coming before it be placed on the agenda days prior to regular meeti

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The Highlander school has been under fire for its left-wing activities for many years, and a former Communist, Paul Couch, in testifying before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee said it was operated "in close cooperation with the Communist Party."

The Daily Worker, the defunct Communist paper, credited the foundation of the Southern Regional Council to Jim Jackson, Negro Communist presently head of the Southern Affairs Commission of the Communist Party. Jackson also is credited with forming the Southern Conference Education Fund, and Southern Conference for Human Welfare, both organizations which are recognized parts of the Communist conspiracy and which have interlocking directorates with the Southern Regional Council.

During the workshop in 1957 at Highlander where Routh was a leader, in at least one of the sessions the tactics of including women and children in racial demonstrations and incidents was proposed on the basis that police

Continued on Page 2, Col. 6

HIGHLANDER SPEAKER — Fred Routh, Atlanta, assistant director of the Southern Regional Council, was one of the workshop speakers at Highlander Folk School at Monteagle in 1957. He spoke here yesterday at First Presbyterian Church to a human relations workshop sponsored by the Knoxville Ministerial Association. (More pictures on Page 7)

Highlander Resolution Asks Probe

NASHVILLE, Feb. 3 (AP) — A resolution calling for an investigation of the Highlander Folk School, revised to meet Gov. Buford Ellington's objections to an earlier one, was introduced in the House today.

The new resolution provides that the House and Senate speakers, rather than the governor, appoint the committee members from their respective houses. It also provides a $5000 appropriation for expenses and requires an interim report to the Legislature two weeks before adjournment.

Both houses passed by a voice vote the earlier measure to authorize an investigation of alleged subversive activities at the Grundy county institution. They later withdrew it for revision. Both resolutions were sponsored by Reps. Harry Lee Senter of Bristol and S. A. Rhinehart of Spencer.

Myles Horton, director, has demanded that the investigation be conducted immediately so it can be proved subversive or cleared of the charges.

BULLETINS

PLANE CRASHES INTO RIVER

NEW YORK, Feb. 4 (AP)—A plane believed to be a commercial airliner flying here from Chicago crashed early this morning in the East River. Soon after the plane had slammed into the river off Rikers Island a commercial tug reported it was picking up bodies in the water.

PLANE CRASHES

LITTLE ROCK, Ark., Feb. 3 (AP)—A B-47 Air Force plane crashed and burst into flames near the Little Rock Air Force base late last night, base officials said. There was no immediate report of casualties. A crash crew was dispatched to the scene.

SKIER KILLED

ASPEN, Colo., Feb. 3 (AP)—A young skier was engulfed and killed by an avalanche today and a companion trekked trail post-

Today's Chuc

The best time to wo dishes is right after y tells you to.

Journal Page 7 Feb 4

HIGHLANDER WORKSHOP—Among those at a workshop at Highlander Folk School in Monteagle in 1957 was Wilma (Dykeman) Stokely, Newport writer. Here she is shown (arrow) with (from left at table), Alonzo G. Moron, president of Hampton Institute; Septima Clark, integration workshop director and Highlander; and Allen McSwain, described as a leader of the "Clinton incident."

ROUTH AT HIGHLANDER—This picture shows Fred Routh, assistant director of the Southern Regional Council, at the 1957 workshop on integration at Highlander Folk School at Monteagle. In at least one of the sessions then, the tactics of including women and children in racial demonstrations was advocated on the basis that police are reluctant to shoot women and children. Routh spoke here yesterday.

Knoxville
attack
file

The Weather
NORTH CAROLINA—Occasional rain or scattered showers and considerably warmer with high 50-60.
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The Knoxville Tourn

120TH YEAR KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE, WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 4, 1959

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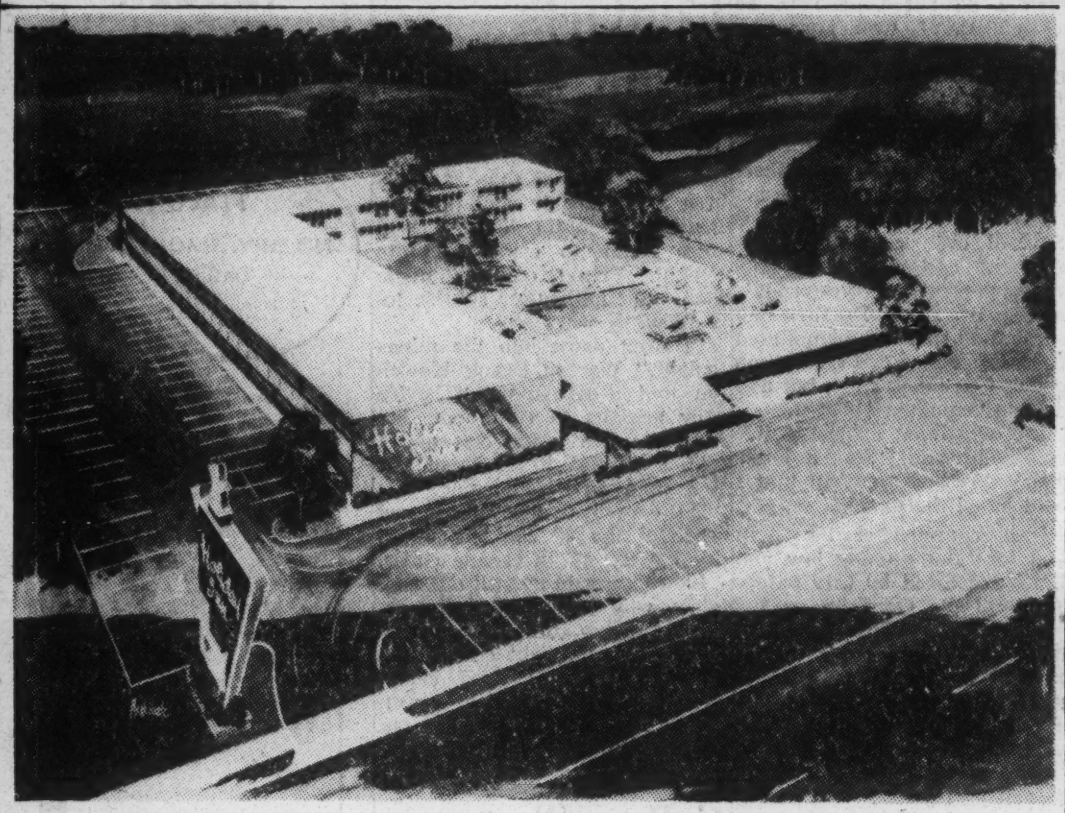

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ed by Mrs. Wilma (Dykeman)

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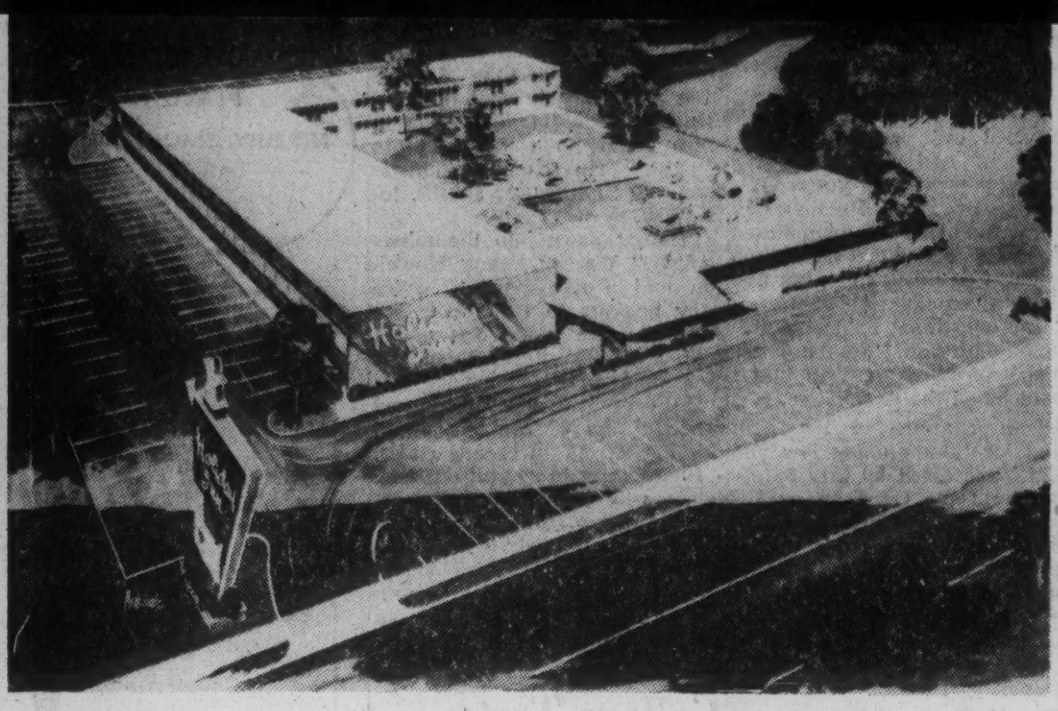

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Continued on Page 2, Col. 6

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Fanfani to

The Weather

NORTH CAROLINA—Occasional rain or scattered showers and considerably warmer with high 50-60.

KNOXVILLE AND METROPOLITAN AREA—Mostly cloudy skies and warmer with intermittent rain today. High 58. Low tonight 45. Low this morning 40. High yesterday 49.

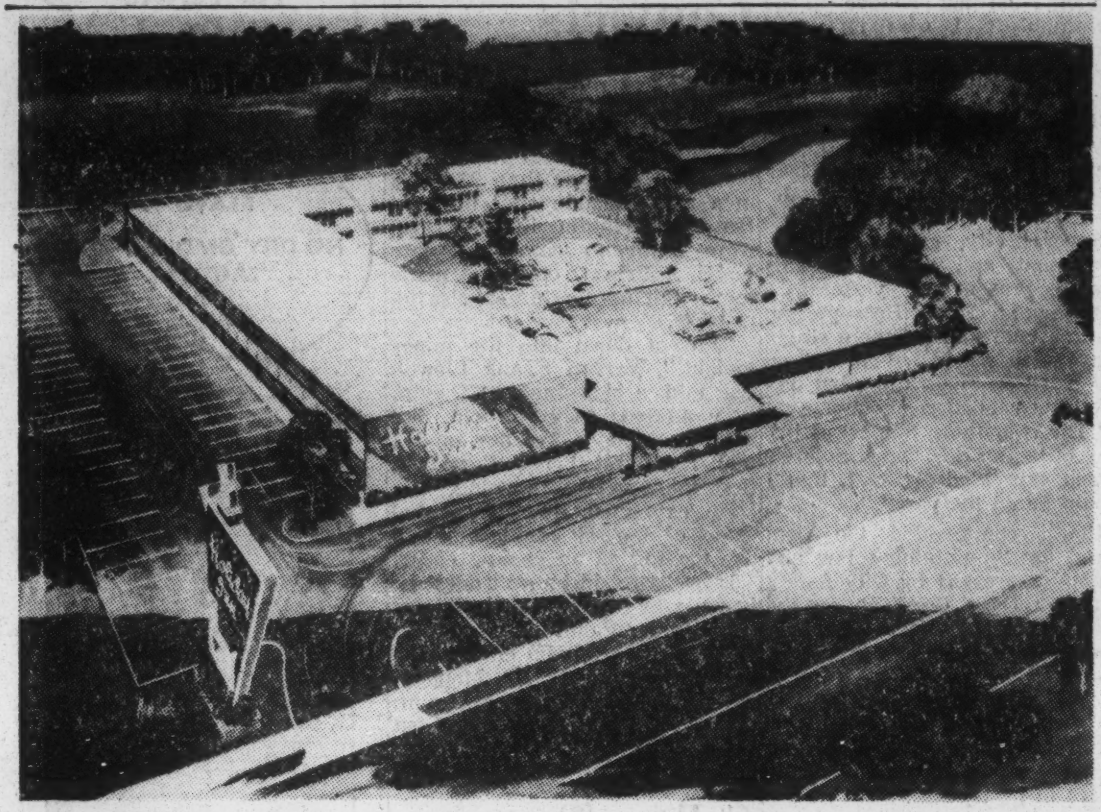
VIRGINIA—Cloudy with occasional rain, somewhat warmer, high 47-54.

(Weather Details, Page 10)

The Kn

120TH YEAR Knoxville Journal, Feb. 4, 1959 KNOXVILLE,

Reds Hold US B



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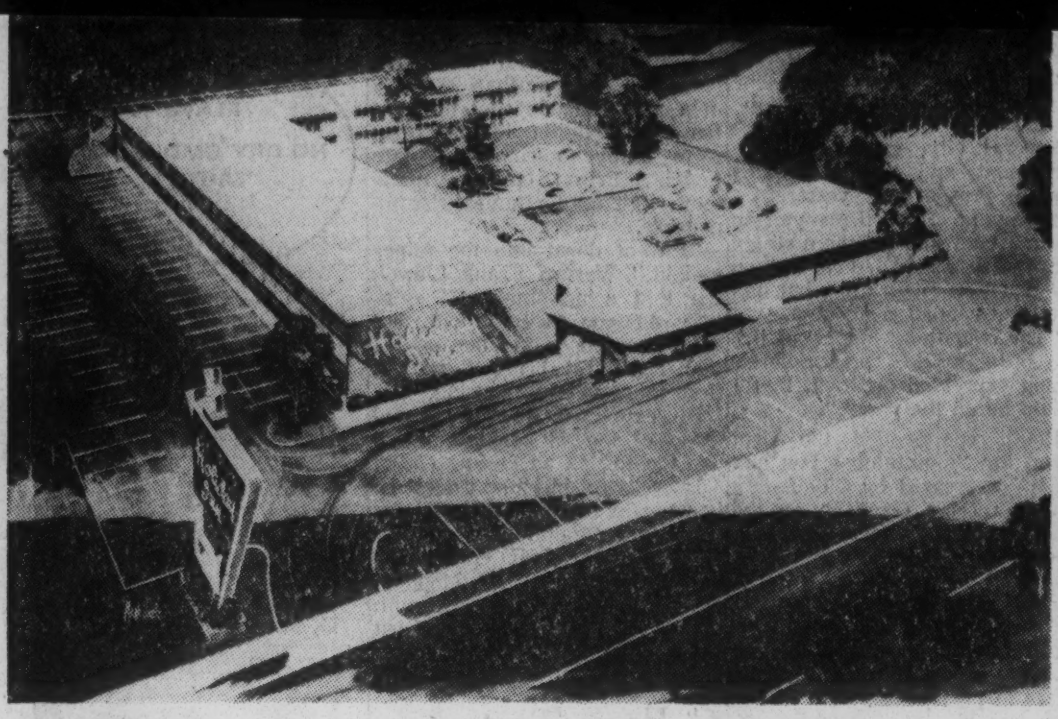

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Gronchi ordered Fanfani to seek a vote of confidence from

Knoxville Journal 2/4/59

HIGHLANDER WORKSHOP—Among those at a workshop at Highlander Folk School in Monteagle in 1957 was Wilma (Dykeman) Stokely, Newport writer. Here she is shown (arrow) with (from left at table), Alonzo G. Moron, president of Hampton Institute; Septima Clark, integration workshop director and Highlander; and Allen McSwain, described as a leader of the "Clinton incident."

ROUTH AT HIGHLANDER—This picture shows Fred Routh, assistant director of the Southern Regional Council, at the 1957 workshop on integration at Highlander Folk School at Monteagle. In at least one of the sessions then, the tactics of including women and children in racial demonstrations was advocated on the basis that police are reluctant to shoot women and children. Routh spoke here yesterday.

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Booker T. Washington, a Negro, to lunch

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The Knoxville Journal; February 6th, 1959

Letters To The Journal

Author Explains Stand In Highlander Talk

In September, 1957, I spoke at Highlander Folk School—As I have spoken to many Southern universities, clubs, civic, religious and social groups over a period of years—reading, on this occasion, a chapter from a recent book by my husband and myself, Neither Black Nor White. This book is concerned with the conservation and upbuilding of all our Southern natural and human resources. The book is available at book stores, and anyone interested in what I said at Highlander will find it in these pages. Anyone who says or suggests that I was present for any other purpose is either woefully misguided or wilfully malicious.

It should be pointed out that the photograph taken at the time I was there was freely permitted by all concerned, as at any meeting open to the public. Eventual circulation of it and other pictures on a smear-sheet put out by a Georgia group whose director has since been discredited and resigned, was considered of so little moment by the Federal Government that it thereafter reestablished the school's tax-exempt status. This literature was a blatant effort to stir up trouble in an adjoining state in much the same manner Arkansas citizens now say Georgia emissaries helped stir up the tragic Little Rock troubles in their state.

Those who seek to intimidate ministers, school officials, law enforcement officials, and concerned citizens of good will in a community or state by insinuations of communism or other epithet, are too late. Events in Virginia have already shown that the only sane path is one of moderation, and that those leaders who meet together in a community for conciliation and understanding are the true peacemakers who "shall be called the children of God." I am sure that this was the spirit in which the Knoxville ministers and their panel of civic leaders met Tuesday night. It is the spirit which will save our South and our nation for unborn generations.

—Wilma Dykeman Stokely

Cheap Teacher Pay Has Own Consequences

Tennessee pays its teachers half as much as some states and takes the consequences. The consequences should cause many a Tennessean to lie awake at night.

It's cheaper, it's true, to hire someone with a Fifth Grade education to herd elementary children through the day than it is to pay a teacher with a degree who can teach them something—cheaper in dollars and cents, that is, but that cheapness shows right on through to that final exam before graduation, believe you me. And it shows every day of those pupils lives. For a cheap education is like cheap jewelry, it soon rubs off and blackens.

Tennessee's excuse for not paying a proper salary for holding qualified teachers is cheaper still. How long would any industrial organization last if its management said to its workers, as do the governor of Tennessee and his RUBBER STAMP BOYS OF THE LEGISLATURE, "To raise salaries would call for higher taxes, and we had to promise somebody we wouldn't raise taxes in order to get elected." It wouldn't last until Friday night. You know that.

What kind of public is it that makes these demands on its officials? It's made up of people, evidently, who look at education in Tennessee through rose-tinted glasses. For no public that sees the situation as it really is could sensibly make such demands on its representatives. For the real situation, as it concerns education in Tennessee, is enough to make a strong man shake.

—J. B. Worthy
White Bluff, Tenn.

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE PRESIDENT
PAUL D. WILLIAMS, VICE PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
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HAROLD C. FLEMING, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
FREDERICK B. ROUTH, ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
RUTH HOUSE ALEXANDER, SECRETARY-TREASURER
PAUL ANTHONY, ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT
JOHN HOPE II, CHIEF CONSULTANT
C. H. PARRISH, PROGRAM ASSOCIATE
MRS. M. E. TILLY, DIRECTOR OF WOMEN'S WORK
JOHN CONSTABLE, DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION
MARGE R. MANDERSON, RESEARCH ASSISTANT
EMORY F. VIA, LABOR CONSULTANT

Southern R[illegible] Inc.
ROOM 432 63 AUBURN A[illegible] [illegible]ORGIA
[illegible]-5764

February 6, 1959

The Editor
Knoxville Journal
Knoxville, Tennessee

Dear Sir:

It was with incredulity that I read the article in your February 4th issue supposedly reporting the workshop on human relations sponsored by the Knoxville Ministerial Association.

Your choice of headlines, "Ministers Hear Highlander Leader" is completely misleading. It would be equally valid (or misleading) when next I speak to be identified as a "Knoxville Ministerial Association Leader."

For the record -- and I trust that in fairness you will print this letter -- let me set straight several of the more damaging untruths in your article:

(1) You state flatly in the first paragraph of the article that I am "an official of an organization founded by a Communist." Later you cite as your authority the Daily Worker. This is utterly false and is refuted by an August 21, 1958 editorial in the conservative Richmond Times-Dispatch, a copy of which is enclosed:

> "...Jackson did not participate in the meetings of white and Negro leaders in 1943 and 1944 which led to the establishment of the Southern Regional Council, and he was not at any time an officer, director, or member of that agency. The Daily Worker's statement that he was a 'founder' is as unreliable and inaccurate as nearly everything else in that Communist sheet."

"...While we disagree strongly and completely with (SRC's) present position on this issue, we feel obligated to point out, in fairness, that it was in no sense Communist in its origins."

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(4) In seeking to revive guilt by association, innuendo, distortion, and half-truths you do no service to the reputation of the respectable press in our society.

Sincerely yours,

Frederick B. Routh

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR/mf
Enclosures - 1

Memo FROM THE DESK OF **HAROLD FLEMING**

FBR – MF for Knoxville file

Letter To The Knoxville Journal 2/16/59

Reader Wonders If Heckling At Workshop Was Intentional

It was with great interest that I read the reviews in both Knoxville papers of the meeting, "Human Relations Workshop," held in the basement of First Presbyterian Church, Feb. 3. The Journal is to be praised for its stand in exposing left wing speakers or associates, particularly some who have been invited to speak in churches in Knoxville recently. ie; Ann Braden (wife of Carl Braden) spoke at Mt. Zion Baptist Church a few months ago, then this week, Dr. Fred Routh of Southern Regional Council invited to the First Presbyterian Church by the Knoxville Ministerial Association.

Ministers of what Gospel would heed advice of such a man?

During the one and one-half hours I attended this meeting the question was battered around pro and con on bringing lawsuits to obtain integration in the schools. Words were spoken as to the harmony enjoyed between the races over these past years and a Negro stood and asked if a lawsuit were brought by his race should they expect the feeling between the races to be the same! Dr. Fred Routh quickly stood and stated in effect, "We hope not, in fact we don't want it to be the same, etc." Was this or was it not an advocate of violence?

Statements by Dr. Burkhart of City Board of Education appeared to be very well received, particularly when he stated in effect, that it is contrary to God's will for people not to integrate, therefore we must evolve into one race! Yes, Dr. Burkhart seemed to speak the language of these minister-wolves in sheep's clothing—not so with Mr. Bowles who upon advising these men to preach the Bible and less politics was treated very impolitely. Perhaps Mr. Bowles could have brought out several enlightening facts had not a tactic of Communism (unintentional (intentional) been used, ie, the hollering noise made by a man or men seated in the rear of the room. Was this noise made by ministers? How long will you sleep, people of Knoxville, awake read and obey the Bible before these false teachings lead you into a darkness there is no turning away from?

Mrs. S. M. Yelton

* * *

MF – File - Knoxville attack

SATURDAY **The Knoxville Journal** FEBRUARY 14, 1959

ROY N. LOTSPEICH
President and Publisher (1936-1951)

MRS. ROY N. LOTSPEICH
President and Publisher

CHARLES H. SMITH JR.
Vice President-General Manager

GUY L. SMITH
Editor

To sin by silence when they should protest makes cowards out of men.
—Abraham Lincoln

"For if ye forgive not men their trespasses, neither will your Father forgive your trespasses." St. Matthew 6:15

(The Bible quotation used today is a favorite of Mrs. Mary Dennis, Route 3, Powell. Monday we will use the one suggested by Mrs. Edith McFarland, Vasper.)

Assembly Appears Ready To Jam Truck Bill Down Public's Throat Despite All Reasons Against It

The Tennessee trucking industry is not coming before the legislature to ask for new weight, length, and height limits with clean hands. That is another reason, aside from the matters of increasing highway traffic difficulties and destroying roadbeds, that the present trucking bill should be rejected.

We base this conclusion on the fact that the trucking industry has not seen fit to obey the laws which the legislature has already placed on the statute books for their regulation and control.

To name a few items, take first the matter of obeying the speed laws. Tennessee law limits trucks to 50 miles per hour, yet every motorist knows that this limit is exceeded constantly. The motorist frequently has a first-hand knowledge of this because he may find his own speedometer climbing to 80 miles an hour in order to pass a truck on the highway. Nor can management disclaim responsibility for this speeding because it makes the schedules on which the individual trucks run.

Another item is the frequent practice of one big truck's running behind another bumper to tail gate. The law calls for 300 feet to be maintained between trucks on the highway, but how often does the motorist see this regulation obeyed? It is not an uncommon thing to see three big trucks going up a grade with only a few yards between them, increasing by three times the hazard of any private vehicle's effort to pass.

Again, it appears to be common knowledge that overloading to the full extent of the weight increase it is now proposed to incorporate into law is common practice. One high state official has been quoted as saying that he would prefer to increase the weight limit on trucks and then to enforce it than to continue permitting the "tolerance" which now extends on overloading. But any citizen with a grain of common sense knows that if and when the legal weight is raised by the new law, the next step will be to overload on the new limit.

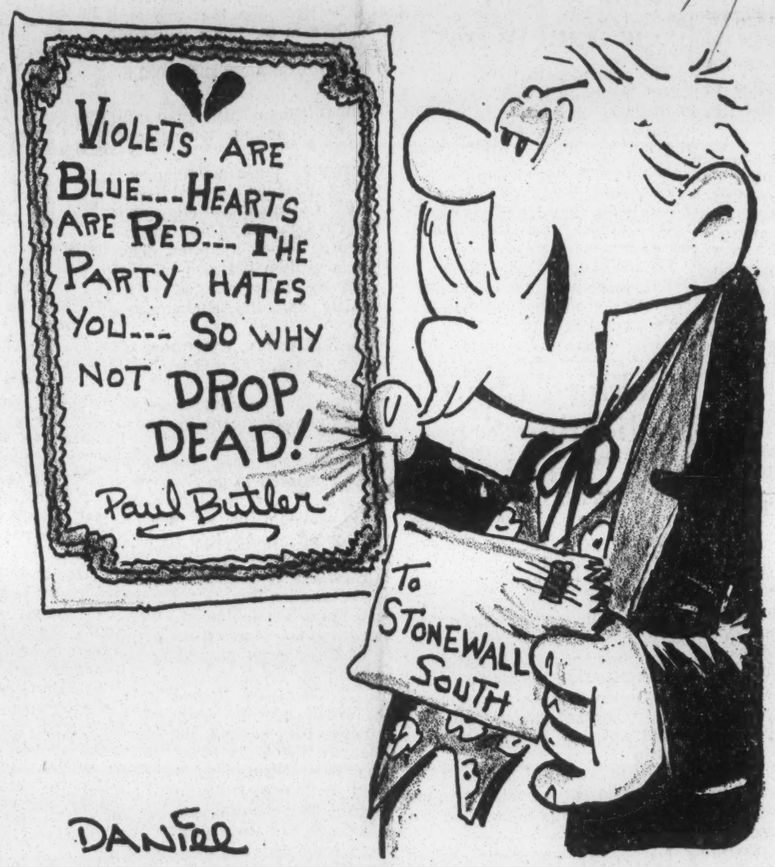
Finally, while the proposed bill provides for increases in height, length, and weight, nobody has said anything about an increase in taxation to be paid by the truckers for the additional use they want to make of the rights-of-way the public builds for them. Strangely, no member of the legislature has sought to amend the new bill with the idea of increasing the state's revenue by higher taxation.

All of these things, which are as well known to members of the legislature as they are to the rest of the state's citizenship, apparently constitute no obstacle in the way of the proposed legislation. The committee of that body on Thursday declined to hold public hearings on the bill, declined to give an opportunity to any citizen or organization to protest.

One legislator, in objecting to such hearings, was quoted as saying: "There has been a bill before the legislature every term on this subject. There is as little to be determined from a hearing on this thing as there would be on a coon-training bill."

It will occur to a good many citizens that members of the legislature apparently ready to jam this new trucking bill down the public's throat are acting a good deal like trained coons themselves.

'It's Nice To Be Remembered On Valentine's Day'



'Little Gentleman' Has Hard Time

Dr. Paul Popenoe

YOUR FAMILY AND YOU

Q. Our 6-year-old son plays well with other children outdoors but when an argument starts he runs into the house. Shall I insist that he stand up and fight for his own rights? Or shall I teach him to be a little gentleman and not get into scraps?

DR. POPENOE

A. A little of each, please. Many a boy has been ruined for life because his mother tried too hard, prematurely, to make him into a little gentleman. If he forms the habit, now, of running away from every difficulty, he may not be able to outgrow the habit later in life—and his future wife won't thank you!

Q. Will my baby be bigger if I eat more during pregnancy?

A. No—but you will.

Q. Is it safe for a man to marry a

doesn't have an allowance; yet I give her money without question, whenever she asks for it.

A. If you tried to run a shop or factory in such an unbusinesslike way, you'd soon be bankrupt. Every wife is entitled to an allowance. Write me, with stamped, self-addressed envelope, for FREE leaflet, "The Battle of the Budget." It will tell you how to manage your affairs successfully.

Q. When a child uses bad language, is it proper to wash his mouth out with soap?

A. No—that does not get at the real trouble. Don't be excited. Ask him what the words mean. Make him feel that you trust him. Explain that such words are "bad manners."

Q. Can't a man show his appreciation of his wife by actions rather than words?

A. NO! Not so far as she is concerned. She needs, and is entitled to, a great deal of each.

Letter To The Journal

SRC Spokesman Reprimands Journal

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Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.

Atlanta, Ga.
February 6, 1959

Editor's Note: While Mr. Routh objects to The Journal headlines which refer to him as "Highlander Leader", he refers to himself in Para. 2 as a "discussion leader" at the Highlander school. He also describes his connection with Highlander in the same phraseology in the published interview which he criticizes.

Mr. Routh asserts the claim of the Communist Daily Worker that a Communist Human Welfare. It was established in response to an appeal from respected Southern Negro leaders, who met at Durham, N. C., in October, 1942, on the call of Dr. Gordon B. Hancock, of the Virginia Union faculty here, and Dr. P. B. Young, of Norfolk, publisher of the Norfolk Journal and Guide. These Negro leaders did not ask for the elimination of segregation in the schools or anywhere else; they asked that " separate but equal" be made a reality.

Responding to their appeal, a group of white leaders met in Atlanta in the spring of 1943, and expressed a desire to cooperate. Out of this grew the Southern Regional Council. The Council was the successor to the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, founded in 1919 by leading churchmen. To repeat, it not only was no "offshoot" of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare; it was criticized in some quarters because it was more conservative than that organization and suspected of being in competition with it.

We must remember, too, that when the Southern Conference for Human Welfare was established in 1938, it was not suspected of having any Communist connections, and many well-intentioned and patriotic Southerners participated in its early meetings. A number of these later joined the Southern Regional Council when they discovered the true purposes of the Conference for Human Welfare.

As to the allegation of the Communist Daily Worker that James E. Jackson, chief of the Southern branch of the US Communist party, as a "co-founder of the Southern Regional Council," there is nothing to support this.

A James E. Jackson is listed as having attended the Durham meeting of Negro leaders in October, 1942, but is not mentioned by the Norfolk Journal and Guide as having been on the committee which drew up the statement then issued. Jackson did not participate in the meetings of white and Negro leaders in 1943 and 1944 which led to the establishment of the Southern Regional Council, and he was not at any time an officer, director, or member of that agency. The Daily Worker's statement that he was a "founder" is an unreliable and inaccurate as nearly everything else in that Communist sheet.

The late Dr. Howard W. Odum, noted and respected member of the University of North Carolina faculty, was the first president of the Council. He was succeeded in 1945 by Paul D. Williams, prominent Catholic layman of Richmond and co-founder of the Catholic Committee of the South, who served until 1951. Mr. Williams was succeeded in that year by Marion A. Wright, South Carolina attorney, former chairman of the South Carolina Library Board and past president of the University of South Carolina Alumni Association.

It should be emphasized that SRC worked within the framework of "separate but equal" for seven years, and

management disclaim responsibility for this speeding because it makes the schedules on which the individual trucks run.

Another item is the frequent practice of one big truck's running behind another bumper to tail gate. The law calls for 300 feet to be maintained between trucks on the highway, but how often does the motorist see this regulation obeyed? It is not an uncommon thing to see three big trucks going up a grade with only a few yards between them, increasing by three times the hazard of any private vehicle's effort to pass.

Again, it appears to be common knowledge that overloading to the full extent of the weight increase it is now proposed to incorporate into law is common practice. One the state's citizenship, apparently constitute no obstacle in the way of the proposed legislation. The committee of that body on Thursday declined to hold public hearings on the bill, declined to give an opportunity to any citizen or organization to protest.

One legislator, in objecting to such hearings, was quoted as saying: "There has been a bill before the legislature every term on this subject. There is as little to be determined from a hearing on this thing as there would be on a coon-training bill."

It will occur to a good many citizens that members of the legislature apparently ready to jam this new trucking bill down the public's throat are acting a good deal like trained coons themselves.

Acceptance Of Bid For Knoxville Bowling Event Would Aid Area

Knoxville can reap nation-wide publicity that goes with a national championship event, plus millions of dollars in tourist trade, if the American Bowling Congress accepts an invitation to stage its tournament in the new city auditorium either in 1961 or 1962.

An invitation was issued by Mayor Jack Dance, for Knoxville, and Gov. Buford Ellington, for Tennessee, to the American Bowling Congress yesterday, as recounted on our front page.

If the invitation is accepted the city will receive an early dividend on the auditorium approved in referendum as it is estimated that some 35,000 bowlers from every state in the union will participate. It is estimated that these bowlers would spend a minimum of $2,000,000 during their stay in Knoxville.

Nothing could be finer than to dedicate the new auditorium with a championship athletic event, especially one that would bring weeks of nation-wide publicity and a flow of tourist business in the off-season of February and March.

Knoxville will be bidding against Detroit for the 1961 tournament, which means real competition. If, however, the tourist attractions with which we are surrounded here are taken into consideration we may have a good chance to get the tournament.

Cleanest Teeth Subject To Decay

William Brady, M. D.

HEALTH SERVICE

Vilhjalmur Stefansson, author of **The Fat of the Land** (The Macmillan Company, 1959, $5), says:

"I brought about 100 skulls of Eskimos, who had died before Europeans came in, to the American Museum of Natural History, New York. These have been examined by many students, but no sign of tooth decay has yet been discovered. . . .

"The Eskimo record of pre-European date is therefore clean to date. Not a sign of tooth decay has yet been discovered among that one of all peoples which most completely avoids the foods, the precepts and the practices favored for dental health by . . . the average dentist, the toothbrush drillmaster of the schools, and the dentifrice publicists . . ."

Far be it from the conductor of this column to say any more about this now —or maybe ever!—except that if you haven't read Stefansson's books — **The Fat of the Land, Not by Bread Alone, The Friendly Arctic**—you have a lot to learn about how to keep well.

One eminent authority, Dr. Ales Hrdlicka, curator of Physical Anthropology in the Smithsonian Institution, did not know of a single decayed tooth in any skeleton of a man who had lived chiefly or exclusively by hunting (all meat diet) and who had died before European foods were introduced.

Henry B. Collins, senior ethnologist of the Bureau of American Ethnology of the Smithsonian, referred to the idea that chewing hard, tough or coarse foods will keep the teeth sound as "an old wives' tale." And Stefansson points out that Eskimos, South Sea Islanders and other peoples, who on the native diet have had the greatest immunity from tooth decay have generally done less chewing than Europeans and Americans do. "It would be difficult to find a New Yorker or a Parisian who does not chew more, and use coarser food than the South Sea Islanders did," he says.

From these and other hard facts convincingly presented by Dr. Stefansson, I gather that there are so many old wives in the ranks that the dental profession still cherishes that stupid slogan: "A clean tooth never decays." The most scrupulous toothbrushers in the world—the American and English peoples—have the worst teeth in the world. But they can't ask how come—they can only keep on brushing. It would be too embarrassing—work it out for yourself: A clean tooth never decays. Your teeth are decayed. Therefore?

Before we sailed for the Loneliest Isle, Tristan da Cunha, in the south Atlantic, the inhabitants sent a message saying that any gifts of clothing, books, magazines, candles, matches, toys would be welcome, but please, don't bring such useless thing as tooth brushes, liver pills and dentrifices. Considering that the plea came from people who, up to the late forties, had the best teeth in the civilized world, this was interesting, don't you think?

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

—Calories in Brandy—

My husband and I take two mixed drinks each before supper. Each drink contains about two ounces of brandy. Will this lessen the effectiveness of reducing diet . . .? (Mrs. E. J.)

Ans.—Four ounces of brandy represents more calories than you would get from a pint of milk.

—Horse Feathers—

Our four babies are Brady babies. We have raised them on your teachings. but I must say some of your language is shocking . . . for instance you characterized one popular belief as "horse feathers." That doesn't seem quite . . . (Mrs. H.W.A.)

Ans.—I suppose I might have used an inch or two of precious space to characterize the belief in more gentlemanly language, but after all you do remember what I think of the belief.

—Yogurt—

You never say anything about yogurt as a health food . . . (Mrs. C.I.C.)

Ans.—Yoghourt or Yogurt is as wholesome, healthful and beneficial as buttermilk, sour milk or fresh milk, but not more so, in my judgment.

—Shaking Palsy—

Some time ago you told of the excellent effects of hyoscine and parathyroid had on a lady 80 years old who had shaking palsy—the mother of a medical colleague, I believe . . . (D.A.)

Ans.—Send stamped, self-addressed envelope for pamphlet on Parkinson's Disease (shaking palsy, paralysis agitans).

DANIEL

'Little Gentleman' Has Hard Time

Dr. Paul Popenoe

YOUR FAMILY AND YOU

Q. Our 6-year-old son plays well with other children outdoors but when an argument starts he runs into the house. Shall I insist that he stand up and fight for his own rights? Or shall I teach him to be a little gentleman and not get into scraps?

DR. POPENOE

A. A little of each, please. Many a boy has been ruined for life because his mother tried too hard, prematurely, to make him into a little gentleman. If he forms the habit, now, of running away from every difficulty, he may not be able to outgrow the habit later in life—and his future wife won't thank you!

Q. Will my baby be bigger if I eat more during pregnancy?

A. No—but you will.

Q. Is it safe for a man to marry a girl who really does not attract him physically?

A. Do other girls attract him physically? If none does, then I'd want to go fully into his background, history, early training, and see whether he needs reeducation. If every girl attracts him physically except the one he thinks of marrying, he'd better stop in his tracks! Write me with stamped, self-addressed envelope for FREE reading list on sex education.

Q. Is a baby likely to be weak or defective if his parents were in poor health at the time of conception?

A. No. The state of health (or state of mind) of parents at the time of conception has no definite effect on the offspring.

Q. Should a father investigate the background of a young man who wants to marry his daughter?

A. Of course—or better still, the girl should do so. If the man is the right kind, he'll give a full account of himself. A private detective agency in Mexico City some years ago advertised: "Fathers of families: before accepting any man as the fiance of your daughter, have us investigate his antecedents and conduct. Better be safe than sorry!" Practical advice!

Q. My wife complains because she doesn't have an allowance; yet I give her money without question, whenever she asks for it.

A. If you tried to run a shop or factory in such an unbusinesslike way, you'd soon be bankrupt. Every wife is entitled to an allowance. Write me, with stamped, self-addressed envelope, for FREE leaflet, "The Battle of the Budget." It will tell you how to manage your affairs successfully.

Q. When a child uses bad language, is it proper to wash his mouth out with soap?

A. No—that does not get at the real trouble. Don't be excited. Ask him what the words mean. Make him feel that you trust him. Explain that such words are "bad manners."

Q. Can't a man show his appreciation of his wife by actions rather than words?

A. NO! Not so far as she is concerned. She needs, and is entitled to, a great deal of each.

Q. Why should any husband have the legal right to decide where he wants to live, and the family be forced to go along with him? Is that equality?

A. If not, it's expediency. The law makes the husband responsible for the support of his family, and he must therefore be allowed to judge where he needs to live in order to earn a living to the best advantage.

Q. How long before birth is a baby alive?

A. The old legal notion called the baby alive after the quickening—when the mother could first feel movement. To a biologist—or any other intelligent person—the baby is just as much alive at the moment of conception, as at any other time.

Q. Having children lowers a family's level of living—we found that out. Has anyone figured just how much?

A. Dr. Thomas J. Woofter Jr., published very careful calculations some years ago. With the same total family income, a childless couple could maintain twice as high a level of living as they could if they had three children, he reported. Many people have argued that this inequality should be removed. Write me with stamped, self-addressed envelope for FREE reprint, "Should Bachelors and Fathers Get the Same Pay?"

My Answer

By BILLY GRAHAM

QUESTION: I am a teenager, and if you know anything about teenagers you know that we are what many people think of us—mixed-up kids. My problem is that my mind is always full of evil thoughts. Even though I am somewhat active in church and believe like you do concerning Jesus Christ, yet I don't seem to be able to overcome this one great problem.

E. W. R.

ANSWER: It is not necessarily true that all teenagers are "mixed-up kids," even though some of them are. In fact, some adults are still mixed up. The problem you have, however, is one that is shared by many other people, both young and old; and we must turn to the Bible itself to get the answer to this problem. The answer is given in Philippians 4:4-8.

There are several things here that the Christian is told to do. First, we are to rejoice. To do that, you need only to think of the great things God has done for you. Second, we are told not to be anxious, but in our prayers to make our requests known to God. In your biggest problems, you have One that you can go to; and before Him you can pour out your heart with the assurance that He will not leave you without an answer to that great problem.

Finally, we are to fill our minds with those things that are good. They are mentioned in the Scriptures as being things that are true, honorable, just, pure, lovely, of good report, and of virtue. It is upon these things that we are to think. You can only do this if you follow the admonition found in Colossians 3:16 where the Word of God says, "Let the word of Christ dwell in you richly in all wisdom, teaching and admonishing one another in Psalms and hymns and spiritual songs; singing with grace in your hearts unto God." The answer to your question, then, is to live positively, not negatively. Once you learn that secret, God will have given you the victory.

Potomac Fever

WASHINGTON—Ike gives Berlin Mayor Willy Brandt a big welcome. Only big city mayor who ever came to Washington with his hand out—just to shake hands.

Senate probers find a link between hoods and singers in the juke-box world: Racketeering in rock-'n-leering.

Surgeon General Burney says we may get the flu from Europe. One of those virus culture exchange programs.

Senator Hennings probes juvenile delinquency. What's needed is a new child labor law—putting them all to work at age 10.

Ike honors Abraham Lincoln. A salute to the first Republican president—from the first Republican chairman of the board.

One proud author on the best-seller list says his finest work of fiction is his 1958 income tax return.

The Census Bureau says the US has only 98 males for every 100 females. Census Bureau motto: "No rest, young man!"

Portraits

BY JAMES J. METCALFE

Be My Valentine

I send this message to your heart . . . With all my love today . . . Please be my valentine, dear one . . . In every happy way . . . Please be the darling of my dreams . . . Not only for a while . . . But mine forever, dearest one . . . In every kiss and smile . . . I want to hold you close to me . . . And all your feelings blend . . . In friendship and in partnership . . . Forever, without end . . . I offer you my heart with all . . . The love that I can give . . . And promise you my faithfulness . . . As long as I may live . . . You are the only one on earth . . . I want to claim as mine . . . Please, darling, give your heart to me . . . And be my Valentine.

fronted with the "facts" you list. Your reporter showed me a telegram saying I had been at Highlander and asked if this were true. I told her that I had participated in a workshop there as a discussion leader. I have never to my knowledge been accused of being a Communist and I categorically deny having made the remarks attributed to me.

(3) The material you have about Highlander obviously comes from the discredited and now abolished Georgia Commission on Education.

(4) In seeking to revive guilt by association, innuendo, distortion, and half-truths you do no service to the reputation of the respectable press in our society.

Sincerely yours,
Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta, Ga.
February 6, 1959

Editor's Note: While Mr. Routh objects to The Journal headlines which refer to him as "Highlander Leader", he refers to himself in Para. 2 as a "discussion leader" at the Highlander school. He also describes his connection with Highlander in the same phraseology in the published interview which he criticizes.

Mr. Routh asserts the claim of the Communist Daily Worker that a Communist started the Southern Regional Conference is refuted by the Richmond Times-Dispatch. Scrutiny of the editorial in the Times-Dispatch referred to reveals that the Richmond newspaper relied on accounts of the organization meeting published by the Norfolk Journal and Guide, which reported a James E. Jackson attended a preliminary meeting in 1942 but reported no such individual at the 1943 and 1944 meetings "which led to the establishment of the Southern Regional Council". A James E. Jackson was a main functionary of the Communist Party in the South during these years.

Assuming that the Daily Worker lied about the part which the Jackson referred to played in the final formation of the Council—the Reds always are willing to magnify their influence in the telling—one could easily believe that the Jackson present at the 1942 meeting was the Communist leader. If that was not the case, then what was reported constituted a remarkable coincidence.

Both the Daily Worker and Norfolk Journal and Guide reports leave unanswered the question of what, if any, Communist activity was involved in the formation of the Council. Established Communist method calls for the hidden hand technique, and thus the fact that the succession of officers and board members were strictly non-Communist would not guarantee that no Red influence was about. The announced purposes of the Southern Regional Council, even in 1943, were such as to guarantee a considerable amount of controversy, something that serves as a mighty magnet where any Communist organization is concerned.

As a matter of extending to Mr. Routh a full exposition of his, and the Southern Regional Council's, position, we are reprinting below in full the editorial from the Richmond Times-Dispatch to which he refers, even though this was not requested by him.

In Paragraph 2 of the letter above, Mr. Routh "categorically denies" making the statements attributed to him. Our reporter says the quotes were accurate. Take your choice.

In Paragraph 4 the blanket charge is made that we have sought to "revive" guilt by association. Presumably he refers to the association of his name with that of the leftwing Highlander School at Monteagle. We would point out that any association between Mr. Routh and the institution in question was his own doing, the association he complains of was his, not ours.

Here is the editorial from Richmond Times-Dispatch under date of Aug. 21, 1958, referred to in Mr. Routh's letter and our comment above:

A RACE AGENCY AND THE FACTS

Inaccurate statements as to its origins of the Southern Regional Council of Atlanta appeared recently in The Times-Dispatch, and should be corrected. They appeared—inadvertently, we are sure—in one of the series of articles by Edward B. Simmons of the New Bedford, Mass., Standard-Times concerning Communist efforts to incite racial strife in the United States.

Mr. Simmons stated in the article appearing in our paper on August 5 that the Southern Regional Council, established in Atlanta in 1944, was an "offshoot of the old Southern Conference for Human Welfare, which was dissolved in 1948 after twice being described by the Federal Government as 'Communist front.'" He also said: "The Communist Daily Worker openly boasted that James E. Jackson chief of the Southern branch of the US Communist party, was a co-founder of the Regional Council.

Taking these two charges in order, the Southern Regional Council was not an offshoot of the Southern Conference for the Southern Regional Council, there is nothing to support this.

A James E. Jackson is listed as having attended the Durham meeting of Negro leaders in October, 1942, but is not mentioned by the Norfolk Journal and Guide as having been on the committee which drew up the statement then issued. Jackson did not participate in the meetings of white and Negro leaders in 1943 and 1944 which led to the establishment of the Southern Regional Council, and he was not at any time an officer, director, or member of that agency. The Daily Worker's statement that he was a "founder" is an unreliable and inaccurate as nearly everything else in that Communist sheet.

The late Dr. Howard W. Odum, noted and respected member of the University of North Carolina faculty, was the first president of the Council. He was succeeded in 1945 by Paul D. Williams, prominent Catholic layman of Richmond and co-founder of the Catholic Committee of the South, who served until 1951. Mr. Williams was succeeded in that year by Marion A. Wright, South Carolina attorney, former chairman of the South Carolina Library Board and past president of the University of South Carolina Alumni Association.

It should be emphasized that SRC worked within the framework of "separate but equal" for seven years, and did not announce for integration until 1951.

While we disagree strongly and completely with its present position on this issue, we feel obligated to point out, in fairness, that it was in no sense Communist in its origins. The Southern Regional Council was established because of a sincere desire on the part of white and Negro leaders in the South to eliminate many of the disabilities and discriminations from which Negroes were suffering.

It was hoped that if these could be substantially lessened the colored South would not look to the colored North for leadership. Insufficient progress was made, unfortunately, and the NAACP moved in and launched its drive for the complete elimination of segregation—sooner than it probably would have done if SRC'S accomplishments had been larger.

That is where we stand today.

Damascus Police Chief Praises Sheriff Cloyd

I would like to express my opinion in behalf of Washington County, Tenn., Sheriff John Cloyd.

It appears to me that the citizens of Washington County, Tenn., are indeed fortunate in making a wise and intelligent selection for Sheriff. They should not only consider themselves lucky but privileged to have a man of this caliber for the office.

In these modern times it appears that too many offices are being filled by demagogues or salary-seeking politicans who become prejudiced, indifferent, and lack initiative to fulfill their respective obligations. It is apparent from the number of raids, the type of men and places raided, the 5000 pints of whisky, that Sheriff Cloyd is not becoming one of these.

The mere fact that this man has selected the "no fence straddling attitude" is a virtue for which he should be commended and praised by all.

In my opinion, "fence straddling" or "pets", as they are sometimes called, is a weakness that will lead to corruption, thereby debasing the entire organization, thus depriving it of the dignity and integrity that it commands. The absurd theory of countless so-called reputable citizens being immune from the law should be completely abolished. Those who cry the loudest are those whose toes are being stepped on the hardest. Why would any man conducting a legitimate business complain of being ruined financially. This complaint seems to be an excuse, not a reason, and is far beyond my comprehension. No individual living within the law has anything to fear. After all, law is only a matter of self-preservation, with protection for the innocent, and punishment for the guilty.

For the poppy-cock idea of playing cowboy and indians, it appears to me that this is an absurd statement, possessing a thought equal to that of a small child. Too often it happens that when law-enforcement officials perform their duty and sworn obligations, they are criticized by many and praised by few.

The criticism given to the deputies in overalls is synonymous to that of traffic violators crying entrapment by radar. Here I would like to quote one of my friends for whom I have much respect: "You have to get to the dens and pits of snakes and rats in order to catch them." Very often we find the federal agents joining various rackets and organizations in order to obtain information for prosecution.

The fact that Sheriff Cloyd does not like liquor is an easy one for a law-enforcement agent to understand. Too often have I seen the misery, hunger, neglect and degeneration of mind, as a result of misuse of this drink.

Sincerely yours,
John K. Henderson
Chief of Police
Damascus, Va.

n/n

KNOXVILLE JOURNAL

2/24/50

Fountain Citian Says Answer To Routh's Charges 'Unfair'

The semi-editorial retort to Mr. Routh's letter you published in Feb. 14's paper was unfair. In reply to Mr. Routh's charge against your paper of having used innuendo, distortion and guilt by association against him you replied: "Presumably he refers to the association of his name with that of the leftwing Highlander School."

My dear sir, one finds it hard to believe you didn't realize just which guilt-by-association and innuendo Mr. Routh meant. He was too obviously referring to the statement in your paper that he was "an official in an organization FOUNDED BY A COMMUNIST," a statement which IMPLIES, even if it does not directly say so, that Mr. Routh is associated with Communism. This is innuendo on its face.

It is true that Mr. Routh also claimed a foul over your sinister implication that he was a "leader" (which implied he was an official) at the "leftwing Highlander School —as well he might complain, since his connection with Highlander School appears to have been no closer than his having at one time been the visiting speaker and leader at a discussion workshop there, just as he was the visiting speaker and leader at a discussion workshop recently here with that most un-leftwing group, the Knoxville Ministerial Association. But did you really think Mr. Routh wasn't also and mainly complaining about your misleading and untrue implied linking and association of him with Communism?

Inasmuch as it turns out that the organization you say was "founded by a Communist" was founded by no such person but by a group of respected Negro and white leaders (as related by the Richmond Times-Dispatch editorial you re-printed with Mr. Routh's letter), it would seem your article involved not only innuendo but also distortion and untruth.

But not only did you not apologize for or even admit your innuendo and distortion, you also further made Mr. Routh's letter the occasion for re-stating your distortions and implications in an editorial note.

Sir, distortion and misrepresentation are most serious matters, especially when used to ruin the reputation of a man. The question I am raising is, however, really not so much a matter of the truth or untruth of Mr. Routh's association or non-association with leftwing causes as it is a matter of the principles and ethics of your newspaper. I am referring to principles of carefulness for truth and fairness, if your paper is interested in such old-fashioned virtues.

I think the Journal owes an apology not only to Mr. Routh, the victim of your villification by innuendo and misrepresentation, but also to subscribers of the paper for allowing so misleading an article to be printed.

Sincerely,

J. W. Hatfield
117 Conner Avenue
Fountain City
MY 1-4449

February 26, 1959

Mr. J. W. Hatfield
117 Conner Avenue
Fountain City, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Hatfield:

I was more than pleasantly surprised to read your letter to the editor of the Knoxville Journal, reprimanding him for irresponsibility, unfairness, and McCarthyism. The Journal has long had the reputation for being somewhat to the right of the late William McKinley; and, while Adlai Stevenson probably never met the gentleman, I am certain that Mr. Smith was "dragged kicking and screaming into the 20th Century."

You state well the case for ethics and principles in responsible journalism -- old fashioned but timeless virtues, all too often neglected. I am concerned about the role of a free press in a democratic society; responsibility, integrity, and the carefulness for truth are the essential ingredients of a truly free press. I worry over the newspaperman who is quick to come to the defense of freedom of the press but who, through villification and distortion, uses the press to stifle freedom of speech. It should be obvious, to all but the hypocritical, that freedom is an inseparable commodity; that an attack on one phase of it, jeopardizes all.

My sins, in the eyes of the die-hard segregationists, are threefold: 1) My loyalty to my country and her Constitution before my allegiance to my region or my state; I am an American. 2) My firm conviction that no democratic society can have second-class citizens; that we are equal before the law. 3) My belief in recognizing the equal human dignity of all our people as children of God and citizens of the United States. To these charges I plead guilty.

Again, my thanks for recognizing calumny and even more for having the courage to speak out against it for a stranger.

Sincerely,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls

defense file

March 3, 1959

Dr. Fred Routh
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Routh:

The Knoxville Ministerial Association at its luncheon this noon instructed me to write to you a letter of appreciation for the services you performed for us at the KMA Workshop on Human Relations on February 3rd, and to express therein the membership's regret for the unsavory publicity you were subjected to as a consequence of it.

The Knoxville Ministerial Association expressed through its vote full confidence in you as a Christian gentleman and a loyal American.

Also, know that we appreciate the Southern Regional Council as a patriotic organization which is making a great contribution to the South.

Sincerely yours,

Lea Earl Acuff

Lea Earl Acuff, Corresponding
Secretary
Knoxville Ministerial Association
Knoxville, Tennessee

CC: The Reverend W. Burney Overton

March 11, 1959

Rev. Lea Earl Acuff
4322 Lyons View Pike
Knoxville, Tennessee

Dear Lea:

Many thanks for your letter of March 3. It was heartening indeed to receive the information that the Knoxville Ministerial Association expressed full confidence in my integrity.

I am enclosing a copy of a letter I wrote Mr. Hatfield who, bless his heart, rose to challenge the irresponsibility and untruthfulness of the Journal's account of the Workshop.

I have received a nice letter from Burney Overton in which he enclosed the KMA Newsletter for March, 1959.

My best regards to you and to the Association.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls
Enclosure - 1 (ltr. to Mr. Hatfield)

March 10, 1959

Mr. W. Burney Overton, President
Knoxville Ministerial Association
6200 Sevierville Pike
Knoxville, Tennessee

Dear Burney:

Many thanks for your letter of March 3, enclosing the KMA Newsletter for March, 1959. I am pleased that you explained to the ministers the cheap and sorid attempts of the Knoxville Journal to cast aspersion on the good name of the Southern Regional Council and upon my reputation. I have followed with some interest the subsequent correspondence from Mr. Hatfield and others.

I have received a letter from Lea Acuff as ~~chairman~~ secretary of the Knoxville Ministerial Association, for which I am deeply thankful. I note that he sent you a copy of it.

I note on top of page two of the Newsletter that you say Mr. Smith is "deeply concerned about the preservation of our nation and the high ideals of it..." I seriously question that Mr. Smith is interested in the preservation of high ideals of this nation. I suspect that those who deal in guilt by association, in innuendo, in false accusations against their neighbors have no ideals and care less about the high ideals of the nation. He certainly could not be accused of being a responsible journalist.

I regret that the Journal embarrassed members of the Knoxville Ministerial Association by this distorted coverage of the Workshop. I am proud of the sensibility and stability of the Association which made them reject these canards.

Sincerely,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls
cc: Lea Earl Acuff

The 125th Anniversary of

New Prospect Presbyterian Church

W. BURNEY OVERTON, PASTOR
6200 SEVIERVILLE PIKE
KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE
PHONE: 7-5835

March 3, 1959

Mr. Frederick B. Routh, Asst. Director,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., NE.
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Fred:

As you know, there was some rather unfortunate news coverage of the Knoxville Ministerial Association Workshop on Human Relations in the local morning newspaper. This coverage created some rather strong reaction among those who felt it, in justice, so deeply. Therefore, I proceeded to take such steps as seemed wise to correct the situation, at least in part. I am therefore enclosing for your information a report which I have sent to all of the members of the Ministerial Association concerning this matter.

May I express my personal appreciation to you, even at this late date, for your participation in that Workshop, and your part in making it the success that it was.

Sincerely,

W. Burney Overton

W. Burney Overton, President,
Knoxville Ministerial Association

WBO/n

1834
1959

"Christ, our Strength"

CHAIRMAN
REV. LEA EARL ACUFF
VICE-CHAIRMAN
MR. LEWIS SINCLAIR
SECRETARY
REV. STERLING McHARG
TREASURER
MRS. BARBARA STOLOFF

GALEN MARTIN, STAFF SECRETARY
ROOM 606 EMPIRE BUILDING
PHONE 4-0357

Knoxville Area Human Relations Council

POST OFFICE BOX 1011
Knoxville 1, Tennessee

February 25, 1959

Dear Community Leader:

It is inevitable that the public schools of Knoxville will be racially integrated, pursuant to court order or by voluntary action of the school board.

Almost daily, our newspapers tell the unhappy and embarrassing stories of people in communities where adequate preparation was not made to deal with like school situations; in light of their experience, we believe the citizens of Knoxville are too sensible to ignore the need for a harmonious solution.

Therefore, the Knoxville Ministerial Association and the Knoxville Area Human Relations Council are inviting members of several community organizations, including churches, to meet and consider how best our task can be accomplished.

This meeting will be held on Monday night, March 16th at 8 o'clock, in the Auditorium of the Lawson-McGhee Library.

Be sure to come, or have at least one person present from your organization. Without a doubt, your participation will be a real contribution toward resolving this situation which confronts our community.

Sincerely yours,

W. Burney Overton

Rev. W. Burney Overton
President, Knoxville Ministerial Association

Lea Earl Acuff

Lea Earl Acuff
Chairman, Knoxville Area Human Relations Council

HCFV

Knoxville file

KNOXVILLE MINISTERIAL ASSOCIATION
Rev. W. Burney Overton, President
Knoxville, Tennessee

KMA Newsletter March, 1959, Issue

KMA AT EASTERN STATE HOSPITAL

The March 3rd meeting will be at the Eastern State Hospital, 4322 Lyons View Pike.

Program Chairman Elton F. Jones has secured an informative presentation on MEDIC.

Make your reservation for this 12 o'clock noon luncheon by returning the enclosed postal card with your signature.

PRESIDENTIAL REPORT

In order that there may be clarity of information and understanding concerning the Clinic on Integration and the newspaper publicity given to it by The Knoxville Journal, I would like to make the following report to you.

As you know, on Wednesday, Feb. 4, The Knoxville Journal carried a rather "broadside" article concerning one of our guest leaders, Mr. Fred Routh, and the Southern Regional Council, in which, by implication, he and the Council were accused of Communist connections and leanings. The article carried nothing concerning the Clinic, except a brief reference to the statement of Mr. Garrison and Mr. Bowles that they were not properly contacted for the guest appearances at the Clinic. (As you know, this statement on their part was incorrect.)

There was some rather widespread reaction, some expressed directly to The Knoxville Journal through letters. Mr. Routh replied himself with some factual information concerning himself and the Southern Regional Council. At the time his letter was published, Mr. Guy Smith, the Editor-in-Chief of The Knoxville Journal replied in the same column in a lengthy explanation of the previous article, and a recognition of the fact that, historically, his information concerning the Southern Regional Council had been in correct. However, he did not withdraw the implication concerning Mr. Routh.

As soon as I could gether adequate information concerning the Southern Regional Council, I made an appointment with Mr. Smith to discuss the matter with him, feeling that this was the better way of dealing with it. Accordingly on Wednesday, Feb. 18, I had that meeting with Mr. Smith.

The result in brief, was that I found Mr. Smith very gracious, but nevertheless, quite definite in his point of view, and seeing no particular reason for changing it. He is, as you know, an ar-

dent Republican in the conservative group. He is, from that point of view, deeply concerned about the preservation of our nation and the high ideals of it, and he feels that Communism is among the most serious threats to our nation. Therefore, he feels that it is his duty and responsibility as a citizen, and in his position as Editor, to point out, or to "expose", all persons whom he believes, on the basis of information available to him, to be identified in anyway with the Communist infiltration movement. He considers his information concerning Mr. Routh sufficient on the basis of the assumption that the Highlander Folk School is not only liberal, but actually has Communist associations, and that anyone who is invited by the School to appear on any of its programs is at least sympathetic to its position. I could not discuss this particular point with him because I knew nothing basically of the Highlander School or its policies and program. But I did point out to him that Mr. Routh came to us with the highest recommendations of the United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., and of the National Council of Churches, and noted the implied recommendations of his connection with The Methodist Church, the Episcopal Church, and the status of the Southern Regional Council among the groups active in the field of integration.

Mr. Smith stated to me that he felt that it was unfortunate that the article was a bit too "broadside" in its attack, and that it had omitted the references to the Clinic, the purpose of the Knoxville Ministerial Association, or what was accomplished in connection with the Clinic.

On the strength of this statement, he proposed that the article which appeared in The Knoxville Journal, Saturday, February 21, be prepared and published. In view of all that was involved, I felt that this was a wise solution to the problems in relationship and communication that had appeared and was happy to accept his suggestion.

As I was leaving the interview, Mr. Smith was most cordial in inviting me to call upon him at any time. He pointed out, I presume somewhat facetiously, that the politicians had no hesitation in calling on him, or in coming in to see him and presenting their requests and demands, and that, therefore, we should feel free to be in contact with him and to express our points of view.

I feel personally that it was most unfortunate that the article attacking Mr. Routh appeared, that it was so "broadside", that facts were not more carefully checked, and that it did not, at that time, include information concerning the Clinic itself. I think that it is fair to know that this matter was handled through Mr. Smith's office, and the City Editor's desk, and not by the religious news editor, Mrs. Pat B. Fields.

If any of you would like to have further information concerning this matter, please call me at your convenience.

Rev. W. Burney Overton, President
Knoxville Ministerial Association

National Lawyers Guild Issues Stand On Politics

ATL WORLD 1-27-54

WASHINGTON —(ANP)— The National Lawyers Guild has recently released 35,000 copies of a 19-page pamphlet called an "Appeal to Reason" for national distribution. The booklet provides information requisite for "informed" discussion of "the implications for the democratic process and the Bar of the proposal of the attorney general to list the National Lawyers Guild as 'subversive.'"

The pamphlet declares, "When a public official claims and seeks to employ the power to prescribe and in effect, to destroy a national bar association because he disapproves of its views and activities which trangress no law, an event has occurred which commands the attention and concern of all Americans and especially of all members and associations of the Bar."

It further asserts, "The Executive Order No. 10845 under which the Attorney General proposes to act to list the National Lawyers Guild as 'subversive' is, on its face and as applied, utterly repugnant to the constitution.

"The 'standards' which are the sole limitation on the attorney general's discretion under the executive order are so vague as to deny due process.

"That the procedures employed by the attorney general deny due process.

"If due process requires nothing else, it requires a conclusion after a fair hearing, not confirmation of a judgment previously made and announced. Here, in two speeches at large public meetings, widely publicized in the press, the attorney general announced his conclusions as to what 'the evidence shows' in advance of notice to the Guild. Yet, the attorney general is the sole prosecutor, sole judge, sole jury and the maker of the rules in this extraordinary proceedings.

"We have the decision first and the trial afterwards as in Alice in Wonderland. No lawyer can have any doubt that a judge who made a public speech before trial stated 'what the evidence shows' and his conclusions would be disqualified."

 AR SOVL-CONST

CLERGY, TEACHERS 'MOSTLY LOYAL'

Few Communists in Ranks, Probers Say In Giving Religion, Education Clean Bill

WASHINGTON, Feb. 6 (AP)—The House Un-American Activities Committee Saturday night gave a clean bill of health to the overhelming majority of American clergymen and teachers, while deploring that "a few" are Communists.

In its annual report to Congress, the committee also declared that it has not conducted, and does not intend to conduct, any "investigation of subversive infiltration of the clergy or religion." Similarly, it said, it has never probed into "the curricular of any school" or "into classroom procedures or the teaching methods of an educator."

* * *

HOWEVER, it said that any individual who is a Communist "enjoys no immunity from investigation, regardless of his rank of calling." It said that where it has determined than an individual clergyman is a Communist it "has proceeded exactly as it would in the case of any other person so identified."

Last year, Rep. Velde (R-Ill), chairman of the committee, drew some sharp criticism when he said it was "entirely possible" the committee might probe for Communists among the nation's clergymen. Later he disavowed any intention of such a hunt, although he said individual clergymen might be investigated.

Last month Velde and some other committee members met with a group of Protestant, Catholic and Jewish leaders to receive what Velde termed "constructive criticisms and suggestions."

In its report Saturday, the committee said "a minute number of case-hardened Communists and Communist sympathizers have actually infiltrated themselves into the ranks of the loyal clergy."

Other clergymen, it said, have allowed their names to be used by Communist groups because of "lack of careful study" or humanitarian motives. The committee said it does not feel "such association should be taken lightly or passed off without correction."

As for the field of education, it said there is "danger inherent in the presence of even a few Communist Party members in teaching capacities."

The committee served notice that it does not intend to limit its investigations to Communists but will seek to expose "various and sundry 'hate' groups . . . spreading dissension, discord, bigotry and intolerance."

* * *

THESE GROUPS, it said, are led by persons who make their activities "under the guise of patriotism and devotion to the republican form of government" and often use "ultrapatriotic names and devices to conceal their true and dangerous purposes.

"The subjects of the 'hate' attacks are individuals or groups of religious and racial minorities among American citizens.

"There are no degrees to subversion," the committee commented. "It is not sufficient to be simply anti-Communist if one is anti-American at the same time . . . subversion cannot be corrected by subversion, no matter if the most patriotic of titles cloaks it."

The report reviewed the committee's work during the past year and repeated its previously published recommendations.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

CANDIDATE ANNOUNCES GOLD PLATFORM

ANNISTON, Ala., Feb. 6 (AP). William C. Irby, 75, thinks he can unseat Sen. John Sparkman (D-Ala.) in the election this year.

His platform calls for turning over the government's gold at Fort Knox, Ky., to all the states for operating expenses.

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MANY PEOPLE CALLED DEA
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RED LINKS DENIED BY REGIONAL UNIT

CHATT TIMES 2-8-54

Southern Educational Fund Leaders Cite Objectives in Government Probe

ATLANTA, Feb. 7 (AP)—The Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc., today denied it has ever engaged in Communist activities and invited investigation of its record.

Directors of the group issued a statement in reply to a report by the Senate internal security subcommittee Jan. 27 that the organization is among those being investigated for "Communist activities."

The statement said the group's objectives are committed to "the soundest Democratic and American ideals. They are no more subversive than the Bill of Rights in the American Constitution nor those amendments to the Constitution abolishing the institution of slavery and extending the franchise to American women."

The fund was organized about 10 years ago, the statement added, and in execution of its objections "our program has centered about the effort to guarantee to all Americans, without regard to race, color, or religious affiliation, the rights and privileges taken for granted by the majority of our people.

Against Segregation

"Specifically, we have undertaken by educational measures to show the un-American character of the institution of segregation and to bring about its elimination from our common life, whether in public education, hospitalization, employment, transportation, or the exercise of the franchise."

The statement declared that "Americans of many faiths" engaged in the organization's activities.

"To treat them as prima facie evidence of 'Communist activities' gives undue credit to the advocates of communism," the statement added.

Aubrey W. Williams of Montgomery, Ala., is president of the group, and James A. Dombrowski of New Orleans is director.

Members of the board of directors attending today's meeting, in addition to Williams and Dombrowski, were:

Mrs. Andrew W. Simkins, SCEF vice president, Columbia, S.C.; Albert E. Barnett, professor in Emory University's Candler School of Theology, Atlanta; Howard L. Parsons, associate professor of philosophy and psychology, University of Tennessee, Knoxville; James P. Brawley, president, Clark College, Atlanta; John Wesley Dobbs, grand master, Prince Hall Masons of Georgia, Atlanta; Charles G. Gomillion, dean, Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee, Ala.; Benjamin E. Mays, president, Morehouse College, Atlanta, and Dr. William Obrinsky, New Orleans physician.

Enact Death Penalty for Communists, Gov. Shivers To Ask Texas Legislature

ARK CONST 2-12-54

ST. LOUIS, Feb. 11 (INS) — Gov. Allen Shivers of Texas said today he will ask the State Legislature to provide the death penalty for anyone convicted of membership in the Communist Party.

"American adherents to the international Communist conspiracy are traitors — period," Shivers told the Illinois Bankers Assn., meeting in St. Louis.

"In politics, we often speak of bipartisan issues. I can think of nothing that should be more bipartisan than catching a Communist. There can be no valid issue between Americans over communism. Americans are either pro-Communist or anti-Communist.

Shivers said the nation "must stop letting part of the Constitution give so much aid and comfort to the enemies of this country if we are to fulfill and preserve the Constitution itself."

Tuttle Report Draws Threat From Solon

2-16-54

By W. H. LAWRENCE
New York Times News Service
Special to The Atlanta Constitution

WASHINGTON, Feb. 15—Rep. Sieminski has threatened to kill anyone who suggests his loyalty might be questionable because his stepdaughter was for seven years behind the Iron Curtain until she broke out on Christmas Day, 1953.

The dramatic story was disclosed in part today in published

WASHINGTON, Feb. 15 (UP). Agriculture Secretary Benson has told Congress at least one active Communist was among the 2,200 federal workers reported fired under the Eisenhower administration's new security program.

Benson's Feb. 3 testimony was made public today by a House appropriations subcommittee. Benson did not identify the employe.

hearings on the House Appropriations Subcommittee dealing with a Treasury Department bill. How she escaped will never be told, Sieminski said.

Sieminski (D-NJ), who was elected to Congress while on active duty in Korea, charged that President Eisenhower's current security order is "vicious, totalitarian, un-American."

The dispute came as Elbert P. Tuttle of Georgia, Treasury Department general counsel, reported on security check dismissals.

The Treasury Department spokesman said that out of 130 "security" dismissals or forced resignations in the department during 1943, four were found to be "disloyal persons" under standards which have since been scrapped.

Tuttle said there is no way of comparing security dismissals under the Eisenhower administration with those under the Truman administration because "the

Continued on Page 7, Column 1

ATL CONST 2-18-54

Miami Asks Contractors' Non-RedOath

MIAMI, Fla., Feb. 17 (INS)—The Miami city commission today passed a law providing that people who apply for city contracts take a non-Communist oath.

The emergency law came on the heels of disclosures that a recent bidder on several city building contracts had placed advertisements congratulating communist newspapers in the United States and abroad.

Mayor Abe Aronovitz also suggested that the federal government follow the example set by the Miami commission.

Rep Sieminski Threatens To Kill Anyone Who Questions His Loyalty

Continued from Page 1

whole basis of approach is different."

Under the Truman security standards, he said, disloyalty was the only grounds for dismissal.

IRON CURTAIN

Tuttle said one reason for separating a man from the government service as a "security risk" might be the fact that he had relatives abroad, behind the Iron Curtain, upon whom pressure might be brought.

"A man may be a rugged individual and never intend to give in, but he may have a mother behind the Iron Curtain and it would be a terrible thing to say that person is a security risk because of a subversive contact," Tuttle explained to the committee. "That is why we do not break these down as to subversives and others, although in such a case it is a subversive contact that may ultimately make him dangerous."

Tuttle little knew what he was walking into as he explained this to a committee of which Sieminski was a member.

AM I DISLOYAL?

"For the last seven years I had a stepdaughter behind the Iron Curtain," the New Jersey Representative explained. "She broke out this Christmas. Am I to understand by this executive order that I have been disloyal to the United States? . . .

"This order, as is, should be wiped off the books of the United States. I think it is vicious, totalitarian, un-American. It shoots from the hip, puts a man out of government service, classifies him disloyal for nothing over which he has control, puts others in judgment of his heart, conscience and oath. That's un-American.

"I defy anyone to say I was disloyal because my stepdaughter was behind the Iron Curtain or that any squeeze play worked or could have worked against me by the Reds."

Tuttle interjected that the executive order said nothing like Sieminski had just stated.

"IMPLICATIONS THERE"

"The implications are there," Sieminski continued, "and I am telling you if anybody says that because I had a stepdaughter behind the Iron Curtain I was a disloyal congressman, that I was a traitor, I challenge him to make that charge and expect to get out of this room alive.

"Liberty is life, and no man is going to make that charge against me and leave here on his feet. If anybody makes that charge against me and expects to live after he makes it, he had better have the cops here. I say that for the record."

Tuttle said hastily that, of course, he had not suggested anything of the sort about Sieminski.

CITES VAN FLEET

Sieminski insisted that the presidential order, if carried to extreme, also would have barred Gen. James A. Van Fleet from continued command of the 8th Army after his aviator son had crashed behind enemy lines, in North Korea. The son now is presumed dead, but for a long time it was believed he might be a Communist prisoner.

"Do you think Gen. Van Fleet, when his boy was lost behind the Iron Curtain in North Korea, would stop fighting for the Red, White and Blue because of torture possibilities to his son?" he asked. "When he heard the news, he wiped his eyes and said, 'That's the way the kid wanted it, let's go.' "

Sieminski, a 44-year-old Princeton graduate, explained to reporters later that he met his wife in Vienna after World War II while serving on occupation duty in Austria.

She had been married previously, and had one child, Isabella, in Poland and a second, Christine, in England. After their marriage, they were able to bring Christine to the United States, but they were unable until Christmas last year to get Isabella out of Poland.

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ATL CONST 3-9-64

Abolish the 5th Amendment?

When people become afraid they often turn against old friends — the Fifth Amendment, for example.

Much of the criticism of it today would indicate that some of our more vigilante-minded persons, who didn't quite trust themselves, believe it was somehow slipped into the Constitution of the United States by Communists or subversives.

It has been in there for a long, long time—since 1791, to be exact. And that happens to be 163 years ago. Today there is a heavy demand that it be somehow bypassed. That's because a number of suspected Communists have used it as a shield to avoid questioning. Even so, let's not be in a hurry. It's an important amendment to a free people who want to remain free. So let's think about it long and carefully, lest we undo in haste much that is basic to our freedom.

Guarantee

Let's look into the contents of the Fifth Amendment.

Without going into the legal language of it, the Fifth Amendment provided four basic guarantees:

1—No person may be held to answer for a capital or otherwise infamous crime, unless on presentment or indictment by a grand jury.

2—No person may be tried twice for the same crime.

3—No person shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law.

4—Private property may not be taken for public use without just

passed. That's because a number of suspected Communists have used it as a shield to avoid questioning. Even so, let's not be in a hurry. It's an important amendment to a free people who want to remain free. So let's think about it long and carefully, lest we undo in haste much that is basic to our freedom.

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2—No person may be tried twice for the same crime.

3—No person shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law.

4—Private property may not be taken for public use without just compensation.

Those are four rather important items in a free society. They have been guaranteed to us for a long, long span of years. Whether we should, at this time, be willing to circumvent or nullify one of the provisions is an issue before us. A great many persons, some of them sincere and others afraid and vigilante-minded, want to make it so a man or woman may be compelled to testify against oneself—by providing an escape hatch of "no prosecution."

But let us have a care before we throw away something which the Founding Fathers put in out of bitter experience. If we do circumvent this one provision of the Fifth Amendment out of fear of a few slimy Communists, we will make every citizen the prey of vindictive political machines which can control grand juries and judges. We will give every solicitor general a club. Every business and each citizen will become vulnerable to corruption and to political vendettas.

Why?

Why do we have a Fifth Amendment?

It has a long and honorable history. It was not too long ago that men and women were tortured to make them confess. In fact, it was only a few months ago the Chinese and North Koreans were doing that to war prisoners.

But all history is filled with the torture of civilians—on trial charged with a crime. The Spanish Inquisition tortured men and women and put them to death with revolting cruelty when they refused to confess themselves guilty of heresy. In our own country, at Salem, Mass., men and women were tortured to try to exact from them confessions of witchcraft.

We brought the amendment over from English common law. As late as 1647 in England the "Star Chamber" sessions could compel persons to testify against themselves. In that year a man named Lillburn, accused of a crime, refused to testify. He was whipped and pilloried. He still would not confess. He managed to get his case before Parliament. He obtained a ruling sustaining him. Said Parliament: "It is contrary to the laws of God, nature and the kingdom that a man be made to give information which would help convict him."

Now there are those who say, "We will change it to say you must testify against yourself, but we won't send you to jail for doing so."

That is an awesome weapon to give to political corruption whether in a grand jury room, in a solicitor's office or in a court room.

Let's think a long, long time about this. There must be some better way to nail down Communists.

3-10-53
CHATT. TIMES

THE CHATTANO

JENNER WILL QUIZ 2 HIGHLANDER MEN

Dombrowski, Horton, Other Fund Officials Get New Orleans Subpoenas

WASHINGTON, March 9 — The Senate Internal Security subcommittee will hold two days of hearings in New Orleans next week on the Southern Conference Educational Fund and will call as witnesses two men long associated with the Highlander Folk School at Monteagle, James Bombrowski and Miles Horton.

The subcommittee, headed by Sen. William Jenner (R-Ind), will call a total of about 12 witnesses, including Aubrey Williams of Montgomery, Ala., the president of the fund and director of the National Youth Administration during the Roosevelt administration. Another witness whose identity has been made known is Mrs. Virginia Durr of Montgomery.

A committee clerk declined to name the other witnesses, but said that Dumbrowski and Horton were the only two well known in the Chattanooga area.

Denies Red Backing

Dombrowski, the executive director of the fund, declared today that a number of witnesses connected with the fund have been subpoenaed, but he denied that the fund is a Communist-front organization.

WASHINGTON, March 9 (AP) —A subcommittee spokesman said today "the majority of the leadership" in the Southern Conference Educational Fund once were officials of the now defunct Southern Conference for Human Welfare, which was cited by the attorney general as a Communist-front organization.

Also summoned to appear at a hearing March 15-17 is Alva W. Taylor, Nashville, secretary-treasurer of the fund.

The subcommittee spokesman said subpoenas have been issued to all officers of the organization except Benjamin E. Mays of Morehouse College, Atlanta, vice president.

Mrs. Durr, wife of a former member of the Federal Communications Commission, said at Montgomery she resigned from the fund in 1950 only becaue the Durrs moved to Denver.

"I haven't given up my principles," she added.

Williams, publisher of the Southern Farmer, charged last week that the Jenner investigation is an attempt to "smear" the Roosevelt administration.

Reasons Given

Williams also hinted the subpoena resulted from his fight against racial discrimination and from criticism of Sen. McCarthy.

The spokesman for the Jenner committee said the Southern Conference Educational Fund has been under investigation for about three months.

Dombrowski, in Montgomery last night to confer with Williams, said the fund was organized in 1946 to fight racial discrimination in public libraries, schools and hospitals.

Loyalty Investigation Materials

Southern Office
ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
11 Pryor Street, S. W., Suite 305
ATLANTA 3, GA.

MEMORANDUM

To: Art Levin, Gil Galkin & Ted Freedman

From: Bernard Iscoe

Date: March 11, 1954

Subject: Southern Conference Educational Fund

Your local papers may have carried the information that the U.S. Senate Internal Subcommittee will be in New Orleans next week investigating alleged Communist activities in the Southern Conference Educational Fund, James A. Dombrowski, Executive Director.

As you know, the SCEF is an outgrowth of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, which in 1947 was cited by the House Un-American Activities Committee as being a Communist-front organization.

The following people are listed as being either an officer of director of the SCEF:

OFFICERS

Aubrey Williams, Chairman & President
Montgomery, Ala.

Rudolph Moses, Treasurer
New Orleans, La.

Dr. William Obrinsky, Mem. of the Board
New Orleans, La.

Dr. Frederick Rhodes, Mem. of the Board
New Orleans, La.

Modjeska M. Simkins, Vice-Pres.
Columbia, S.C.

John Bolt Culbertson, Vice-Pres.
Greenville, S.C.

Alva W. Taylor, Secretary
Nashville, Tenn.

DIRECTORS OF FUND

James A. Dombrowski
New Orleans, La.

Albert E. Barnett
Emory Univ., Ga.

James P. Brawley
Atlanta, Ga.

Wilma Alexander
Richmond, Va.

Mary McLeod Bethune
Daytona Beach, Fla.

Charlotte Hawkins Brown
Sedalia, N.C.

A.J. Clement, Jr.
Charleston, S.C.

John Wesley Dobbs
Atlanta, Ga.

Charles G. Gomillion
Tuskegee, Ala.

Myles Horton
Monteagle, Tenn.

Dr. C. Herbert Marshall II
Washington, D.C.

Dr. Paul R. Schroeder
Atlanta, Ga.

Lula B. White
Houston, Texas

Roscoe Dunjee
Oklahoma City, Okla.

E. Franklin Frazier
Washington, D.C.

Thomas W. Johnson
Mason, Ga.

James L. Hupp
Buckhannon, W.Va.

Howard L. Parsons
Knoxville, Tenn.

Charles H. Thompson
Washington, D.C.

William J.L. Wallace
Institute, W.Va.

Regards,

Bernie

BI:js
cc: Alex Miller
Oscar Cohen
Arnold Forster

Investigation Called Attack On US Negroes

ATL WORLD 3-17-54

BY JACK WILLIAMS

NEW ORLEANS — (INS) — Southern Negro leaders Tuesday struck at a scheduled three-day Senate Internal Security sub-committee probe of the Southern Conference Educational Fund as "an attack upon the Negroes of this nation."

At the same time, Sen. James O. Eastland, (D), of Mississippi, a member of the committee, denied he was guilty of any prejudice or prejudgment of issues to be explored in hearings which get underway today at New Orleans.

Thirty-one Negro leaders charged in a letter to Sen. William Jenner, chairman of the sub-committee, that "it is ridiculous to impute disloyalty to the Southern Conference Educational Fund."

The organization is scheduled to get a thorough investigation during the three days of hearings.

Eastland said:

"I do not want to try anything before the actual hearings, I have prejudged nothing. We only want the facts."

SEGREGATION "REAL ISSUE"

Fund director James A. Dombrowski had declared earlier that Sen. Eastland had prejudged the case. He said that racial segregation "is the real issue" of the hearings. He added that he thought it was a "shame" the committee "doesn't have the nerve" to debate that issue.

Two committee investigators, Frank Schroeder and Edward R. Duffy, are in New Orleans, but are

(Continued on Page 6 Column 3)

Don't Crucify McCarthy, Harris Warns

ATL CONST 3-22-54

Roy Harris, Augusta political figure, has warned that if Americans "crucify Joe McCarthy like they did Martin Dies," then the "ghost of Communism will rise to haunt Eisenhower and all these peanut officials in Washington who are joining up with the howling mob today."

Writing in his political paper, the Augusta Courier, Harris charged that "General Motors" leaders in the Army and Defense Department—to be popular with radical liberal writers, newspapers, magazines, and fellow travelers—are willing to join forces to "destroy the greatest enemy that communism has in this country."

"Now when they made the issue, which side do you want to be on?" Harris asked. "Would you rather be with Joe McCarthy whose language isn't too polite and whose method of cross-examination isn't too refined or do you prefer to be fighting on the side of Communists."

Harris urged Americans to stand together against communism, rather than let the Reds maneuver Americans into fighting each other.

Harris said the Communists helped defeat Rep. Martin Dies, who was fighting communism when he was head of the House un-American Activities Committee.

Investigation

(Continued From Page One)

saying nothing about the investigation.

In addition to Eastland, members of the sub-committee are Sens. Walker (R), of Idaho and McClelland (D), of Arkansas.

It was believed that today's initial session will be closed to allow investigators to screen possible witnesses.

As the probe launching date neared, Louisiana Supt. of state Police,

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small jobs were offered him. A welfare department spokesman said will begin to draw unemployment insation in two weeks, howa present job he has is only one and never pays 5 a week and often

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Those appear Alexander's appoin Howard, national R mitteeman from Miss G. Brown, director of Negro Council, and Lou linger, a Washington atto served 33 years in the Dep of Justice

He was also endorsed by C Lewis, assistant secretary of terior public land management and by both senators from his home

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Francis C. Grevemberg warned that any Louisiana resident exposed as a member of the Communist party during the hearings would be charged as a violator of state law.

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EJECTED WITNESS DENIES HE IS A RED

Never Was, Horton Asserts—Says Removal by Eastland Prevented Testimony

Myles Horton, who was ejected from a hearing of the Senate Internal Security subcommittee in New Orleans on Saturday, asserted yesterday that he had never been a Communist and that he had been prevented from making a statement emphasizing that he did not intend to invoke the Fifth Amendment.

Mr. Horton is director of the Highlander Folk School at Monteagle, Tenn., near Chattanooga. In a telegram to The New York Times, he also said he had sought to tell Senator James O. Eastland, Mississippi Democrat, with whom he clashed at the hearing:

"The hysteria spread by your committee, and the McCarthy committee, has substantially contributed to the fiction that the only dynamic force in the world is communism. This I deny. Communism has never tempted me because I believe in democracy. You know, if you have made an effort to find out, that I have never been a member of the Communist party.

"I suppose in the eyes of the chairman of this committee opposition to segregation in the South is subversive. But as an American I am unwilling to assume that a legislative group bearing the authority of my Government represents a dark and dismal outlook that justifies slavery and which today equates the fight for full democratic rights for all men, including Negroes, with communism."

M'CARTHY STATUS CITED

3-17-54

THE CHATTANOOGA TIMES:

DIXIE RED INQUIRY BEGINS TOMORROW

Eastland Declares He Hasn't Prejudged Case—Subject Says Race Issue Factor

NEW ORLEANS, March 16 (AP) Sen. Eastland (D-Miss), a member of the Senate Internal Security subcommittee that begins a three-day hearing in New Orleans Thursday, said he has not prejudged the case.

Officials of the Southern Conference Education Fund, Inc., subject of the probe, contended yesterday they were singled out because of their stand on segregation.

The organization issued a statement saying, "Sen. Eastland is the man who declared in 1945:

" 'The Negro soldier was a dismal and utter failure. He was a disgrace to the flag of his country . . . he will not fight. He will not work.' "

The fund statement termed it "a shame" the committee will no have the nerve to debate the segregation issue.

Warning Issued

Sen. Eastland told the Times-Picayune by telephone from Washington that he didn't "want to try anything in the newspapers. I've prejudged nothing. We only want the facts."

State Police Supt. Francis Grevemberg warned charges would be filed against Louisianians "definitely identified" as Communists or members of Communist-front organizations.

Grevemberg said a 1952 state law requires registration of all Communists or members of Communist-front organizations. He said no one had registered.

An admitted former Communist, 50-year-old Paul Crouch, will be a key witness at the hearings. Crouch said Sunday night there are some 10 0Communists in Louisiana who further the party cause as circumstances permit but do not disclose their party affiliations.

Crouch, an active Communist for more than 15 years, confined most of his work to the South.

Horton Calls Self Vocal Liberal; Neighbors Doubt Red Affiliations

CHATT TIMES 3/28/54

By MOUZON PETERS
Times Circuit Writer.

MONTEAGLE, Tenn., March 27—Whatever you may think of Myles Horton, director and founder of Highlander Folk School, however much you may disagree with his liberalism, regardless of your opinion about his views on organized labor or race discrimination, you must admit that he sounded plausible on one point made during his report at the meeting here a few nights ago.

A person who is conspicuously identified in the public mind with such causes as those with which Horton makes no secret of his affiliation could never be used as an espionage agent by an unfriendly power, said the Folk School director.

"Sen. Eastland in hearings like those conducted recently in New Orleans does not accuse me of being a Communist," Horton pointed out. "He simply tries to brand me and others by innuendo and other means as tools of the Reds, tries to leave the impression with the public that I am not to be trusted. It's purely a smear effort."

Horton continued, "If I were a Red or a tool of the Reds, I certainly wouldn't live the open-book life that I have lived ever since I've been old enough to have personal convictions. I have been openly and vocally active for years in labor organizing and in labor union educational work, I have had strong convictions against racial segregation and have not hesitated to express them. You may disagree with me—you have that right—but you can't say that I have tried to conceal my position. My sympathies for years have been with the underprivileged.

"Now, if I were a Communist or even a person sympathetic with Communism, I would try to keep the public from knowing about such convictions. I might be vocally as anti-Communist as Joe McCarthy. Now, there's a man who would be in a position to do the most for the real Reds. Don't you see, he has built himself up in the public mind so that he would be the last to be suspected of Red collaborations?

"Isn't that exactly the kind of operation a real top Communist would employ? He wouldn't be one whose liberal beliefs are well known, he wouldn't be one who lives his convictions day by day."

I'm giving you no opinions on Myles Horton. Just letting you see how he feels personally about things. He was thrown out of the New Orleans hearings of the Senate Internal Security Committee, you recall, for declining to answer a question about James Dom-

See Page Twenty-four, Col. Five

HORTON GIVES HIS OPINIONS

From Page Seventeen

browski. It was a question to which the committee already had the answer.

No opinions, I said. But I can give you some facts. I've known Myles Horton for 25 years, since he was running daily vacation Bible schools for the Presbyterian Church in the mountains of East Tennessee, since he was organizing Hi-Y Clubs in high schools here and elsewhere for the Young Men's Christian Association, since he went to Union Theological Seminary as a ministerial student. He believes in organized labor. He opposes segregation of races if it means discrimination against one group and denial of opportunity. He holds to ideas and ideals which many consider liberal and he lives his convictions openly. Perhaps he is too liberal and too vocal—that would be opinion and, in this field, to each his own.

One veteran Grundy Countian, though, pretty well expressed the views of the majority who gathered at Highlander the other night. He rose slowly to his feet and hesitated as if gathering words for a lengthy talk. Then he said:

"We neighbors of Myles Horton don't think he is a Communist. There was a time, though, when if you made 20 cents an hour and you wanted 25 cents, you could mighty easy get tagged as a Communist. I guess it wouldn't be too hard for a lot of us to conclude that some people still have about the same formula for saying who's a Red."

ATL CONST 4-9-54

Texas House Votes To Ban Red Party

AUSTIN, Tex., April 8 (UP)—The Texas House of Representatives today passed a Senate-approved bill outlawing the Communist Party in Texas and providing a maximum 20-year prison term for membership.

Members of the House debated the measure two days. Vote on final passage was 130 to 4.

State Rep. Maury Maverick Jr. of San Antonio, son of former Texas Democratic congressman Maury Maverick, spoke on personal privilege against the bill, calling it a "storm-trooper, goose-stepping gesture."

"Why fight communism if we are going to impose gradually on ourselves an equally vicious form of totalitarianism?" he asked.

But the House heeded Rep. Fred Meredith of Terrell, Tex., sponsor of the Communist Control Act, who said:

"There is just as much of a Communist influence in Texas today as there was a Japanese influence at Pearl Harbor on Dec. 7, 1941."

New York Enacts Law For 'Fair Play' in Probes

ATL JNL-CONST 4-4-54

ALBANY, N.Y., April 3 (AP)—New York Saturday became a pioneer in legislation to prevent smearing of witnesses at state investigations.

Gov. Thomas E. Dewey signed an administration measure establishing a code of fair procedure that he said would protect witnesses and still preserve the government's right to "rout out rascality or subversion."

The new law prohibits one-man investigations, except by single-member agencies, and allows persons whose reputations are attacked in testimony at public hearings to answer by taking the stand or filing a sworn statement for the record.

* * *

IN A MEMORANDUM, the governor said the code was the first of its kind in the nation, and embodied in law "fundamental requisites for fairness" in the conduct of legislative and executive probes.

Other main provisions of the fair play code:

* * *

1. **REQUIRE** that persons subpoenaed to a hearing must be given notice of the subject of the investigation.

* * *

2. **PROVIDE** specifically that witnesses may have counsel at private and public hearings.

* * *

3. **ALLOW COUNSEL** for a witness to propose to the investigating agency questions it might ask the witness relevant to the matters on which the latter has been interrogated.

* * *

4. **GIVE EACH** witness the right to file, for incorporation in the hearing record, a sworn statement relevant to his testimony.

* * *

5. **REQUIRE** investigative agencies to keep an accurate record of testimony and make available to witnesses copies of their testimony.

* * *

6. **PROHIBIT** disclosure of evidence given at a private hearing unless a majority of the members of the committee or commission agrees. Dissenters may file a minority report, however.

Miami Attorney's Disbarment Sought in 'Loyalty Test' Suit

Leo Sheiner, New Orleans Figure, Named in Precedent-Setting Action

By CHARLES HESSER
Staff Writer, The Miami Daily News
Special to The Atlanta Journal-Constitution

ATL JNL CONST 4-18-54

MIAMI, Fla., April 17—Disbarment proceedings have been started against a Miami attorney who refused to answer questions on Communist activity before a Senate Internal Security subcommittee.

The attorney, Leo Scheiner, was ejected bodily from the hearing recently in New Orleans after invoking the Fifith Amendment.

The case will be tried in Dade County (Miami) Circuit Court but it isn't expected to end there.

It is being watched closely with great interest by Congress and the legal profession throughout the nation. Court experts point out the case could make legal history by setting a precedent. They believe it will wind up before the U.S. Supreme Court.

The case is believed the first of its kind in the U.S. involving disbarment proceedings against

FLORIDA

a lawyer who invoked his constitutional rights.

Basically, the Scheiner case involves the question of whether an officer of the court can invoke the Fifth Amendment on questions of loyalty and subversive activities.

List of Charges Filed

Formal charges against Scheiner were drawn up by another Miami attorney, Ellis Rubin, spokesman on un-American activities for the Miami American Legion, acting as a friend of the court.

Scheiner is charged with:

Unprofessional acts that unfit him for association with members of the Florida Bar.

Deceit and misconduct in his office as attorney.

Violation of the code of ethics of the legal profession in that he is or has been a member of organizations listed as subversive.

The organizations specified in the petition were the Communist Party of the United States, Civil Rights Congress, the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, the Southern Negro Youth Congress, the Southern Conference Education Fund and the National Lawyers Guild.

At the New Orleans hearing Scheiner was confronted with an accuser, a former member of the Communist Party, who charged him with membership in the party. The attorney refused to either confirm or deny the charge at that time.

But, when Scheiner returned to Miami, he issued a public statement denying the charges. Rubin's petition declares this action was in conflict with Scheiner's refusal to deny the charge under oath before the committee, raising the issue of possible self-incrimination. In one of the actions, the petition said, Scheiner was not telling the truth.

The case will be heard by Dade Circuit Judge Vincent Giblin.

Accused Issues Defi

Since this is not a criminal proceeding, according to legal experts, the usual rules of evidence will not apply. The prosecution, which will be conducted by the State Attorney of Dade County, does not have to call witnesses to substantiate the evidence, but can merely question the attorney-defendant about his alleged conduct.

"The case should not be and has not been prejudged," declared Giblin. "The accused attorney may have an adequate explanation and defense."

Scheiner thinks he has.

Declared the accused attorney: "I challenge those who have filed this petition to defend their position. I shall not accede to any effort by anyone to use the Florida Bar as a vehicle to destroy our American freedoms and liberties. I stand on my record as a lawyer and loyal American."

Before Scheiner was thrown out of the Senate subcommittee hearing, he declared: "I choose not to speak in a forum where falsehoods are taken for the truth and oppression substituted for liberty."

This action was especially condemned in Rubin's petition.

"An invariable effect of this sort of propaganda," the petition read, "is to breed disrespect for the Senate of the United States, and it brings the legal profession, through Mr. Scheiner as its spokesman, in disrepute with the public.

Petition's Contention

"An attorney should either affirm or deny allegations of disloyalty and subversion under oath or surrender his privilege of practicing under the law."

Scheiner's refusal to testify or deny the accusations constituted "unprofessional acts which unfit him for association with the fair and honorable members of the profession," continued the petition.

Rubin drew up his petition at the instigation of Col. J. R. Younger, president of the Crime Commission of Greater Miami.

NY World Telegram
5-26-54

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ocast on Page 18.

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FIVE CENTS

ARRES
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Bunche Expects OK on Loyalty

U.N. Official Faces Ex-Reds

A U.S. loyalty board seeking Communist influence in the U.S. United Nations staff has met with Dr. Ralph Bunche and two accusers. The hearings continue here today.

Dr. Bunche, Nobel Peace Prize winner and head of the U.N. Trusteeship Department, went through a "rough and tough" 12-hour questioning session at the offices of the Civil Service Commission, 640 Washington St.

Facing him were Manning Johnson and Leonard Patterson, former Communists who quit the party years ago. Pierce J. Gerety, board chairman, refused to say what was discussed. But he said "no inference should be drawn from the fact that Dr. Bunche had a meeting with the board."

DR. RALPH BUNCHE.

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No Statement.

The U.N. official, grandson of a Negro slave, said he had no statement to make.

"Any inquiries should be directed to the loyalty board," he said.

A friend of Dr. Bunche described the hearing as "rough and tough at times." At the U.N., a spokesman close to the trusteeship head said:

"Dr. Bunche is glad to get this chance to clear himself. Of course, like many other people, he has been associated with Communists in the past. He is confident he will be cleared quickly."

FBI Checks.

Mr. Gerety explained that the board's action was taken under Presidential directives. These hold that all American citizens employed by 40-odd international organizations must be investigated.

Such investigations and if evidence of disloyalty is turned up at the hearings it is transmitted to the U.N. through the Secretary of State. The U.N. is then asked to fire the employee.

Since the porbes began, 1760 persons have been cleared with 160 cases pending. Of the 1760, 32 have been called to appear before the board in person.

Last year, it was learned that Dr. Bunche had sponsored Jack S. Harris, one of 12 Americans dropped by the U.N. for refusing to answer loyalty investigators' questions. Dr. Bunche explained at the time that he had hired Mr. Harris because he was an expert on trusteeship matters.

Dr. Bunche, 49, won the Nobel Peace Prize in 1950 for effecting a Holy Land armistice between the Jews and Arabs. He was appointed to his present post by the late Secretary of State Edward Stettinius.

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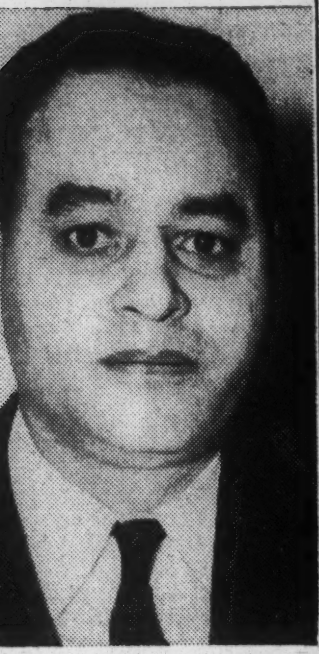

DR. RALPH BUNCHE.

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NY Post 5-30-54

Hail Swift Loyalty OK On Bunche

DR. RALPH J. BUNCHE
'To Be Expected'

The "prompt and decisive" clearing of Dr. Ralph J. Bunche by a U. S. loyalty board was praised Saturday by Walter White, executive secretary of the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People.

White, who testified for Bunche Thursday, wired Pierce J. Gerety, chairman of the International

See story, "Bunche Cleared—Who Is Next?", on Page 7 M.

Organization's Employes Loyalty Board, that he hoped other boards would follow "your exemplary procedures."

The charges were never made public against Bunche, highest-ranking American in the UN as director of its Trusteeship Division. He is expected to be promoted to Deputy Undersecretary General soon.

Henry Cabot Lodge Jr., chief of the U. S. delegation to the UN, said the clearance was a "fine thing" and "to be expected."

eared Next?

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ammarskjold commented tedly after Bunche was red that Bunche "has always my unreserved confidence as an of outstanding integrity." unche's ordeal stemmed from ident Truman's order of uary, 1953, that all U. S. nals at the UN should be ened for loyalty.

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Bunche Cleared —Who Is Next?

NY Post 5-30-54

By JOSEPH P. LASH

The prompt and full vindication won by Dr. Ralph J. Bunche in his two-day appearance before the International Organizations Employe Loyalty Board delighted Allied diplomats and observers at the UN.

But there were many who qualified their expressions of pleasure with statements of concern over the fact that a man with Bunche's record could be subjected to a proceeding in which his loyalty was questioned.

They hoped that the board, in view of its unanimous decision, would take a hard look at the testimony of the witnesses hostile to Bunche to determine whether perjury had been committed.

Deep Concern Voiced

The Bunche case illustrated anew the deep concern among our allies and the "uncommitted" bloc over what they regard as the excesses of U. S. "security" programs.

They cannot fathom America's willingness to subject a man of Bunche's stature to this kind of harassment and indignity — and they are not prepared to concede that the case of Alger Hiss justifies everything subsequently done to U. S. officials in the name of security.

The news that Bunche was being grilled had a stunning effect at the UN.

All Data Slanted

Thus, a few hours after the Bunche story leaked via the Hearst press last Tuesday, correspondents at the UN from Western Europe, Scandinavia and the Middle East received urgent messages to send everything they could get on the inquiry.

This intense interest, these correspondents told The Post, reflected as much a deep anxiety over what was happening to the U. S. as it did a concern for what was happening to Bunche.

Friends of Bunche still were unable Saturday to determine who was responsible for the leak—whether isolationists interested in smearing the UN or plain reactionaries who hoped to make it difficult for UN Secretary General Hammarskjold to promote Bunche to the position of undersecretary.

Hammarskjold commented pointedly after Bunche was cleared that Bunche "has always had my unreserved confidence as a man of outstanding integrity."

Bunche's ordeal stemmed from President Truman's order of January, 1953, that all U. S. nationals at the UN should be screened for loyalty.

It is Ambassador Lodge's boast that two days after he arrived to take over as head of the U. S. mission he deposited with Hammarskjold 2,000 forms "each six pages in length" to be filled out by U. S. nationals and that same afternoon Americans were "lined up" in the corridors for fingerprinting.

Lodge took the position that a quick and dramatic screening alone would re-establish U. S. public confidence in the UN.

"Of course there is no classified information in the UN, anyway," Lodge later conceded, "but my contention is that with so many good Americans to choose from there is no reason why one single American Communist should be employed there."

The U. S. screening program has caused much uneasiness among America's friends at the UN. The latter fear that even though the results of such screening are only to be "advisory" on Hammarskjold, they represent a dangerous enroachment on the spirit of Article 100 of the Charter. This obliges member nations "to respect the exclusively international character" of the responsibilities of the staff.

When he heard the board's decision Bunche said through his Counsel, Ernest A. Gross, that the Board members had been "fair and courteous in their diligent search for the truth . . . the hearings were thorough and the results just."

Nevertheless, there is some criticism of a procedure which keeps a man under investigation 16 months. The criticism is all the sharper in Bunche's instance in view of his great services to the U. S. and UN.

tional conferencies.

DR. BUNCHE RECEIVES A LOYALTY HEARING

Special to The New York Times.

UNITED NATIONS, N. Y., May 25—Dr. Ralph J. Bunche, one of the United Nations' top officials, today received a hearing before a United States board investigating the loyalty of all United States employes of the organization.

Under an order signed by President Eisenhower last year, machinery was set up to look into the loyalty of all Americans working for international organizations. Professionals, like Dr. Bunche, received a full Federal Bureau of Investigation inquiry and material gathered was turned over to a specially created International Organizations Employes Loyalty Board.

Dr. Bunche spent twelve hours, with time out for meals, at a meeting of the board at 641 Washington Street. He was accompanied by his personal counsel, Ernest A. Gross, who was Deputy United States Representative to the United Nations in the Truman Administration.

Dr. Bunche had no comment on the hearings, but Pierce J. Geraty, chairman of the board, said that the official had met with the group because of the Presidential order and that "no inference should be drawn from the fact."

N.Y. TIMES - 5-26-54

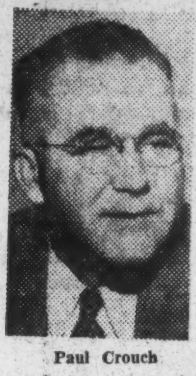
Ex-Red Guarded After Attack at Quiz

Former U.S. Worker Lunges at Accuser Of Wife, Then Collapses From Bad Heart

ATL JNL-CONST 8-21-54

NEW ORLEANS, March 20 (AP)—A former federal official Saturday tried to attack an ex-Communist witness, then collapsed in the final stormy session of a three-day Senate subcommittee inquiry into possible Communist activity.

Clifford J. Durr of Montgomery, Ala., Federal Communications Commission member from 1941 to 1948, said:



Paul Crouch

"He can't talk about my wife that way, I'll kill the — — —!"

Friends grabbed Durr as he lunged at Paul Crouch of Honolulu, a former Communist espionage organizer.

A few minutes later, Durr became ill with what Touro Infirmary attendants said was a heart condition. He was wheeled from the room.

Crouch had testified that Mrs. Durr, sister-in-law of U.S. Supreme Court Justice Hugo Black, had known of a prewar Communist espionage ring.

After Durr's threatened attack Crouch asked for police protection. Two detectives were assigned to guard him until he left town Saturday night.

* * *

EARLIER Myles Horton of Monteagle, Tenn., was ejected from the courtroom after refusing to answer a question about a former instructor at the Highlander Folk School.

Horton attempted to read a statement and shouted:

"You've listened to all this talk from Communists and ex-Communists. Will you listen to a good American?"

Sen. James Eastland (D-Miss), conducting the investigation into the Southern Conference Educational Fund, ordered the U.S. marshals to remove Horton from the hearing.

Horton refused to answer a question about Dr. James A. Dombrowski, director of the SCEF, who had admitted teaching at the Highlander School.

* * *

AFTER THE DURR outburst, Eastland heard one more witness before adjourning the hearing.

The Mississippi senator said another hearing into alleged Communist and Communist front organizations would be held later this year—probably in June—in Birmingham and that he probably would preside over it.

Crouch had previously testified that Mrs. Durr had subscribed to Communist publications and contributed to the "Communist Press." He accused her yesterday of using her positon as Justice Hugo Black's sister-in-law to promote Communist aims.

* * *

CROUCH ALSO said he had seen Durr at a number of New York meetings of Communist Party leaders. But the former Communist said he couldn't name any one meeting, but that they occurred "from 1938 to 1941."

Before the outburst Saturday, Crouch told of a five-man group he said tried to obtain information from the White House for Soviet Russia.

He identified the five as Joseph S. Gelders, the Rev. Malcolm Cotton Dobbs, Howard Lee, Joseph Lash and Gilbert L. Parks.

Crouch said he had been "in closed Communist meetings with them all."

Crouch said this "intelligence apparatus" operated from the early 1930s until he left the Communist Party in 1942.

Atty. Gen'l Puts Lawyer Guild On Subversive List

PL World 11-5-54

WASHINGTON—(INS)—A Federal Judge refused to stop Attorney General Herbert Brownell Jr., from taking steps to place the National Lawyers Guild on his list of subversive organizations.

U. S. District Judge Charles S. McLaughlin turned down a Guild charge that Brownell had already "prejudged" the case and that the proposed listing was unconstitutional.

In speeches last year, the Attorney General declared that the Guild was the legal "mouthpiece" for the Communist party and that its leadership was composed of "card-carrying Communists" at least since 1946.

In his six page decision, McLaughlin declared that the Guild should first exhaust its chances of winning its battle in Justice Department proceedings before taking the case to court again.

McLaughlin declared: "This court should not assume that the prescribed administrative hearing will be conducted other than fairly."

The Judge also said he did not "believe that the public statements (By Brownell) would prevent him from rendering an impartial decision."

N.Y. Study Of Loyalty Checks Set

New York Times News Service
Special to The Atlanta Constitution

NEW YORK, Dec. 21—A widely representative committee to examine federal loyalty-security programs is being appointed by the New York City Bar Assn. The study will be made under a $100,000 grant by the Fund for the Republic, Inc., a Ford Foundation subsidiary.

Seven to nine men are being sought for the committee. Most are to be lawyers, but some may be former military leaders, scientists or others. While the study and recommendations will be as rapid as possible, the association estimates that 18 months may be needed from the time a chairman is named.

WIDE CRITICISM

Allen T. Klots, president of the 74-year-old bar association, observed today that the programs had come under criticism. They "now directly affect many millions of Americans in government service and in private employment in defense industries or industries which may in the future become defense contractors," he said.

W. H. Ferry, vice president of the Fund for the Republic, said its president, Dr. Robert M. Hutchins, and he considered the federal program "the No. 1 priority problem" in the fund's field. The fund was set up Dec. 12, 1952, to work for "elimination of restrictions on freedom of thought, inquiry and expression in the United States," and has a $15,000 endowment.

PRELIMINARY RESEARCH

Preliminary research already has been started by the fund, and will be available to the new committee. Since Aug. 1, Walter Millis, former editorial writer and columnist for the New York Herald Tribune, has been a full-time consultant at fund headquarters, and has prepared working papers on the scope of the problem and possible methods of study.

A 101-page description of federal statutes, executive orders and regulations has been prepared for the fund by Sandra Weinstein, a graduate law student, under direction of Prof. Ralph S. Brown Jr. of the Yale Law School.

'Subversive' Groups Listed

Ale World 12/31/54

BY ARTHUR KRANISH

WASHINGTON — (INS) — The chairman of the subversive activities control board ruled the Jefferson School of Social Science in New York should register with the government as an outright Communist front—run on orders from Moscow.

Chairman Thomas J. Herbert declared that the school is the Communist party's "principal training ground" and a "vital instrument" in promoting the Red doctrine of violent revolution.

Herbert, a former Ohio governor, issued a 221 page opinion condemning the school and blasting Communist claims that "academic freedom" was threatened by the government's action.

Meanwhile, at the Justice Department, Attorney General Herbert Brownell Jr., took steps to place an additional 27 alleged "front" groups on his roster of subversive organizations.

282 PRESENT TOTAL

Brownell's action raised to 282 the total of such groups which have been listed or designated for listing. The action is intended to guide government security officers and other interested parties.

Taking up the case of the New York school, Herbert asked the full subversive board to uphold his finding that it is a Communist front and declared:

"...The Jefferson school is operated primarily to serve as a training school for the Communist party. That is how the school regards itself and its functions; and this is how it is regarded and utilized by the party."

Brownell's action gives the 27 alleged Red fronts 10 days in which to request a hearing to show why they should not be designated disloyal.

The organizations include:

Benjamin Davis Freedom Committee, New York City; Californians for the Bill of Rights, San Francisco; Civil Liberties Sponsoring Committee of Pittsburgh, Crafton, Pa.

Committee to Abolish Discrimination in Maryland, Baltimore; Committee to Defend the Rights and Freedom of Pittsburgh's Political Prisoners, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Congress of the Unemployed, Pittsburgh.

East Bay Peace Committee, Oakland, Calif.; the Elsinore Progressive League, Elsinore, Calif; Everybody's Committee to Outlaw War, Los Angeles.

Guardian Club, San Antonio, Tex.; Idaho Pension Union, Coeur D'Alene, Idaho; Independent party, Seattle, Wash.; Johnson-Forest

(Continued on Page 3 Column 6)

'Subversive'

(Continued From Page One)

Group, Detroit; [illegible] League for Common Sense, Salt Lake City, Utah; Massachusetts Committee for the Bill of Rights, Boston; Michigan Council for Peace, Detroit; National Committee to Win Amnesty for Smith Act Victims, New York City.

National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions, New York City; Peoples Programs, Seattle; People's Rights Party, New York City; Pittsburgh Arts Club, Pittsburgh; Provisional Committee on Latin American Affairs, New York City.

Puerto Rican Comite Pro Libertades Civiles, of Santurce, Peurto Rico; Queens Bridge Tenants League, Long Island, N. Y.; Syracuse Women for Peace, Syracuse, N. Y.; Trade Unions for Peace, San Francisco; United Defense Council of Southern California, Elsinore, California.

'Subversive' Brand Aim for 27 Groups

Brownell, in Security Move, Seeks To Add to List of 254

WASHINGTON, Dec. 30 (UP)—The government moved today to brand 27 more organizations as subversive and to force a New York school to register with the Justice Department as a Communist front.

Attorney General Brownell gave the 27 organizations 10 days to show they should not be placed on his list of subversive groups. The organizations are scattered through the country.

At the same time, Chairman Thomas J. Herbert of the Subversive Activities Control Board recommended the board force the Jefferson School of Social Science to register with the Justice Department as a Communist-controlled organization.

HERBERT'S CHARGE

Herbert, who presided over six months of hearings on the New York school, said the evidence showed it to be "directed, dominated and controlled by the Communist party of the United States." He said it is "primarily operated for the purpose of giving aid and support" to the party.

The school can appeal Herbert's finding to the full five-member board. If Herbert's decision is upheld after oral arguments, the organization still can appeal to the courts.

Organizations designated by the board as Communist fronts must register with the Justice Department, submit annual lists of their officers and file a financial statement.

Brownell's list of subversive organizations, to which he would add the 27 organizations, is used primarily to help government security officials determine whether a government employe is a security risk.

There are 254 organizations on the subversive list, including the Communist party and the Ku Klux Klan. Brownell has said he intends to put the National Lawyers Guild on the list.

The 27 organizations cited by Brownell are:

The Benjamin Davis Freedom Committee, New York; Californians For The Bill of Rights, San Francisco; Civil Liberties Sponsoring Committee of Pittsburgh, Crafton, Pa.; Committee To Abolish Discrimination in Maryland, Baltimore; Committee To Defend The Rights and Freedom of Pittsburgh's Political Prisoners, Pittsburgh; Congress of The Unemployed, Pittsburgh.

PEACE COMMITTEE

East Bay Peace Committee, Oakland, Calif.; The Elsinore Progressive League, Elsinore, Calif.; Everybody's Committee To Outlaw War, Los Angeles; Guardian Club, San Antonio, Tex.; Idaho Pension Union, Couer d' Alene, Idaho; The Independent Party, Seattle, Wash.; Johnson-Forest Group, Detroit; League For Common Sense, Salt Lake City, Utah; Massachusetts Committee For The Bill of Rights, Boston; Michigan Council For Peace, Detroit.

National Committee To Win Amnesty For Smith Act Victims, New York; National Council of The Arts, Sciences And Professions, New York; People's Programs, Seattle, Wash.; People's Rights Party, New York; Pittsburgh Arts Club, Pittsburgh; Professional Committee on Latin American Affairs, New York; Puerto Rican Comite Pro Libertades Civiles, Fernandez Juncos Station, Santurce, Puerto Rico.

Queens Bridge Tenants League, New York; Syracuse Women For Peace, Syracuse, N.Y.; Trade Unionists For Peace, San Francisco; The United Defense Council of Southern California, Elsinore, Calif.

MARY CHURCH TERRELL TAKES STAND FOR LAWYERS' GUILD

Says This Organization Offered Her Support When She Launched Fight Against D. C. Jim Crow

ORGANIZATION STRONG FOR CIVIL RIGHTS PROGRAM

Black Dispatch 1-9-64

WASHINGTON — (ANP) — Atty. Gen. Herbert Brownell's proposal to designate the National Lawyers Guild as a "subversive" organization was protested last week by the Coordinating Committee for the Enforcement of the D. C. Anti-Discrimination Laws.

In a letter to Brownell, Mrs. Mary Church Terrell, chairman of the committee, reviewed the part the Guild played in ending discrimination in Washington eating places.

Mrs. Terrell was one of the persons whose complaints against a local Thompson restaurant launched a test case of the District's so-called "lost" anti-discrimination laws. The case ended when the Supreme court in June upheld the vadidity of the 1873 law and so compelled District eating places to serve all well-behaved persons regardless of race.

It was the District of Columbia chapter of the Guild which issued the first legal opinion on the validity of the old statutes, Mrs. Terrell pointed out. "This opinion was signed by the late Charles B. Houston, Judge James A. Cobb, Herbert Thatcher and Joseph A. Foror as well as by other lawyers of distinction, all of whom were members of the Guild," Mrs. Terrell said.

"The Guild was also the first organization to call upon the District Commissioners to enforce the anti-discrimination acts of 1872 and 1873," she continued.

"Since the Coordinating Committee was founded," Mrs. Terrell said, "representatives of the Guild have been among the Committee's most devoted members. The Committee, without charge, legal advice and services which have been of incalcuable benefit to the Committee.

"Our experience with the Guild has convinced us that so far as being 'subversive,' it is an organization which is dedicated to democratic principles and which acts on these principles."

She pointed out that the Guild has no racial restrictions upon membership and has "stalwartly" supported the cause of racial equality.

Brownell's proposal, Mrs. Terrell warned, may induce persons and organizations "not to oppose existing practices and mores no matter how unjust they may be. For they will understand that the cost of fighting for equality may well be to incur the label 'subversive'."

She urged the attorney general to revoke his proposal.

The Coordinating Committee also sent a letter to the Hotel Association of Washington asking that their representatives be given an appointment to discuss the possibility of making lodgings available on a non-discriminatory basis.

Pointing out that some hotels have recently inaugurated a non-discriminatory policy, the letter stated "that others are still hesitant and uncertain as to when to take the step."

Sutton Hits Directors Of Highlander School

Congress Testimony Cited as Saying Monteagle Unit 'Close to Party Line'

Rep. Pat Sutton of Tennessee today released a reply he has made to a letter from Myles Horton, director of Highlander Folk School, Monteagle, Tenn., in which a witness testifying under oath before the Un-American Activities Committee is quoted as having said, "The Highlander Folk School in Monteagle, Tenn., unquestionably keeps pretty close to the party line."

The witness, Walter S. Steele, testified on July 21, 1947, and further said, according to the representative, that the school's directors, "James Dombrowski and Myles Horton, are found in the company of Red fronters."

Horton had written Sutton:

"My sister in Murfreesboro tells me that you made an Armistice Day speech sponsored by the Veterans of Foreign Wars in the town square, in which you stated that the Highlander Folk School, James Dombrowski and someone else connected with Highlander whose name she did not get, were Communists. Since you made a public statement in reference to Highlander, I am sure you would be glad to put the statement in writing," Horton wrote the representative.

Sutton then released the above request from Horton and his reply for publication.

SPEECH QUOTED

The representative replied that he had stated in his speech "it was time we joined ranks in the fight against those that do not believe in America and our Constitution, or our form of government.

"Check the record of men like James Dombrowski, Myles Horton and even the Highlander Folk School at Monteagle, Tenn., and see if it's the type school or the type men you want to teach your boys and girls," Sutton wrote Horton.

The representative then added that he felt the "people of my native Volunteer State of Tennessee should know the background of all three."

Sutton then quotes the following information "On file with the House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.":

"The school, since its inception 7,000 Southerners in residence sessions and more than 12,000 others in field extension courses. Among those who have endorsed the work of the school in the past were listed as Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, Frank Graham and Elbert Thomas.

"A leaflet of the school advertising the 1939 winter term, claims the purpose of the Highlander Folk School is to promote the progressive labor movement in the South.

CITED AS SUBVERSIVE

"A list of the 1947-1948 officers of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare names James Dombrowski as an administrator of that organization. At the April, 1942, sessions of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, James Dombrowski was elected executive secretary. He was the signer of a statement defending the Communist Party in March, 1941, and a speaker for the National Conference for Constitutional Liberties in 1940. The latter organization has been cited as subversive and Communistic by Atty.-Gen. Biddle.

"Dombrowski, together with Myles Horton, a member of the present board of representatives of the conference, helped launch a joint Socialist-Communist united front movement in the South in 1935. As Socialist Party leaders in Tennessee, the two men endorsed a united-front plan of action which included campaigns against AAA and for a rank and file movement in the American Federation of Labor.

"They both have been charged with operating as stooges for the Communist Party within Socialist circles.

"The Southern Conference for Human Welfare has been cited as a communist-front organization which received money from the Robert Marshall Foundation, one of the principal sources of funds by which many Communist fronts operate.

"The organization seeks to at-

People's Institute of Applied Religion, Inc., dated Jan. 1, 1948, as a member of the International Board, a member of the Southern Committee, and a sponsor of that group. (The People's Institute was cited subversive and Communist by Atty. Gen. Tom Clark.)

"James A. Dombrowski was a member of the advisory board of the Southern Negro Youth Congress, as shown on letterheads of that organization. The Southern Negro Youth Congress is "surreptitiously controlled" by the Young Communist League. It was cited as subversive and Communist by Atty. Gen. Tom Clark.

"On March 5, 1941, Page 2, the Communist Daily Worker printed a full page spread of the names of several hundred persons who defended the Communist Party against alleged persecution. The name of James Dombrowski, Monteagle, Tenn., was signed to the statement.

"Fortnightly magazine for Aug. 15, 1937, Page 3, disclosed that James Dombrowski, secretary, Highlander Folk School, has endorsed the reorganization plan for Commonwealth College. Commonweath College, Mena, Ark., was listed as Communist by Atty. Gen. Tom Clark.

"The Daily Worker of Feb. 1, 1952, page 2, named Dr. James A. Dombrowski of New Orleans as one of the sponsors of the American Peace Crusade; the "Call for Peace and Freedom" named him as one of the sponsors of the "Crusade's American People's Congress and Exposition for Peace" which was held in Chicago, June 29-July 1, 1951.

"The American Peace Crusade has been cited as an organization which the Communists established as a new instrument for their peace offensive in the United States and which was heralded by the Daily Worker with the usual bold headlines reserved for projects in line with Communist objectives.

"The printed program of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, Nov. 20-23, 1938, reveals the name of Myles Horton as a speaker at that conference; it also identified Myles Horton as a member of the Southern Council of the organization and the committee on resolutions. He also spoke at a conference of the groups which was held in 1940 In both sources, Horton was identified as director of the Highlander Folk School, Monteagle, Tenn.

"In 1947-1948, Myles Horton was a member of the board of representatives of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, according to the organization's publication, The Southern Patriot, for

The representative replied that he had stated in his speech "it was time we joined ranks in the fight against those that do not believe in America and our Constitution, or our form of government.

"Check the record of men like James Dombrowski, Myles Horton and even the Highlander Folk School at Monteagle, Tenn., and see if it's the type school or the type men you want to teach your boys and girls," Sutton wrote Horton.

The representative then added that he felt the "people of my native Volunteer State of Tennessee should know the background of all three."

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"The school, since its inception 7,000 Southerners in residence sessions and more than 12,000 others in field extension courses. Among those who have endorsed the work of the school in the past were listed as Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, Frank Graham and Elbert Thomas.

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"Dombrowski, together with Myles Horton, a member of the present board of representatives of the conference, helped launch a joint Socialist-Communist united front movement in the South in 1935. As Socialist Party leaders in Tennessee, the two men endorsed a united-front plan of action which included campaigns against AAA and for a rank and file movement in the American Federation of Labor.

"They both have been charged with operating as stooges for the Communist Party within Socialist circles.

"The Southern Conference for Human Welfare has been cited as a communist-front organization which received money from the Robert Marshall Foundation, one of the principal sources of funds by which many Communist fronts operate.

"The organization seeks to attract Southern liberals on the basis of its seeming interest in the problems of the South, although its professed interest in southern welfare is simply an expedient for larger aims serving the Soviet Union and its subservient Communist Party in the United States.

BACKERS LISTED

Walter S. Steele in his testimony listed members of the executive council of the Highlander Folk School as William H. Crawford of the CIO Steel Workers Union, district director; Edward F. Gallahan, vice president, Hosiery Workers Union; Paul R. Christopher, CIO regional director, Tennessee; James Dombrowski, listed as secretary of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare; Charles Gillman, CIO regional director, Georgia; Carey Haigler, CIO regional director, Alabama; Lucy Randolph Mason, CIO public relations director; George Mitchell, regional director CIO-PAC; Hollis Reid, legislative board of locomotive firemen; Thomas Sterling, director, region 8, Auto Workers Union, CIO; Aubrey Williams, organizing director of regional Farmers Union and publisher of Southern Farmer.

The information from the files of the House of Representatives as given by Sutton continues:

"A letterhead of the American Committee for Protection of the Foreign Born, dated Dec. 11-12, 1948, contains the name of James A. Dombrowski in a list of sponsors of the organization, "one of the oldest auxiliaries of the Communist Party in the United States." (Cited as subversive and Communist by Atty. Gen. Tom Clark.)

"The name of Dr. James Dombrowski, identified with the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, appears on a letterhead of the People's Institute of Applied Religion, Inc., dated Jan. 1, 1948, as a member of the International Board, a member of the Southern Committee, and a sponsor of that group. (The People's Institute was cited subversive and Communist by Atty. Gen. Tom Clark.)

"James A. Dombrowski was a member of the advisory board of the Southern Negro Youth Congress, as shown on letterheads of that organization. The Southern Negro Youth Congress is "surreptitiously controlled" by the Young Communist League. It was cited as subversive and Communist by Atty. Gen. Tom Clark.

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"The American Peace Crusade has been cited as an organization which the Communists established as a new instrument for their peace offensive in the United States and which was heralded by the Daily Worker with the usual bold headlines reserved for projects in line with Communist objectives.

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"In 1947-1948, Myles Horton was a member of the board of representatives of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, according to the organization's publication, The Southern Patriot, for Dec. 1946, page 8.

"John P. Frey, in public hearings in a sworn statement before the special committee on Un-American Activities, testified in a report given the committee:

"Elizabeth Hawes, Alton Lawrence, Myles Horton: These three people have been in the past, and probably are now, paid organizers for the Textile Workers Organization committee. They have been active in racial work in the South and a few days ago attended a secret convention in North Carolina, at which time plans were made for spreading the revolutionary theories throughout the South.

"In connection with this we might mention that the Highlander Folk School, Monteagle, Tenn., was mixed up in this secret convention, in which three CIO organizers took a very prominent part."

Frey is president of the Metal Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor.

Lynchburg News 1/25/59

Offers Information

To the Editor of The News:

Sir: I'm very sorry to hear that a number of prominent Lynchburg citizens have associated their names with an organization of such dubious respectability as the Virginia Council on Human Relations.

After some research I have uncovered some information which may be of interest to your readers.

It is a well known fact that the Virginia Council on Human Relations admits to being affiliated with the Southern Regional Council. The Augusta Courier of Oct. 17, 1955 has this to say, "We have uncovered the startling fact that—a total of 24 high officials of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare are now on the Board of Directors of the Southern Regional Council." Senator James O. Eastland of Mississippi in his speech to the Senate on May 26, 1955, said, 'By the Special Committee the Conference for Human Welfare was cited as a Communist front organization."

The Richmond Times-Dispatch of Nov. 3, 1955, said, "The Council (Va. Council on Human Relations) is one of 12 existing in as many Southern states." Perhaps you may wonder where the Va. Council and the Southern Regional Council are getting their money? The Grass Roots League, Inc. Research Bulletin No. 2, Oct. 1, 1954 gives this information: "The Southern Regional Council of Atlanta is conducting racial integration propaganda among church and other groups, and recently has received a $240,000 grant from the 'Fund of the Republic.' "

An article in Facts Forum, Nov. 1955 by Russell Turner, staff assistant to Fulton Lewis Jr., sheds light on the activities of the Ford's Fund for the Republic. "The evidence, accumulated during the fund's 2½ years of actual operation, shows conclusively to gullibles that the domestic Communist menace is and always has been a myth, to stop any effective investigations of Red operations and influences, and to smother anti-communism wherever it may crop up."

Thus we have the Virginia Council on Human Relations, an affiliate of and receiving support from the Southern Regional Council which according to the Augusta Courier had at least 24 of its high officials formerly belonging to the Southern Council on Human Relations which was cited as Communist-front by the Un-American Activities Committee and which receives its money from the Fund of the Republic—now being investigated by the Senate.

Perhaps this information about these dubious interlocking organizations will make the good people of Lynchburg think twice before joining or giving support to the Virginia Council on Human Relations.

ANN SYDNOR HOSKINS
Richmond.

VIA AIR MAIL

January 27, 1959

Dr. J. Kenneth Moreland
Department of Sociology
Randolph Macon Women's College
Lynchburg, Virginia

Dear Dr. Moreland:

Following a telephone conversation with Paul Rilling this afternoon, we are sending to you and to him the enclosed materials. I believe these will answer the recent charges made against SRC. If I understand correctly the nature of the attack, you will find especially helpful the material in the answer to the "Firing Line." In this answer note especially the Atlanta Constitution editorial on persons associated with the SCHW. Several past and present SRC board members were at one time board members of SCHW - as indeed were many other outstanding Southerners. It is not correct, however, that when the SCHW was dissolved twenty-four members of the SCHW came to SRC. At your convenience we would be grateful for copies of the attack, answers you prepare, and other pertinent material. We can copy and return to you any material which you might find difficult to reproduce.

It may also be helpful to identify persons against whom these charges are made. It is one thing to refer to numbers, another to list by name some of the South's most outstanding religious leaders, educators, editors, and the like.

If we can be of additional help, please call on us. If time and the situation require, feel perfectly free to place a collect call to us.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf
Enclosures

cc: Mr. Paul Rilling

Encls sent: Hodding Carter Editorial, Delta-Democrat Times, August 25, 1957

News and Courier Editorial, June 25, 1957
"SRC AND RED RECORDS"
Thomas Waring

HCF ltr. of reply to Waring, June 28, 1957

Copy of Francis E. Walter's ltr. to Geo. Mitchell, Aug. 30, 1956

appeared in the Lynchburg News
Sunday, Feb. 1, 1959

1511 Arrow St.
Lynchburg, Va.
January 28, 1959

The Editor
Lynchburg News
Lynchburg, Va.

Dear Sir:

In the January 25 edition of the Lynchburg News there appeared a letter from Ann Sydnor Hoskins of Richmond advising us in Lynchburg against the Virginia Council on Human Relations. She criticized the Virginia Council's connection with its parent organization, the Southern Regional Council (SRC), implying that the SRC was communistic. I want to assure Mrs. Hoskins that those of us who established the Lynchburg Chapter of the Virginia Council have looked very carefully into our affiliation and that we have found the reputation of the Virginia Council and the SRC to be above reproach.

The chief difficulty with the research Mrs. Hoskins undertook on the SRC was that most of her sources are highly biased. For example, the Augusta Courier that she quoted from is a personal publication of a politician, Roy Harris. It promotes his point of view and is not a community newspaper dedicated to an impartial presentation of the news. I refer her to more reliable sources. She should write to Washington to the House Un-American Activities Committee or to the Office of the Attorney General. They will write her that the loyalty of the SRC is beyond question.

She could utilize reliable sources closer at hand by telephoning Virginius Dabney, editor of the Richmond Times-Dispatch. On August 21, 1958, Mr. Dabney wrote an editorial in the Times-Dispatch entitled, "A Race Agency and the Facts," in which he completely vindicated the SRC of the kind of false charges implied in Mrs. Hoskins' quotation from the Augusta Courier.

Mrs. Hoskins implied that by receiving money from the Fund for the Republic the SRC had been put in a questionable position. Does she not know that the Fund for the Republic has also given money to committees and organizations within the Methodist Church, the Southern Baptist Convention, the Catholic Committee of the South, the Southern Presbyterians, the Disciples of Christ, the Americans Friends, the National Council of Churches, the YMCA and the YWCA? On the other hand, is she not aware that the SRC has received money from many different sources, including the Woman's Division of Christian Service of the Methodist Church, the National Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church, the Committee on Woman's Work of the Presbyterian Church in the US, and numerous business firms?

It is true that the Fund for the Republic was investigated by a Congressional committee a few years ago, as were a number of other philanthropic organizations, but no trace of disloyalty was found and the investigation was soon ended.

If Mrs. Hoskins wants to find out about the nature of the Virginia Council itself, she can do so by telephoning a number of prominent Richmond citizens who are members of the Board of Directors of the Virginia Council.

I suggest that she call these three: Mrs. Theodore F. Adams, whose husband is pastor of the First Baptist Church in Richmond and president of the World Baptist Alliance; the Very Reverend Monsignor J. L. Flaherty, Superintendent of Parochial Schools of the Catholic Diocese of Richmond; Dr. Rachel Henderlite of the Presbyterian Assembly's Training School. They could clarify her mistaken notions about the Council.

Mrs. Hoskins can be reassured by what the Virginia Council and its local affiliates stand for, since our program is the antithesis of totalitarian communism. (1) We believe, above all, in the worth of every individual. For most of us, this stems from belief in the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. In contrast, the communists believe that the individual is the tool of the state, and they do not believe in God.

(2) We believe that all Americans should have equal opportunities for self-development. Communists set up a party elite which takes over all privileges for itself.

(3) We believe in free speech, free discussion, and free association. Communists smear and suppress all who disagree with them.

(4) We believe in government by law and in change that comes slowly and without violence. Communists utilize violence and any other means to attain their ends.

So, Mrs. Hoskins, and any other friends of hers in Richmond who are worried about us, may rest assured that we in the Lynchburg Chapter of the Virginia Council do know what we are doing and that we are devoted to the highest ideals of American democracy.

Sincerely yours,

Kenneth Morland

Lynchburg

Lynchburg News Feb. 15, 1959

"Documented Facts"

To the Editor of The News,

Sir: In the polemic which has been in progress regarding the status of the Virginia Council on Human Relations, and specifically in an editorial which appeared in The News under date of Feb. 2, 1959, entitled, "The Situation In Richmond," you make the following statement: "Both the moderates and the extremists are speaking up more freely, even though some of it is by indirection, such as attacks on the Lynchburg Chapter of the Virginia Council on Human Relations, an organization fully cleared by investigations as set forth in a letter in Sunday's News by Mr. Kenneth Morland, and by others, though the attacks continue—continue but without documentation carrying any weight."

Tch! Tch! Tch! Mr. Editor, surely you cannot fatuously ignore and reject the documented facts as presented by Ann Sydnor Hoskins, which facts stand unrefuted! "Truth tells twice!" You have printed replies to her letter wherein oblique attacks have been made on persons mentioned (a Communist technique by the way) but any refutation of the facts, "no!" The fact still remains that the Southern Reginal Council, with whom the Virginia Council on Human Relations is affiliated appears on every Communist front list.

In "Masters of Deceit," authored by J. Edgar Hoover, a whole chapter is devoted to the high sounding titles of subversive fronts, and we are especially warned to 'beware of Greeks bringing gifts' as it were — organizations bearing titles such as Freedom, Peace, Fellowship, Conciliation, etc., etc., etc., spurious coinage all!

On June 12, 1957, Dr. Bella Dodd, formerly a professor at Hunter College, New York, who was for many years a member of the Committee of the Communist party, USA, was a sworn witness before the Internal Security Committee. Here the following soliloquy took place:

Senator Jenner: Dr. Dodd what is your honest opinion as to whether or not the Communist party is gaining, standing still, or losing ground in America. I know where it is in the world, but in America.

Dr. Dodd: I think that the Communist party is gaining at an alarming rate. I think that the Communist party is not gaining this under the lable of Communists, but by having its operators operate under many different lables, under many different titles. But the people who were known to me as either party members or associates of the party are moving to important positions in policy making, both on the industrial level, on the communications level, and on the governmental level.

In "Masters of Deceit," above mentioned, Mr. Hoover listed the various types of Communists: the Active, the Hidden, the Fellow-travelers, and the Dupes. I feel confident that the good people of Lynchburg will enlighten themselves as to the sinister intentions of the Virginia Council on Human Relations, and will at the same time take a leaf from Gilette Burgess' book, "The Goops and how not to be them."

BEATRICE C. GAIR

Richmond.

(Mrs. Gair seems not to understand the meaning of her phrase "Documented Facts."—Ed.)

LYNCHBURG NEWS 2/27/59

Against Smear Tactics

To the Editor of The News,

Sir: A letter to the Lynchburg News on Feb. 15, 1959, signed by Beatrice C. Gair of Richmond, shows the extent to which some persons will go in trying to discredit an organization with whose policies they disagree. Instead of dealing with differences of opinion forthrightly in the American tradition of honesty and fair play, Mrs. Gair and others who have attacked the Virginia Council on Human Relations resort to innuendo, smear, and even to untruth. For example, without bothering to cite a shred of evidence, Mrs. Gair makes the reckless charge: ". . . the Southern Regional Council, with whom the Virginia Council is affiliated, appears on every Communist front list." That this is an outright falsehood can be readily checked by looking at the lists of Communist front organizations prepared by the United States government. The Southern Regional Council is not and never has been on the lists of the House Un-American Activities Committee or of the Attorney General. Before me is a photostat of a letter to the Executive Director of the SRC signed by Congressman Francis E. Walter, Chairman of the Committee on Un-American Activities during the 84th Congress. Mr. Walter says: "The Southern Regional Council has not been cited as subversive or un-American by this committee nor by the Attorney General." Thus, in attempting to defame the SRC, Mrs. Gair indirectly is impugning the integrity and competence of the Un-American Activities Committee, the Attorney General of the United States, and the FBI whose records are utilized by both. Furthermore, Mrs. Gair is in direct conflict with Mr. Virginius Dabney, editor of the Richmond Times-Dispatch. On Aug. 21, 1958, Mr. Dabney wrote an editorial entitled, "A Race Agency and the Facts," in which he emphasized the loyalty and high caliber of the leadership of the SRC.

And just who is Mrs. Gair calling "communistic"? Among the founders of the SRC are Bishop Arthur J. Moore of the Methodist Church, Archbishop Gerald P. O'Hara of the Catholic Church, Bishop John Moore Walker of the Protestant Episcopal Church, and a number of other outstanding Americans. The names of these founders, along with the highest praise for the SRC, are available for all Americans to read in the Congressional Record of the 85th Congress (July 26, 1957). The four presidents of the SRC since its founding in 1944 have been: Dr. Howard Odum, beloved professor at the University of North Carolina and nationally known scholar; Mr. Paul D. Williams, prominent Catholic layman of Richmond and a Knight of St. Gregory; Mr. Marion A. Wright, South Carolina attorney and past president of the University of South Carolina Alumni Association; Mr. James McBride Dabbs, South Carolina planter and author and an outstanding Presbyterian layman. Mrs. Gair's statement implying that such distinguished Americans are subversive is irresponsible indeed!

Perhaps Mrs. Gair's false accusation is made from ignorance, although she has ready access to public records. It is also possible to conclude that she is simply opposed to the democratic approach of the SRC to human relations and therefore wants to discredit it, by whatever means she can. But those of us who do believe in the principles of democracy can take great pride in the distinguished leadership of the SRC and in its splendid achievements in bettering human relations in the South.

KENNETH MORLAND

Lynchburg.

February 25, 1959

VIA AIR MAIL

Dr. Kenneth Moreland
Randolph-Macon College
Lynchburg, Virginia

Dear Ken:

Some time back our Administrative Assistant, Paul Anthony, sent you a raft of material defending the Council against spurious charges occasionally leveled against it and repeated in a Lynchburg paper following Mr. Dabbs' speech there.

Would you please send us a copy of the original attack on the Council, a copy of the answer you prepared, and a copy of how it appeared in the paper. We need this for our files. We seek to keep track of every attack on the Council for the die-hard segregationists have a habit of quoting articles or letters to the editor which they have sent in new attacks.

Best personal regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls

Criticisms - Lynchburg

RANDOLPH-MACON WOMAN'S COLLEGE
LYNCHBURG, VIRGINIA

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY AND ANTHROPOLOGY

February 28, 1959

Mr. Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Fred:

I sent copies of two attacks on the Virginia Council and my replies to Mr. Paul Anthony. The carbon of my reply is exactly the same as it appeared in print in the Lynchburg News.

Since writing Mr. Anthony, I have found a copy of a reply sent by one of our members, Miss Mildred Munday. Unfortunately, this is the only copy of her letter I have, so I would like to have it returned eventually.

Tomorrow is Sunday, the day for letters to appear, and we hope that no additional attacks will be printed. However, these letters have given us publicity and aroused the interest of a number of people. I shall keep you informed of any other developments.

It is unnecessary to tell you this, I am sure, but I did want to let you know what a splendid job Paul Rilling is doing for the Virginia Council. We could not have secured a better person, and we are grateful for the SRC's recommendation.

Sincerely,

Ken

Kenneth Morland

RANDOLPH-MACON WOMAN'S COLLEGE
LYNCHBURG, VIRGINIA

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY AND ANTHROPOLOGY

February 28, 1959

Mr. Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Inclosed are copies of the exchange about the Virginia Council and SRC in letters to the editor of the Lynchburg News. I had hoped to obtain another copy of my letter which appeared on February 1st, but have not done so. Paul Rilling has a copy of this as it appeared in the paper and could have it duplicated if you wish. The carbon copy is the only one that I have, and I would like for it to be returned.

Your material proved most timely and valuable, as you can see from my replies. I appreciate your sending it so promptly. Just when I was ready to mail you the first exchange of letters another appeared criticising the SRC and the Virginia Council on February 15. Last Sunday I wrote a reply to the Feb. 15 letter. Another member of the local council also replied to both the Hoskins and Gair letters, and I shall ask her to send you copies.

We realize that the answering of letters can be over-done. But in this community where so few people know about our local group, the Virginia Council, and the SRC, we thought it would be wise to clarify the purposes and policies of our organization. We have used these letters as means of making positive assertions about the Lynchburg Council as well as answering the charges. As a result, a number of persons telephoned that they wanted to become members of our group.

Again, I appreciate your help in this matter.

Sincerely yours,

J. Kenneth Morland

J. Kenneth Morland, President
Lynchburg Chapter of the Virginia
Council on Human Relations

JKM:e

Humon Relations, has never been the subject of any hearing before this committee." Mr. Richard Arens, Staff Director of this committee, confirmed this in a separate letter dated Feb. 10th. If the SRC was "cleared" it wasn't by this committee.

In answer to my letter to the FBI, Mr. J. Edgar Hoover wrote on Feb. 12th that the function of the FBI was only to collect information and not to evaluate it, and "for these reasons," he ended, "the information which you received that the organization mentioned in your letter had been cleared by the FBI is incorrect."

On Feb. 10th, I received the following communication from the chairman of the Internal Security Committee.

"Dear Mrs. Hoskins:

"The Southern Regional Council, Inc. has not been cited as subversive or Communist by the Attorney General.

"The Southern Regional Council, Inc. has been the subject of a comprehensive memorandum which has appeared in the Firing Line, published and distributed by the National Americanism Commission of the American Legion, P.O. Box 1055, Indianapolis, Ind., dated May 15, 1957. This memorandum shows that the Southern Regional Council, Inc. was founded in January 1944 as a successor to the Commission On Interracial Cooperation, Inc. The Southern Regional Council, Inc. was identified as a Southern Red front by Manning Johnson, former member of the Communist Party, in his testimony on March 8, 1957 before the State of Louisiana Legislative Committee On Segregation. The Firing Line report of April 15, 1957 also revealed testimony before the State of Louisiana Legislative Committee On Segregation which reflected that the Southern Regional Council, Inc. was formed by James E. Jackson, a southern organizer of the Communist Party.'

"Records of the American Legion reveal a definite trend of relationship between the Southern Regional Council, Inc. and the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, which has been cited as subversive by the House Committee on Un-American Activities. According to the files of the National Americanism Commission of the American Legion, 16 former directors of the Southern Regional Conference have been supporters of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. These files also reflect that nine current Southern Regional Conference directors have been affiliated with the Southern Conference for Human Welfare.

"Sincerely yours,
"JAMES O. EASTLAND,
Chairman
"Internal Security
Subcommittee"

It can be seen from the above that the SRC has not been "cleared" by official committees of the government, while other committees make grave charges against this organization. Further, it is an established fact that the long-time executive director of the SRC, Dr. George Mitchell, was also a high official of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare and the Highlander Folk School, both Communist-fronts according to the House Un-American Activities Committee and the Georgia Commission on Education respectively.

Again I plead with the citizens of Lynchburg to beware of wolves in sheep's clothing and to investigate carefully before allying themselves with the Southern Regional Council and its affiliate —the Virginia Council on Human Relations.

ANN SYDNOR HOSKINS
Richmond.

Council On Human Relations

The Editor of The News:

Sir: On Jan. 25th you published a letter of mine which gave documented facts about the Virginia Council on Human Relations. The News carried an editorial on Feb. 2nd stating that the council had been "fully cleared by investigations," and also a letter by a Dr. Kenneth Morland which suggested that I write to the House Unamerican Activties Committee and that they would tell me that the "loyalty of the Souhern Regional Council is beyond question."

I did as he directed and wrote Congressman Tuck of the Unamerican Activities Committee requesting information, and received a reply on Feb. 9th in which he said: "The Southern Regional Council and its state affiliate, the Virginia Council on

Lynchburg News
MAR. 8, 1959

Opinions Of Others

Lynchburg News, Mar. 15, 1959

Human Relations . . . Appomattox

Human Relations

To the Editor of The News,

Sir: In the March 8th issue of The News Ann Sydnor Hoskins of Richmond renewed her attack on the Virginia Council on Human Relations (VCHR) by attempting to prove that its parent organization, the Southern Regional Council (SRC) is communistic. Her letter was long and involved, and it requires a lengthy answer.

To begin, Mrs. Hoskins makes the absurd claim that since the SRC has never been "cleared" by the House Un-American Activities Committee, the Attorney General, and the FBI, it must therefore be "subversive." Using her yardstick, we would have to declare almost every organization in America "subversive." For example, the Rotary Club, the Daughters of the American Revolution, and the Methodist Church have never been "cleared" by these governmental agencies. Would Mrs. Hoskins have us believe that they are consequently "subversive?"

Evidently, Mrs. Hoskins is not aware of the function of the House Un-American Activities Committee, the Attorney General, and the FBI in regard to such organizations. These governmental agencies do not go around "clearing" every organization in America. Rather, they warn us about those organizations that are subversive and un-American. The crux of the matter is, then, have these agencies ever said that the SRC was in any way subversive? The answer is they have not! I asked the House Un-American Activities Committee about the SRC, and I received the following reply, dated Feb. 27, 1959, from Richard Arens, Staff Director of the Committee:

"Dear Mr. Morland: In reply to your letter of Feb. 24 concerning the Southern Regional Council, it has never been cited as a subversive organization by this Committee or by any other Federal authority, nor has any reference been made to it in the Committee's publications."

Now this puts Mrs. Hoskins in a strange position. She considers the SRC subversive and communistic while none of our responsible governmental agencies do. Does this mean that she does not believe in the integrity and the competence of the House Un-American Activities Committee (of which Congressman William M. Tuck of Virginia is a member), the Attorney General, and the FBI? Those of us who have organized the Lynchburg Chapter of the VCHR do believe in their integrity and competence. We are sure that they have all the information that Mrs. Hoskins has and more. If they had any reason to question the loyalty of the SRC during its fifteen years of existence, they would certainly have done so. Since they have not, we can be sure that the SRC is loyal.

As long as one has faith in our official governmental agencies, none of the additional charges Mrs. Hoskins made against the SRC carry any weight. However, for the purpose of showing the way she "documents" her "facts," Let us look at them. She quoted a letter from Senator Eastland, who, in turn, quoted from the Firing Line, published by the National Americanism Commission of the American Legion in Indianapolis. This paper said that Manning Johnson, an ex-Communist, said that the SRC was communistic. Manning's testimony has been repudiated by the Department of Justice and the Subversive Activities Control Board. If his testimony had been found to be true, the Attorney General would have cited the SRC as subversive. But as Senator Eastland said (and I quote from Mrs. Hoskins' letter), "The Southern Regional Council, Inc., has not been cited as subversive or Communist by the Attorney General."

The Firing Line is also quoted as saying ". . . the Southern Regional Council, Inc., was formed by James E. Jackson, a southern organizer of the Communist party." That this is an outright falsehood can be seen from the many public records listing the names of the 16 persons involved in organizing the SRC. It was not formed by one person, nor was James E. Jackson among the 16. Virginius Dabney, Editor of the Richmond Times-Dispatch, in an editorial on Aug. 21, 1958, speaks forthrightly on this point. "James E. Jackson did not participate in the meetings of white and Negro leaders in 1943 and 1944 which led to the establishment of the Southern Regional Council, and he was not at any time an officer, director, or member of that agency." It is evident that the Firing Line was misinformed.

Among the many public records in which a description of the origins of the SRC can be found is the Congressional Record of the 85th Congress (July 26, 1957). Listed as founders of the SRC are such prominent Southerners as: Goodrich C. White, President of Emory University; Ralph McGill, Editor of the Atlanta Constitution; Bishop Arthur J. Moore of the Methodist Church; the Most Rev. Gerald P. O'Hara, Bishop of Savannah-Atlanta; Bishop John Moore Walker of the Protestant Episcopal Church; Dr. Rufus Clement, President of Atlanta University; Dr. Charles S. Johnson, President of Fisk University. And Mrs. Hoskins would have us believe that persons of this caliber formed a subversive organization!

Mrs. Hoskins again brings up the question of the relationship between the SRC and the Southern Conference for Human Welfare (SCHW). She employs the spurious "guilt-by-association" technique by saying that some supporters of the SCHW later became directors of the SRC. Virginius Dabney, in the editorial referred to above, deals with this point also: "We must remember that when the Southern Conference for Human Welfare was established in 1938, it was not suspected of having any Communist connections, and many well-intentioned and patriotic Southerners participated in its early meetings. A number of these later joined the Southern Regional Council when they discovered the true purposes of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare." In other words, those who left the SCHW to join the SRC did so because they did not approve of the direction the SCHW was taking! And they were among those who helped to expose the SCHW.

Who were these former SCHW members whose presence on the board of the SRC is supposed to have infected it with subversion? Typical among them were: Dr. George E. Clary, Executive Secretary of the Southeastern Jurisdiction of the Methodist Church; Mr. Herbert Davidson, Editor and Publisher of the Daytona Beach News and Journal; Dr. John M. Ellison, Chancellor of Virginia Union University; the late Howard W. Odum, nationally famous scholar and teacher at the University of North Carolina; Bishop Edwin A. Penick of the Episcopal diocese of Raleigh, N. C. Mrs. Hoskins would condemn the SRC because such distinguished persons have served on its board!

In concluding her letter, Mrs. Hoskins refers to the SRC and the VCHR as "wolves in sheep's clothing." It is especially unfortunate that she would stoop to this language to describe such prominent and loyal Southerners. We have already seen the caliber of persons founding and directing the SRC: bishops of the Catholic, Episcopal, and Methodist churches; editors of newspapers; college presidents and teachers. Who are some of the present members of the Board of Directors of the VCHR that Mrs. Hoskins would have us believe are "wolves"? They include such prominent Virginians as: Dr. David C. Wilson of the University of Virginia Medical School; the Most Rev. Joseph H. Hodges, Bishop of the Catholic Diocese of Richmond; Mrs. Grellet C. Simpson, wife of the Chancellor of Mary Washington College; Dr. Frank Daniel, Charlottesville physician; Dr. Alonzo G. Moron, President of Hampton Institute; Dr. Belle Boone Beard, teacher at Sweet Briar and trustee of Lynchburg College; the Rev. Dr. Walter Russell Bowie, Episcopal Theological Seminary, Alexandria; Mrs. Theodore F. Adams, wife of the president of the Baptist World Alliance; Mr. Thomas W. Young, President and General Manager of the Norfolk Journal and Guide.

It is hard to believe that Mrs. Hoskins would knowingly refer to such outstanding Virginians in such a derogatory manner, and it is hoped that these facts will enlighten her.

Mrs. Hoskins has asked the citizens of Lynchburg to believe that the VCHR and the SRC are subversive because of her "documented facts." Her "facts" are based on the discredited testimony of an ex-Communist and a misinformed article in the Firing Line. On the other side of the issue, attesting to the loyalty of the SRC and the VCHR, are Virginius Dabney, one of the foremost editors in Virginia; the integrity and competence of the FBI, the House Un-American Activities Committee, and the Attorney General; and the large number of highly prominent Southerners who direct the SRC and the VCHR. Those of us who live in Lynchburg will have no trouble in deciding what to believe regarding the loyalty of these organizations. We can distinguish fact from distortion, good reputation from attempted smear, democracy from totalitarianism. The VCHR, including its Lynchburg affiliate, will continue to grow as long as there are Virginians who believe in the worth and dignity of every individual, in the equality of opportunity for all, in free speech and fair play, and in making democracy work more effectively in human relations.

KENNETH MORLAND
Lynchburg.

(See editorial comment on this page.—Ed.).

Human Relations

Sir: I reply to your editorial of Sunday, February 15, 1959 as well as to some of your thinking on The Council for Human Relations.

You never come right out and endorse integration in print but you endorse and commend organizations that do, such as "The Brotherhood of Catholic-Jews and Protestants," The Council for Human Relations and The Virginia Council of Churches. I know that the Brotherhood and the Virginia Council of Church Women have held inter-racial meetings here in our city. From information I have on the Council for Human Relations, they too are an inter-racial organization.

As a Virginian and a citizen of Lynchburg, I think I, as well as other people in Lynchburg, would like to know the answers to several questions. Either you or the officers of these organiza-

See FORUM Pg. 3, Col. 1

The News

ESTABLISHED 1866

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NOTE:
Please notify the Circulation Department of any delay or irregularity in delivery of newspapers.

Letters To The Editor

The letter to the editor on this page today, from Kenneth Morland, is given unusual space because letters attacking the Lynchburg chapter of the Virginia Council on Human Relations and the Southern Regional Conference have been many, persistent, with no documentation of value, and the Morland letter should be sufficiently conclusive to end the argument. Therefore The News will carry no more letters on the subject after today, especially because of the easily discernible fact that most of the opposition is from outside of Lynchburg, is part of a propaganda-smear campaign not founded upon any information or support of value, and tends deliberately to be disruptive of the excellent human relations existing in and characteristic of Lynchburg.

In next year's census, citizens will fill out the questionnaires themselves, instead of being counted by a poll taker. It will be interesting to see just how many people the neighborhood big shot thinks he is.

Return to FBR

LWD has clipping!

Randolph-Macon Woman's College
Lynchburg, Va.
March 17, 1959

Dr. Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 423, Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Fred:

Inclosed is a copy of my reply to the Hoskins' letter that I sent earlier. Thanks to our Editor, this debate has been brought to a close. His editorial put a stop to any further exchange, I dread to think what might have happendd if the editor had been sympathetic toward Mrs. Hoskins' attempted smear.

As you can see, I have relied heavily on the materials Paul Anthony sent. Without them I would have had a very hard time, indeed.

Last night our four-college intercollegiate group met, and I told them about Panel of Americans. They seemed genuinely interested and believed that we could form one or more panels among the four colleges.

Sincerely,

Ken

Kenneth Morland

P.S. I have additional copies of this, so don't bother to send it back —

March 18, 1959

Dr. Kenneth Morland
Randolph-Macon Woman's College
Lynchburg, Virginia

Dear Dr. Morland:

In Fred's absence from the office, let me say a word of appreciation for your thorough and effective handling of the attacks on the SRC and the Virginia Council. I have never seen it better done. And I am conscious of the time and trouble this running controversy must be taking.

The latest eruption from Miss Hoskins is interesting, if unpleasant. Following are a few rebuttal points that might be worth considering:

(1) The fact that SRC and the VCHR "have never been the subject of any hearing" before the House Un-American Activities Committee is, in itself, pretty good evidence. The Committee within recent months held hearings in Atlanta to investigate Communism in the South; the SRC was not so much as mentioned. This, plus the fact that the SRC has never been cited by the Committee, surely indicates that there is no question about the organization's Americanism.

(2) Eastland is, of course, correct in saying that the SRC has never been cited by the

Attorney General -- fairly reasonable evidence of "clearance." The charges Eastland quotes from "The Firing Line" are the same ones that have been so thoroughly discredited and refuted by the Times-Dispatch, among others. If Eastland believes these charges, he has been curiously derelict as chairman of his Senate committee. For he held hearings in Memphis several years ago on "Communism in the mid-South" and gave no attention whatever to the SRC or any of the state groups associated with it. These hearings were held after the "Firing Line" charges had been made and widely disseminated. Thus by his actions, if not his letter to Miss Hoskins, he has confirmed the assumption that the SRC is "cleared." This is an inference that should carry some weight, since Eastland has shown no inhibition about linking interracialists with Communism whenever he can find any pretext for doing so.

(3) It is true that the F.B.I. does not publicly clear anybody. But, again, strong inferences can be drawn. Mr. Marion A. Wright, past-president and current vice-president of SRC, was recently appointed to the North Carolina Advisory Committee to the Civil Rights Commission. Security clearance (handled by the F.B.I.) is required for such appointees. Obviously if the SRC had any pro-Communist taint, no such clearance would have been given to one of its most prominent officials. Other officers and board members of the SRC have also received government appointments requiring such clearance.

I don't know how worthwhile it would be to go into a detailed discussion of George Mitchell's past relationship with Highlander Folk School. Perhaps the most succinct defense is that Highlander's tax-exemption was restored by the Internal Revenue Service last year, after the Georgia Education Commission's sweeping allegations were made public. It is inconceivable that the Internal Revenue Service would reaffirm the tax-exempt status of an organization believed by Federal authorities to be subversive.

Again, our thanks for your effective leadership in Lynchburg and in Virginia generally.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

P. S. Since this was written, your latest letter to Fred and the enclosed letter from the Lynchburg News have arrived. This is a most satisfying conclusion to the whole affair.

H. C. F.

March 24, 1959

Dr. Kenneth Morland
Randolph-Macon Woman's College
Lynchburg, Virginia

Dear Ken:

Thanks for your two good letters with the enclosed clippings from the Lynchburg News. I believe the editorial is a happy termination of the whole issue.

You have done a splendid job of refuting the canards against the Virginia Council and SRC. Your explanations should lay to rest in the Lynchburg area any doubts about the integrity and loyalty of both.

I enjoyed seeing you in Indiana at the Panel of Americans Conference. I am happy to hear that your four-college intercollegiate group is interested in forming one or more panels.

I am aware that Harold has written thanking you for your leadership in Lynchburg and with the Virginia Council. May this letter serve as a second to that motion.

Best personal regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls

Randolph-Macon Woman's College
Lynchburg, Virginia
March 12, 1959

Dr. Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Fred:

The inclosed letter was in the Lynchburg News when I returned from Purdue on March 8th. I have sent in a lengthy reply and will mail a copy to you after it appears in Sunday's paper.

I did not attempt to deal with the Highlander Folk School and the accusation against George Mitchell. No doubt I shall have a chance to do so, for it appears that we are in for a long battle. Can you have all available material on these matters sent to me, and can you suggest a way to handle this accusation?

I enjoyed seeing you in Indiana, and I hope it will not be too long before we can get together again.

With every good wish,

Sincerely,

Ken

Kenneth Morland

The Council On Human Relations

Lynchburg News

By Mildred Munday Feb 23, 1959

The tender solicitude of the professional letter-writers from Richmond for "the good people of Lynchburg" (there's that phrase again!) is touching—but not very. The latest didactic emanation from the state capitol appears in The News for Sunday, February 15: a Mrs. Gair assures the editor that he "cannot fatuously ignore and reject the documented facts as presented by Ann Sydnor Hoskins, which facts stand unrefuted!" Mrs. Gair is effectively answered in an editorial comment of one sentence at the end of the letter.

For all her hysterical exclamation points and phonetic cluckings ("Tch! Tch! Tch!"), Mrs. Gair has added little except obfuscation to the issue of the integrity of the Virginia Council on Human Relations. The "goood people of Lynchburg" can cope with facts if facts are set forth, but there is little in the vituperations collected by Mrs. Hoskins that one can get one's teeth into; her "research" has unearthed quotations from a newspaper published and controlled by a racist politician from Georgia, and a dubious statement originating in the office of a commentator recently convicted of slander. Facts? Tch, tch, tch, Mrs. Gair.

But, says Mrs. Gair, "the fact still remains that the Southern Regional Council, with whom the Virginia Council on Human Relations is affiliated, appears on every Communist front list." What lists? published where? compiled by whom? with what authority? and what proof? Document, please ma'am.

Mrs. Gair cites J. Edgar Hoover on the subject of "high sounding titles of subversive fronts . . . organizations bearing titles such as Freedom, Peace, Fellowship, Conciliation, ets." Granted. But where does the Virginia Council on Human Relations fit in? As for high-sounding titles, how about the Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties? Hear those swords rattling?

Finally, Mrs. Gair quotes at length, and with considerable irrelevance, a "soliloquy" taking place on the occasion of the examination of Dr. Bella Dodd by Senator Jenner. (The term, I believe, is "dialogue" or "colloquy"—in a soliloquy one talks to oneself. Documentation: any good dictionary.) Dr. Dodd, as quoted, states that the Communist party in the United States is growing, and that Communists frequently assume other "labels" of Communist infiltration is known to the resounding "fact" of Communist infiltration is known to most high school students and television watchers of average intelligence, but where does the Virginia Council on Human Relations fit in? If Mrs. Gair and Mrs. Hoskins can tell us without engaging in actionable libel, perhaps they will do so.

Mrs. Gair feels "confident that the good people of Lynchburg will enlighten themselves as to the sinister intentions of the Virginia Council on Human Relations." Heavens to Betsy, Mrs. Gair, the "good people of Lynchburg" are minding their own business—perhaps if we wait long enough the good people of Richmond will probe and document these "sinister intentions" for us.

RECEIVED JUL 30 1959

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF EDUCATION
WASHINGTON SQUARE, NEW YORK 3, N.Y.

DEPARTMENT OF PHYSICAL EDUCATION,
HEALTH, AND RECREATION

TELEPHONE: SPRING 7-2000

Summer Address:

New York University Camp
Sloatsburg, New York

July 28, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I received a letter from Landon B. Lane, President of the Lane Cedar Chest manufacturers of Altavista, Virginia, and I need your advice on the best way to answer a part of it. Lane refers to the last letter I wrote the Lynchburg News in reply to the communist accusation made by Mrs. Hoskins. It is hard to believe that he could honestly raise the questions that he does, but I suppose it is worth while to deal with them. Lane is an ardent segregationist and a constant contributor to the News, writing a letter almost every week. (You might ask Paul Rilling about him.)

Let me quote you the pertinent part of his letter:

"This is, somewhat belatedly, with reference to a letter of yours which appeared on the editorial page of the March 15 issue of The News, dealing with certain questions or charges which had been raised in connection with the Southern Regional Council.

"Since the editor of The News used your letter as a justification for shutting off any further letters in this subject, it is no longer possible to explore questions in connection with this through the Lynchburg News. I assume, however, that you are not averse to supporting certain statements in your letter on which documentation would be appreciated.

"In your letter, you made the statement (referring to Manning Johnson, an ex-communist) that 'Manning's testimony has been repudiated by the Department of Justice and the Subversive Activities Control Board.' Would you be so good as to furnish me with the specific documentation to support your statement that Johnson's statement has been so repudiated by the sources named?

"Further along in your letter you also said, in part /this followed a quote from Dabney's editorial in the Richmond Times-Dispatch/ 'In other words, those who left the SCHW to join the SRC did so because they did not approve of the direction the SCHW was taking! And they were among those who helped to expose the SCHW.'

"Again, it would be very much appreciated if you could direct

me to specific documentation to support this assertion. I have been under a contrary impression, but if my impression is incorrect, I am interested in getting the proper facts." (A carbon copy of this was sent to the editor of the News.)

Lane's letter was forwarded to me while I was visiting my parents in Birmingham. As I had only a day in Lynchburg for the involved preparations required to take my family to NYU Camp, I wrote him a brief note saying that I felt I could not deal adequately with his questions until I returned to my office in Septemper and had access to my file on the SRC. I did remind him of the Dabney editorial and of the fact that none of the responsible federal officers had ever cited the SRC as in any way subversive. However, the tone of his letter does invite a full reply.

You will recognize that the statement about Manning Johnson was paraphrased from your analysis of the attack by the Firing Line. How should I go about "documenting" this. In my letter from which Lane quotes I follow with "If his testimony had been found to be true, the Attorney General would have cited the SRC as subversive. But as Senator Eastland said (and I quote from Mrs. Hoskins' letter), 'The Southern Regional Council, Inc., has not been cited as subversive or Communist by the Attorney General'." I thought I might write directly to the Attorney General, the Subversive Activities Board, and the House unAmerican Activities Committee.

The SCHW charge has been dealt with by references to the Dabney editorial. Since he is well known in Virginia as a staunch segregationist, I thought this would be particularly effective. Perhaps I went beyond my data, and unnecessarily so, when I stated that those who left the SCHW were among those who helped to expose it. Ralph McGill, in his editorial about Dr. Clement, states that his newspaper did help in the exposure, and I assume that he was helped by some of those who knew the SCHW well.

Lane replied to my penned note from Birmingham that he would be glad to wait until I had returned to Lynchburg to hear from me in detail. He added that he had written The Firing Line and had been assured by the editor that all of their information had been double-checked and was "accurate." Such accuracy can be easily refuted with Dabney's editorial concerning James E. Jackson as "the" founder of the SRC.

I am sorry to have to bother with this and to bother you again. There are so many constructive things that need to be done. At the same time Lane should be answered fully. He appears to be sincere.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Ken

Kenneth Morland
Visiting Professor of Sociology

via air mail

July 30, 1959

Mr. Kenneth Morland
School of Education
New York University
Washington Square
New York 3, New York

Dear Ken:

I am sorry you are still being plagued by the controversy over SRC, but I am more than glad to supply you with more "defense" material.

As to the repudiation of Manning Johnson, enclosed is yet another reproduction (regrettably poor) from the Times-Dispatch -- namely, a letter from a Mrs. Osth touching on the same point, and an editor's note describing the repudiation. Incidentally, the documentation we have on the Subversive Activities Control Board's action is from "Facts on File," which states: "On 8/11/56 the Subversive Activities Control Board reaffirmed its view that the U. S. Communist Party was Moscow controlled after reviewing its finding that the Communist Party must register with the Attorney General under the 1950 Internal Security Act. The SACB expunged from the record of hearings on the case what it called 'tainted' testimony given by Harvey Matusow, Manning Johnson and the late Paul Crouch."

Although I have never looked up the detailed news accounts of this action, I assume the "tainted" testimony concerned Johnson's charges against Ralph Bunche. In any case, if Mr. Lane wants to see the

evidence with his own eyes, he could check "Facts on File" at any good library, look up the newspaper accounts of August 11 or 12, 1956, or write the SACB itself.

Certainly some of those who belonged to SCHW in the early years, and were later identified with SRC, were critical of the former. But I have no documentation readily available, except in the case of Ralph McGill. Since McGill was a founder and incorporator of SRC, however, this should carry considerable weight. Enclosed is a 1946 editorial from the Atlanta Constitution (actually written by McGill) which strongly criticizes the SCHW; many more such editorials, some signed by McGill, could be produced.

The main point, it seems to me, is that so many people of stature and unchallenged patriotism were associated with the SCHW, it is absurd to regard such association as implying Communist sympathies. Supplementing the examples given in our memo on the "Firing Line," I am enclosing reproductions from the proceedings of the SCHW in Birmingham, November 20-23, 1938. As you will see, the list of participants includes the then governor and lieutenant governor of Alabama, Governor-elect Maybank of South Carolina, and (save us) John Temple Graves. Mr. Lane must conclude either that the Communist conspiracy embraced much of the South's power structure in those years, or else that no prima facie guilt whatever attaches to participation in that organization. He can't have it both ways.

I don't see any necessity for further friendly inquiries of the Department of Justice, the House Un-American Activities Committee, and so on. It is an amply authenticated fact that SRC isn't and never has been cited as subversive by any of them. I enclose a letter from Rep. Francis E. Walter assuring us of this fact.

Also enclosed is another copy of our reply to the "Firing Line" charges, in case you should want to consider sending this to Mr. Lane. Of course, you can send any or all of the other documentation; more copies available if you should need them.

I am glad to know that you feel Mr. Lane is sincere, if misguided, in his continuing concern with

these charges. Based on similar experiences, my feeling would be that this much evidence from the sources cited should either convince him or demonstrate that he is beyond convincing.

Paul Rilling is out of the office just now, but I know he would want me to express his appreciation and regards along with my own.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures
Congressional Record Reprint
Atl. Const. Editorial "Attack on Clement is Dirty Politics"
Francis E. Walter Ltr. - Aug. 30, 1956
Pages from "Rept. of Proceedings of Southern Conf. On Human Welfare" Nov. 20-23, 1938"
Firing Line Analysis
Atl. Const. Editorial - Mon. Nov. 25, 1946
"The Ledger on an 'Empty Honor'"
Richmond Times Dispatch article - Sept. 3, 1958
"Southern Regional Council and Manning Johnson"

From Facts on File

On 8/11/56 the Subersive Activities Control Board reaffirmed its view that the U. S. Communist Party was Moscow controlled after reviewing its finding that the Communist Party must register with the Attorney General under the 1950 Internal Security Act. The SACB expunged from the record of hearings on the case what it called "tainted" testimony given by Harvey Matusow, Manning Johnson and the late Paul Crouch.

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

HAROLD C. FLEMING
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

March 14, 1957

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

COPY

The Honorable W. M. Rainach
State Senate
Baton Rouge, Louisiana

My dear Senator Rainach:

I have just read an account of hearings conducted by the Joint Legislative Committee under your chairmanship, as reported by the Times-Picayune of March 9, 1957. According to this account, a witness named Manning Johnson made numerous allegations of communist influence in organizations active in the South, among them the Southern Regional Council. It is not my province here to evaluate Mr. Johnson's charges against other groups, but I can say unequivocally that the statements which he is quoted as making about the Southern Regional Council are utterly false. If this witness made the statements attributed to him under oath, he is guilty of the grossest kind of perjury.

Mr. Johnson is quoted as saying that the Southern Regional Council was "formed by the communists," and he is further quoted as naming specifically one James E. Jackson as "having founded the organization." These allegations are fantastic, as even a casual inquiry into the facts would establish at once. The Southern Regional Council was founded in 1944 by some of the South's most distinguished leaders, white and Negro. The details of its founding were public knowledge, having been reported fully in reputable newspapers throughout the nation. The incorporators were Bishop Arthur J. Moore of the Methodist Church, the late Dr. Charles S. Johnson of Fisk University, the late Dr. Howard W. Odum of the University of North Carolina, Dr. Rufus E. Clement of Atlanta University, and Mr. Ralph McGill of the Atlanta Constitution. Neither the James E. Jackson in question nor anyone else bearing that name was involved in this organization at its founding or at any other time. The Council has never been influenced by communists or had the slightest sympathy for communist doctrine. Any sober scrutiny of its record will confirm this fact.

The uninformed and generally irresponsible nature of Mr. Johnson's testimony is illustrated by his reference, in connection with the Southern Regional Council, to Bishop Arthur J. Moore. According to the Times-Picayune story, Mr. Johnson inaccurately identified Bishop Moore, one of the leading and most widely known bishops of the Methodist Church, as a Negro. This inaccuracy characterizes his testimony on the larger and more important matters mentioned above.

It is distressing to see a legislative body of the State of Louisiana used as a forum for false and abusive charges against responsible and patriotic citizens, made by an ex-communist who apparently puts little value on the truth.

If, as one might hope, you should wish to rectify this abuse of your Committee, I am sure that you will find the true facts readily ascertainable.

Sincerely yours,

/s/
M. A. Wright
President

MAW/eab

The Southern Regional Council
March 25, 1957

RED CRY 'FANTASTIC,' SAYS DIXIE COUNCIL

Atlanta Constitution - March 20, 1957

New Orleans, March 19, (AP)-- M. A. Wright, president of the Southern Regional Council, said yesterday that a charge his organization was formed by Communists was "fantastic." Wright was referring to testimony by Manning Johnson of Washington before a Louisiana joint legislative committee investigating Communist influence behind racial disturbances. In a letter to State Sen. W. M. Rainach, chairman of the joint committee, Wright said:

"It is not my province here to evaluate Mr. Johnson's charges against other groups, but I can say unequiovcally that the statements which he is quoted as making about the Southern Regional Council are utterly false. If this witness made the statements attributed to him under oath, he is guilty of the grossest kind of perjury."

Wright, who said the Southern Regional Council was founded in 1944, listed the incorporators as Bishop Arthur J. Moore of the Methodist Church, the late Dr. Charles S. Johnson of Fisk University, the late Dr. Howard W. Odum of the University of North Carolina, Dr. Rufus E. Clement of Atlanta University, and Ralph McGill of the Atlanta Constitution.

"The Council has never been influenced by Communists or had the slightest sympathy for Communist doctrine. Any sober scrutiny of its record will confirm this fact," Wright wrote Rainach. In Atlanta Ralph McGill said Johnson obviously confused the Southern Regional Council with the old Southern Conference for Human Welfare. He said it was an error "commonly made by uninformed persons."

WRIGHT DEFENDS REGIONAL GROUP

Times-Picayune - March 19, 1957

Testimony of a witness who told the Louisiana joint legislative committee investigating Communist influence behind racial disturbances that an organization known as the Southern Regional Council was formed by Communists was termed "fantastic" Monday by M. A. Wright, President of the organization. The witness was Manning Johnson, Washington, D. C., who described himself as a former Communist. He testified at the joint committee hearing March 8 in Baton Rouge that the Southern Regional Council was formed by a Communist named James E. Jackson. In a letter to Sen. W. M. Rainach, chairman of the joint committee, Wright stated, "It is not my province here to evaluate Mr. Johnson's charges against other groups, but I can say unequivocally that the statements which he is quoted as making about the Southern Regional Council are utterly false. If this witness made the statements attributed to him under oath, he is guilty of the grossest kind of perjury.

Referring to the testimony concerning Jackson, the letter says, "These allegations are fantastic, as even a casual inquiry into the facts would establish at once, The Southern Regional Council was founded in 1944 by some of the South's most distinguished leaders, white and Negro. The details of its founding were public knowledge, having been reported fully in reputable newspapers throughout the nation. The incorporators were Bishop Arthur J. Moore of the Methodist Church, the late Dr. Charles Johnson of Fisk University, the late Dr. Howard W. Odum of the University of North Carolina, Dr. Rufus E. Clement of Atlanta University, and Mr. Ralph McGill of the Atlanta Constitution." Wright wrote that neither the James E. Jackson in question "nor anyone else bearing that name was involved in this organization at its founding or at any other time. The Council has never been influenced by Communists or had the slightest sympathy for Communist doctrine. Any sober scrutiny of its record will confirm this fact." The letter called Johnson's testimony "uninformed" and "irresponsible" in nature. In connection with the Witness' reference to Bishop Arthur J. Moore, Wright said, "According to the Times-Picayune story, Mr. Johnson inaccurately identified Bishop Arthur J. Moore, one of the leading and most widely known bishops of the Methodist Church, as a Negro. This inaccuracy characterizes his testimony on the larger and more important matters mentioned above.

"It is distressing to see a legislative body of the State of Louisiana used as a forum for false and abusive charges against responsible and patriotic citizens made by an ex-communist who apparently puts little value on the truth," Wright wrote to Rainach.

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

of B'nai B'rith

515 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, N. Y., PLaza 1-1800

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LESTER J. WALDMAN
Executive Assistant

March 25th,
1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

This responds to your March 14th letter.

I am attaching a schedule of the data in our files about Manning Johnson. You will note it is all published material. If you need any of the specific articles in question, let me know and I will have photostats made and sent along to you.

With every best wish.

Sincerely,

Arnold Forster

af/sgf
encl.

MANNING JOHNSON

The "Nation" of 4/10/54 contained a number of articles on "The Informer" featuring on page 305 an item on JOHNSON, a Dept. of Justice informer, who has testified in about 25 court cases and a number of congressional hearings.

"...In the second trial of Harry Bridges he testified that the West Coast waterfront leader had been present at a Communist convention in N.Y.C. on 6/27 or 6/28/36. But Bridges presented 6 witnesses, a number of newspaper reports, and other documentary evidence to prove his presence at a longshoremen's meeting in Stockton,Calif, at a time which made it physically impossible for him to be in N.Y. on the days mentioned. On the basis of this evidence counsel for Bridges demanded that JOHNSON be charged with perjury. The trial judge refused immediate action, but directed JOHNSON to hold himself in 'readiness for the processes of this court until the conclusion of the trial.' To date no action has been taken against him.

In 1951 JOHNSON testified before the Subversive Activities Control Board.On cross-examination the witness confirmed that he had given evidence in a Penn. sedition trial as follows:

'Q. In other words, you will tell a lie under oath in a court of law rather than run counter to your instructions from the FBI. Is that right?

A. If the interests of my gov't are at stake. In the face of enemies at home and abroad, if maintaining secrecy of the techniques of methods of operation of the FBI, who have responsibility of the protection of our people, I say I will do it a thousand times.'

In the Penn. sedition case he admitted that he had testified falsely in the deportation proceedings against one Nat Yanish in 1948.

'Q. The testimony was not correct,was it, MR.JOHNSON?

A. No, it wasn't precisely, because I could not at that time reveal the fact that I had supplied information to the FBI...I think the security of the gov't of the U.S. has priority over...any other connection.'"

In their 7/4/54 Herald-Tribune column headed "Brownell Investigates Brownell", by the Alsops, they state that 3 of the Justice Dept's paid informers,including JOHNSON, are now being investigated for possible perjury by the Justice Department itself. JOHNSON is being investigated because of his testimony in the loyalty case of Dr.Ralph Bunche. "In the last 2 years, the Justice Dept. has paid JOHNSON $9,096 or just under $400 a month. The dept. does not know of any other work JOHNSON was doing until two weeks ago, when he got a job as an insurance salesman....JOHNSON has testified under oath that he would lie under oath if directed to do so by his present employers. He said this to explain a false denial,also under oath,that he had become a Justice Dept. informer."

The "New Republic" of 7/5/54 carried an article on JOHNSON entitled "Professor Of Perjury" (page 22).

On 2/22/55, Harvey Matusow testified before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, and indicated that he considered Paul Crouch,Louis Budenz and JOHNSON false witnesses.

On 2/28/55, Matusow testified before the same committee and admitted he had no proof but insisted that ex-Communists Elizabeth Bentley, Paul Crouch, Louis Budenz & JOHNSON had lied at Red trials and probes.

On 8/11/56, the Subversive Activities Control Board reaffirmed its view that the U.S. Communist Party was Moscow controlled after reviewing its finding that the Communist Party must register with the Attorney General under the 1950 Internal Security Act. The SCAB expunged from the record of hearings on the case what it called "tainted" testimony given by Harvey Matusow, MANNING JOHNSON and the late Paul Crouch.

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W. M. SHAW, GENERAL COUNSEL, HOMER, LA.

March 26, 1957

FILE COPY

Mr. M. A. Wright, President
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Wright:

In reply to your letter of March 14, 1957, a sound and stenographic record was made of the testimony and documentary evidence submitted to our Committee during the recently concluded hearings on subversion in racial unrest.

Following is a verbatim excerpt from Manning Johnson's testimony relative to the Southern Regional Council, which is taken from the transcript of the entire testimony prepared and certified to by Mrs. Janet L. Parker, Court Reporter, Parish of East Baton Rouge, Baton Rouge, Louisiana:

> In the Daily Worker of Wednesday, December 1, 1954, in an article written by S. D. Rock, entitled "J. Jackson's Fortieth Birthday" he wrote some of the Negro people. The writer states, and I quote, "Jim Jackson was there as an officer of the Southern Negro Youth Congress, spearheading the movement, rallying his fellow Negro veterans to take advantage of their poll tax exemption and vote." Then, the article goes on to say--and this is very significant--to show who organized and who inspired these movements but here that are causing all of this chaos and confusion. It says up here that "For a period of 15 years he took part in every important general movement for advancement which involved Negro and white labor and progressive forces in the south. In addition to serving as a founder, vice-president and principal organizer of the Southern Negro Youth Congress, he participated in the formation and building of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, The Southern Regional Council, and many other movements which

in any important way challenged the status quo of Negro oppression and southern social backwardness." This is clear and convincing evidence. I am not saying it. This is the official organ of the Daily Workers, which tells you who was the architect and who was the founder of these organizations that are so-called--to help the Negro.

MR. SHAW: Mr. Chairman, I would like to offer this photostatic copy of the Daily Worker in evidence and ask that it be marked WJ-2 for identification.

SENATOR RAINACH: The Chair orders that the exhibit WJ-2 be made a part of the records of this committee.

The statements that I can find in the transcript concerning Bishop Arthur Moore do not contain any reference at all as to his race.

Very truly yours,

W. M. Rainach

W. M. Rainach

WMR:jsl

cc: Mr. Marion A. Wright
Linville Falls
North Carolina

File

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
20 WEST 40th STREET, NEW YORK 18, N. Y.
LONGACRE 3-6890

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COPY

March 28, 1957

Hon. Herbert Brownell, Attorney General
Department of Justice
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Brownell:

In early March, a Joint Legislative Committee on Segregation of the State of Louisiana held hearings in Baton Rouge and heard invited witnesses, including three self-styled former Communists who testified on alleged connections between the Communists and the NAACP.

One witness, Manning Johnson, is quoted in the March 18 issue of the weekly news magazine, *South*, as saying that the NAACP "has become a vehicle of the Communist Party designed to overthrow the Government of the United States."

A dispatch from Baton Rouge, published in the Charleston, S.C., *News and Courier*, March 9, 1957, carried the same quotation of Manning Johnson's testimony.

The account in *South* magazine and the one in the Charleston *News and Courier* described Manning Johnson as "now employed as Director of Research for the Department of Justice in Washington." The news stories cited and similar ones sent out from Baton Rouge and widely published throughout the South give the distinct impression that an official of the Department of Justice has branded the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People as a "vehicle of the Communist Party designed to overthrow the Government of the United States."

In addition to the widespread publication of this completely false statement, we are informed that the Attorney General of a Southern state has ordered thousands of copies of the printed record of the Louisiana hearings for distribution in his state and elsewhere.

Also, the dispatch to the Charleston *News and Courier* containing the Manning Johnson statement and his identification as Director of Research for the Department of Justice in Washington has been inserted in the *Congressional Record* for March 12, 1957, as an extension of the remarks of Congressman John L. McMillan of South Carolina at Page A 1957. It may be assumed that this insertion is for the purpose of providing additional reproductions of the newspaper account for distribution bearing the imprint of the *Congressional Record*.

We do not need to emphasize the grave injustice that will be done the NAACP if the Department of Justice fails to clarify (a) Manning Johnson's official position in the Department of Justice, if any, and (b) the official or unofficial or other nature of Manning Johnson's testimony before the Louisiana Legislative Committee.

We wish to ask specifically: Is Manning Johnson employed as "Director of Research for the Department of Justice in Washington" and if not, what is his position in the Department of Justice, if any?

We would like to ask also: Was Manning Johnson in his testimony before the Louisiana Legislative Committee, in his references to the NAACP and the Communist Party, speaking for the Department of Justice or reflecting in any manner its official views or findings?

In the circumstances of the swift moves being made to fasten a Communist label upon this Association and in so doing to imply that this label comes from the Director of Research of the Department of Justice in Washington, we would appreciate a reply at your earliest convenience.

Very sincerely yours,

/S/

Roy Wilkins
Executive Secretary.

rw/mdj

8657 APR 9 '57

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

WASHINGTON, D. C.

Address Reply to the Division Indicated and Refer to Initials and Number

Apr 9 1957

WO:MMH:sbh
146-7-51-136

Mr. Roy Wilkins,
Executive Secretary,
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored
People
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Mr. Wilkins:

This acknowledges your letter of March 28, 1957 referring to testimony recently given by a witness, Manning Johnson, before a joint legislative committee of the State of Louisiana. According to your letter, Manning Johnson has been quoted in several news organs, including the Charleston, South Carolina NEWS AND COURIER, issue of March 9, 1957, as having testified that he is "now employed as Director of Research for the Department of Justice in Washington" and that the NAACP "has become a vehicle of the Communist Party designed to overthrow the Government of the United States." You request that we inform you whether Manning Johnson is employed by the Department as Director of Research or otherwise, and whether, in the testimony as quoted, he spoke for this Department or reflected its views.

Manning Johnson is not employed by the Department of Justice as Director of Research or in any other capacity. In fact there is not nor has there ever been any such position as Director of Research in this Department. Further, with respect to any testimony Manning Johnson may have given before the above mentioned committee, he had no authority to speak for or on behalf of the Department of Justice. You may be assured that his testimony

concerning the alleged relationship between the NAACP and the Communist Party does not, in any manner, reflect the views of this Department or any findings it has made.

We have advised THE NEWS AND COURIER of Manning Johnson's non-employment with this Department. We understand that this newspaper published a corrective article in its issue of March 12, 1957.

Sincerely,

WARREN OLNEY III
Assistant Attorney General
Criminal Division

By: Arthur B. Caldwell
ARTHUR B. CALDWELL
Chief, Civil Rights Section

NEWS FROM

NAACP

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

20 WEST 40TH STREET NEW YORK 18, N. Y. LONGACRE 3-6890

ROY WILKINS
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

HENRY LEE MOON
DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC RELATIONS

FOR RELEASE: APRIL 11, 1957

MANNING JOHNSON'S SMEAR OF NAACP DISAVOWED BY JUSTICE DEPARTMENT

NEW YORK, April 11.--The U.S. Department of Justice has informed the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People that recent statements by Manning Johnson, attempting to link the NAACP with the Communist party, do not reflect the views nor the findings of the Justice Department. The governmental agency also stated that Mr. Johnson is not one of its employees, as was reported in certain newspapers.

Mr. Johnson testified before a Louisiana state legislative committee early in March, and was quoted in the press as having said the NAACP "has become a vehicle of the Communist Party designed to overthrow the government of the United States." Mr. Johnson, an admitted former Communist, was described in press reports as "Director of Research for the Department of Justice in Washington."

Following Mr. Johnson's statement about the NAACP, Roy Wilkins, the Association's executive secretary, wrote to U.S. Attorney General Herbert Brownell, Jr., for clarification of "(a) Manning Johnson's official position in the Department of Justice, if any, and (b) the official or unofficial or other nature of Manning Johnson's testimony before the Louisiana legislative committee."

Mr. Wilkins also inquired of the U.S. Attorney General whether Mr. Johnson's testimony was "reflecting in any manner" the "official views or findings" of the U.S. Justice Department.

In reply to Mr. Wilkins' inquiry Warren Olney III, Assistant Attorney General of the Criminal Division, and Arthur B. Caldwell, Chief of the Civil Rights Section, gave assurance on April 8 that the witness was in no way connected with the Department and did not speak for it.

Rejection of Johnson Testimony

The former Communist's testimony "concerning the alleged relationship between the NAACP and the Communist party does not, in any manner, reflect the views

of this Department or any findings it has made," the Justice Department letter asserts.

The letter further points out: "Manning Johnson is not employed by the Department of Justice as Director of Research or in any other capacity. In fact there is not nor has there ever been any such position as Director of Research in this Department. Further, with respect to any testimony Manning Johnson may have given before the above mentioned committee, he had no authority to speak for or on behalf of the Department of Justice."

In his letter of inquiry to the Justice Department, Mr. Wilkins referred to "swift moves being made to fasten a Communist label upon this Association," and maintained that a "grave injustice" would be done the NAACP if the federal agency failed to clarify its connection, if any, with Manning Johnson.

"In early March, a Joint Legislative Committee on Segregation of the State of Louisiana held hearings in Baton Rouge and heard invited witnesses, including three self-styled former Communists who testified on alleged connections between the Communists and the NAACP," Mr. Wilkins told the Justice Department in his letter, which was dispatched on March 28.

"One witness, Manning Johnson, is quoted in the March 18 issue of the weekly newsmagazine, *South*, as saying that the NAACP 'has become a vehicle of the Communist party designed to overthrow the Government of the United States,'" the NAACP official's message continued.

"A dispatch from Baton Rouge, published in the Charleston, S.C., *News and Courier*, March 9, 1957, carried the same quotation of Manning Johnson's testimony.

"The account in *South* magazine and the one in the Charleston *News and Courier* described Manning Johnson as 'now employed as Director of Research for the Department of Justice in Washington.' The news stories cited and similar ones sent out from Baton Rouge and widely published throughout the South give the distinct impression that an official of the Department of Justice has branded the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People as a 'vehicle of the Communist party designed to overthrow the Government of the United States.'"

KINGSLEY 6-2880

ELEANOR T. DRUMMOND
Assistant Editor

PRESBYTERIAN LIFE

Published by The Presbyterian Church in the United States of America

A JOURNAL OF PROTESTANT CHRISTIANITY · **WITHERSPOON BUILDING, PHILADELPHIA 7, PA.**

April 18, 1957

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

We would be grateful for any information you can send us discrediting the testimony of Manning Johnson before the Louisiana legislature investigating committee.

We need this information to reply to a letter protesting our publishing "Segregation in Sumter, South Carolina" by H.B. Sissel. Our reader believes that the N.A.A.C.P. is dominated by Communists and cites Manning Johnson's testimony as evidence.

Thank you for any help you can give.

Cordially yours,

Eleanor Drummond
(Mrs. Braxton Drummond)

ETD:efc

Our Rainach ltr
Justice Dept ltr to Walkins
NAACP release
Other NAACP stuff

April 23, 1957

Mrs. Braxton Drummond
Presbyterian Life
Witherspoon Building
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Dear Mrs. Drummond:

The best repudiation of Manning Johnson's testimony against the NAACP has been issued by the NAACP itself. In case you have not been in touch with them, I enclose a copy of their release on the matter, a copy of a Department of Justice letter to Roy Wilkins, and an NAACP leaflet which deals in some detail with the attacks on that organization's patriotism. In the latter, note the statement by J. Edgar Hoover on page 10.

The Southern Regional Council was also slurred by Mr. Johnson. I am enclosing a copy of a letter from our President, written to State Senator W. M. Rainach.

As you probably know, Johnson himself is a professional witness whose irresponsible testimony on past occasions has thoroughly discredited him. His accusations against Ralph Bunche sometime ago were exposed as fraudulent. When the Subversive Activities Control Board was holding hearings on the Communist Party, Johnson was one of those who testified. When the SACB later issued its findings on the Communist Party, it specifically threw out Johnson's testimony as "tainted."

The NAACP, like the SRC, has never been cited by the Attorney General or the House Un-American Activities Committee, or any other responsible body, as being less than patriotic. Of course, the problem of unprincipled use of "raw" material from the House Committee's files to build up a specious case of guilt by association against reputable individuals is a continuing problem. As you know, the classic exposure of this technique was made by Bishop Oxnam a few years ago.

If we can be of further help on this or other matters, let me know.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab
Encls.

Copy to mow.
Mines. to Exec Com.

April 24, 1957

The Honorable W. M. Rainach
State Senate
Baton Rouge, Louisiana

My dear Senator Rainach:

This is to acknowledge your letter of March 26th. I have delayed replying until now so that we might have an opportunity to check the quotation from the Daily Worker cited in your transcript of Manning Johnson's testimony.

We are glad to have identified the source of this baseless charge made by Mr. Johnson against the Southern Regional Council. As I wrote you on March 14, the allegation that Communists were in any way responsible for the founding of the Council is clearly refuted by contemporary newspaper accounts and other responsible documentation. It is strange, indeed, that a self-serving statement in the Daily Worker in 1954, ten years after the event, should be accepted as reliable evidence to the contrary.

We do not share the unquestioning faith which Mr. Johnson -- though we hope not your committee -- has in the accuracy and truthfulness of the Daily Worker. It is well established that the Communist Party and its press have no scruples about claiming credit for any achievement when it suits their purpose of the moment to do so. To slur the reputations of a thoroughly patriotic organization and reputable individuals on the basis of this kind of "evidence" -- particularly when there is an abundance of reliable evidence in refutation -- would hardly become a responsible official body.

We note in the newspaper account of Manning Johnson's testimony that he is quoted as saying the Southern Regional

Council is a "transmission belt of Communist infiltration in the South." This statement does not appear in the portion of the transcript reproduced in your letter of March 26th.

This charge is as false and unfounded as the one concerning the origin of the Council. We would be interested to know whether it was, in fact, made by Mr. Johnson, and, if so, whether it was also based on the false reference to the Council in the Daily Worker of December 1, 1954.

Sincerely yours,

M. A. Wright
President

FILE COPY

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

HAROLD C. FLEMING
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

AN ANALYSIS OF THE ATTACK ON SRC
IN THE FIRING LINE OF MAY 15, 1957

:

The Firing Line is the publication of the American Legion's National Americanism Commission, P. O. Box 1055, Indianapolis, Indiana. The Americanism Commission appears to reflect the most extreme right-wing opinion to be found within the Legion's official family. In the past, the Firing Line has attacked many reputable organizations and individuals. It seems to accept without question the testimony and charges of professional accusers (e.g., Manning Johnson, the late Paul Crouch) even though they have long since been discredited and much of their specific testimony has been found by such official groups as the Subversive Activities Control Board to be false and unreliable.

In the issue of May 15th, the Firing Line contains an article on the Southern Regional Council. This article presents in the guise of facts allegations against SRC and various of its past and present board members that range from outright falsehoods to cunning distortions designed to support utterly unfounded conclusions. Following is a point by point analysis; the indented paragraphs are quoted verbatim from the Firing Line.

> Readers of the April 15, 1957 issue of the Firing Line will recall the Council was identified as a "Southern Red front by MANNING JOHNSON on March 8, 1957 before the State of Louisiana Legislative

> Committee on Segregation." The Firing Line report also revealed testimony which reflected the Council was "formed by JAMES E. JACKSON, a Southern organizer of the Communist Party" and "is affiliated with the Mississippi Council on Human Relations."

The Louisiana State body referred to here was set up to combat desegregation and is headed by State Senator William M. Rainach, who is also the chief leader of the White Citizens Councils in that state. Manning Johnson is a self-styled ex-Communist whose testimony has been repudiated by the U. S. Department of Justice and the Subversive Activities Control Board. His testimony about SRC is demonstrably false. The founding of SRC by a group of outstanding Southerners is a matter of public record. The incorporators were Bishop Arthur J. Moore of The Methodist Church, Ralph McGill, editor of The Atlanta Constitution, Dr. Rufus E. Clement, president of Atlanta University, the late Dr. Charles S. Johnson, president of Fisk University, and the late Dr. Howard W. Odum, professor of sociology at the University of North Carolina. Any claim that these men would have permitted the James E. Jackson in question or any other person of Communistic persuasion to play any part in the founding of the organization is fantastic. The founding of SRC is a matter of extensive public record, as reported in the press and official documents, all clearly showing that this charge is an outright falsehood.

The statement that SRC "is affiliated with the Mississippi Council on Human Relations" is both inaccurate and irrelevant. The Mississippi Council is a thoroughly respectable body of citizens of that State, including among its officers the wife of a cotton broker and the Catholic Bishop of Mississippi. It was for a time affiliated with the Southern Regional Council (not vice versa) though it now functions as an independent group.

> Records of the American Legion reveal a definite trend of interrelationship between the SRC and the Southern Conference For Human Welfare, a defunct Communist front organization. According to the files of the National Americanism Commission, the following 16 former Directors of the SRC have been supporters of this aforementioned subversive organization: CHARLOTTE H. BROWN, LOUIS E. BURNHAM, GEORGE E. CLARY, HERBERT DAVIDSON, J. M. ELLISON, CLARK H. FOREMAN, GUY B. JOHNSON, DAVID D. JONES, GEORGE S. MITCHELL, HOWARD W. ODUM, F. D. PATTERSON, EDWIN A. PENICK, HOMER P. RAINEY, IRA DeA. REID, FORRESTER B. WASHINGTON and AUBREY WILLIAMS.

The charge that SRC was related to the Southern Conference for Human Welfare continues to be used by the detractors of this organization although it has long since and repeatedly been refuted. SRC was the official successor to the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, founded in 1919 by a group of outstanding Southern churchmen. SRC came into existence at a time when the Southern Conference had been operating for six years, and it was attacked by some persons on the grounds that it was a more conservative organization set up in competition with the Southern Conference. It was never in any way connected with the Southern Conference.

The spurious technique of connection-by-association used here was exposed for what it is by the Atlanta Constitution in 1953. At that time, Dr. Rufus E. Clement, the distinguished president of Atlanta University, had announced his candidacy for the Atlanta Board of Education. Pro-segregationists sought to have him disqualified, using as the Firing Line does the charge that he had once served on the board of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. The Atlanta Constitution on May 12, 1953 editorialized as follows:

ATTACK ON CLEMENT IS DIRTY POLITICS

> *** A member of the [City Executive Committee] board has charged that Dr. Clement is a Communist sympathizer because he once belonged to the now defunct Southern Conference for Human Welfare.
>
> This newspaper is proud of the fact that it contributed largely to the demise of that organization. We were

> twice threatened with lawsuits because of our exposure of it; therefore, we believe we have some authority to speak.
>
> The Southern Conference for Human Welfare was organized by honest, loyal Americans, with a viewpoint to organizing all constructive forces in the South to improve the South's economic and social status. It later was infiltrated by Communists, but for a good many years it was composed of and led by persons of unquestioned loyalty, during which time its membership was about 99.95 per cent loyal. It offers the typical example of a few rotten Communists spoiling a good barrel of apples.
>
> Even so, it was not until a good many years had passed, and after most of the membership had withdrawn, including Dr. Clement, that persons of suspected communistic tendencies took over what remained of the organization. They did not long endure, largely because this newspaper exposed them and kept upon them the full light of publicity. Therefore, we feel free to say that this smear attack on Dr. Clement was false and unworthy, and those conducting it reflect no credit on themselves, our city, state and region.***

Suffice it to say that Dr. Clement's qualifications were upheld by the City Executive Committee, he was overwhelmingly elected in the primary, and he has recently been re-elected to the Atlanta Board of Education.

In this incident and in the Atlanta Constitution's editorial reproduced above lies the full explanation of the dishonest technique used by the Firing Line and SRC's racist critics in their attempts to discredit this organization.

It might further be noted that among the 16 former directors whose past presence on the board of SRC is supposed to have infected it with subversive sympathies are the following:

Dr. George E. Clary, Executive Secretary of the Southeastern Jurisdiction of the Methodist Church.

Mr. Herbert Davidson, Editor and Publisher of the Daytona Beach News and Journal.

Dr. J. M. Ellison, Chancellor of Virginia Union University.

The late Dr. Howard W. Odum, nationally famous scholar of the University of North Carolina.

The Reverend Edwin Penick, the presiding Episcopal Bishop of Raleigh, North Carolina.

The distinguished positions held by these individuals and their impeccable reputations in the South and North alike are enough, in themselves, to refute the insinuations of the Firing Line.

> The files of The American Legion reflect the following 9 current SRC Directors have also been affiliated with the subversive Southern Conference For Human Welfare: RUFUS B. ATWOOD, PAUL R. CHRISTOPHER, RUFUS E. CLEMENT, A. W. DENT, BENJAMIN E. MAYS, H. COUNCILL TRENHOLM, E. C. PETERS, JOSEPHINE WILKINS and MARION A. WRIGHT.

The same answer as that given above also applies here. Consider the positions held by these nine current directors:

Dr. Rufus B. Atwood, president of the state-supported Kentucky State College.

Mr. Paul R. Christopher, regional director of the AFL-CIO who serves by appointment of Governor Clement on an official state commission of Tennessee.

Dr. R. E. Clement, identified above.

Dr. Albert W. Dent, president of Dillard University of New Orleans.

Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, president of Morehouse College and one of this nation's most prominent leaders in the World Council of Churches.

Dr. H. Councill Trenholm, president of the state-supported Alabama State College in Montgomery.

Dr. E. C. Peters, president emeritus of Methodist-supported Paine College in Augusta, Georgia.

Miss Josephine Wilkins, former administrator of the Fact-Finding Movement of Georgia and past president of the League of Women Voters of Georgia.

Mr. Marion A. Wright, respected attorney, former chairman of the South Carolina Library Board, past president of the University of South Carolina Alumni Association.

If the worst that can be charged against the Southern Regional Council is that these distinguished Southerners served on its board, the

organization can be proud indeed.

> For the information of Firing Line readers, the following 8 current Directors of the Council have been affiliated with the aforementioned Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc., which was fully exposed in the July 1, 1955 issue of this publication: F. WOODS BECKMAN, BLAILSFORD (sic) R. BRAZEAL, RUFUS E. CLEMENT, JAMES M. DABBS, CHARLES G. GOMILLION, DUNCAN HUNTER, BENJAMIN E. MAYS and JOSEPHINE WILKINS. It may be of interest to recall that former SRC Director AUBREY WILLIAMS has been President of the Southern Conference Educational Fund since 1948. He was named as a member of the Communist Party during the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee's 1954 hearings.

The Southern Conference Educational Fund is the successor to the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. Three of the individuals named in this paragraph were named in the preceding one. The others include the Dean of Morehouse College, an honorably retired Federal Government employee, a South Carolina planter who is a leading layman of the Southern Presbyterian Church, the Dean of Tuskegee Institute, and a Methodist clergyman of Alabama. A special case is made of Aubrey Williams, who once served on the SRC board and is now president of the Southern Conference Educational Fund. It is reported that charges of past Communist affiliation were made against Mr. Williams in 1954. Mr. Williams resigned from SRC's board more than ten years ago, long before these charges were made. However, it should be noted that he categorically and under oath denied the charges made against him in 1954 and his sworn denial still stands unchallenged in the official record. The charge was made by a professional witness, another self-styled ex-Communist whose testimony on other occasions was proved false.

Allen Rankin, columnist for the conservative Montgomery Advertiser, wrote of the hearing at which Mr. Williams was accused: "(Senator)

Eastland admitted to a newsman: 'I don't think either of the Durrs or Williams are Communists.' Yet these people... were accused and insulted and browbeaten."

It should be clear to any thoughtful person that the cynical technique of guilt by association used here in its most far-fetched form to indict the Southern Regional Council can be used at least as damagingly against any honest, patriotic body of citizens.

It is possible, for example, to extend the charges of the Firing Line to "prove" that the Catholic Church is under the influence of Communist sympathizers. Several Catholic clergymen took part at one time in the activities of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. One of the founders of the SRC was then Bishop, now Archbishop Gerald P. O'Hara, one of the leading Catholic dignitaries in the United States. From the very beginning, the Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council has included a Catholic clergyman. Among the contributors to SRC have been two Catholic bishops and two archbishops. The president of SRC from 1945 to 1951 was Mr. Paul D. Williams of Richmond, Virginia, a co-founder of the Catholic Committee of the South, a Knight of St. Gregory, and one of the leading laymen of his Church. In 1953, the Catholic Committee of the South conferred its annual award on Dr. George S. Mitchell in recognition of his work as executive director of the Southern Regional Council. It would be interesting to see what the Firing Line would make of this "definite trend of interrelationship."

The same artificial case could, of course, be made against the Methodists, the Presbyterians, and other religious and civic groups that have been heavily represented on the board and in the activities of SRC.

The use of past associations with the Southern Conference for Human Welfare can be carried to even greater lengths. On April 3, 1945, the Southern Conference for Human Welfare staged a dinner in Washington, D. C., honoring Justice Hugo Black. This affair is reported in detail in the Southern Conference publication, The Southern Patriot, special supplement May 1945, and in contemporary newspaper accounts. The toastmaster on this occasion was then Senator, later Vice-President Alben W. Barkley. At the speaker's table was none other than the Honorable James F. Byrnes, who has since crowned his distinguished career with a term as Governor of South Carolina and one of the leading champions of segregation. Among the sponsors of the dinner were Secretary of State Edward Stettinius, Secretary of Defense James Forrestal, President Harry S. Truman, and other distinguished Americans. Senator Barkley congratulated the Southern Conference on the "great work" it was doing.

This affair is mentioned only to demonstrate how the false standard of association applied by the Firing Line and other critics of SRC can be applied to discredit a host of reputable individuals and the organizations on whose board they serve. Clearly, past affiliation or association with the Southern Conference, cannot honestly be used to impeach the integrity of individuals whose careers testify to their character and patriotism. Still less can the presence of such individuals on the board of another organization be honestly used as evidence against the character of that organization.

Finally, it should be noted that nowhere in the charges against the SRC is there the slightest evidence of word or deed that would suggest Communist or subversive tendencies within the organization. The reason, of course, is that no such evidence exists. From the beginning, the

SRC has been squarely opposed to the Communist doctrine and every other totalitarian philosophy. It has worked constructively and responsibly for full enjoyment of legal and human rights by all the people of the South. Those who seek to discredit the patriotism of the Southern Regional Council do so either out of inexcusable ignorance or because they are opposed to the democratic principles for which it stands.

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Congressional Record

United States of America

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 85th CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

Origins and Aims—Report on Negro Voters

SPEECH

OF

HON. PAUL H. DOUGLAS

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, July 26, 1957

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, at various times in the past I have quoted the publications of the Southern Regional Council. The Southern Regional Council is composed entirely of southerners, men and women of good will of both races in the South. It is in no sense a lobbying organization. I have been able to obtain material it provides through the Library of Congress, at my request.

I think the statement which has been prepared on the origins and aims of the Southern Regional Council should be printed in the RECORD at this point so as to indicate the high qualifications of the council and its emotional attachment to the South. So I ask unanimous consent, Mr. President, that the statement be printed in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL: A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF ITS ORIGINS AND AIMS, APRIL 1956

"The South of the future toward which our efforts are directed, is a South freed of stultifying inheritances from the past. It is a South where the measure of a man will be his ability, not his race; where a common citizenship will work in democratic understanding for the common good; where all who labor will be rewarded in proportion to their skill and achievement; where all can feel confident of personal safety and equality before the law; where there will exist no double standard in housing, health, education, or other public services; where segregation will be recognized as a cruel and needless penalty on the human spirit, and will no longer be imposed; where, above all, every individual will enjoy a full share of dignity and self-respect, in recognition of his creation in the image of God." (From a Statement of Policy and Aims of the Southern Regional Council (1951).)

SRC AND THE COMMISSION ON INTERRACIAL COOPERATION

The Southern Regional Council and its predecessor, the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, have a history of 35 years of constructive activity.

In the troubled days following World War I, race conflict and the lawlessness of terror organizations reached such proportions that the need for new techniques of restoring harmony could not be ignored. To meet this need, interracial committees were formed in cities and towns throughout the South. It was found that by bringing together influential members of both races grievances could be aired, mutual problems discussed, and a meeting of minds effected. This method had such beneficial results that interracial committees became an established part of the life of the South in the early twenties. Their influence became southwide through the formation of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, a central organization with headquarters in Atlanta.

The commission was founded in 1919 by a group of the South's leading church men and women. Among them were Dr. M. Ashby Jones, prominent Baptist minister, Dr. John Hope, president of Atlanta University, Mr. John J. Eagan, businessman and philanthropist, Dr. Plato Durham, dean of the Emory University Theology School, Dr. Robert Moton, president of Tuskegee Institute, and Dr. Will W. Alexander, the commission's director. Its work in behalf of sound race relations was acclaimed by the South's leading newspapers, religious leaders, and by many public officials.

The commission helped organize, extend, and guide the work of State and local interracial committees. It assisted them in making their influence felt by newspapers, civil authorities, churches, school officials, police administrators, and health officers. It gave much attention to factual analysis of the problem of lynching and other forms of interracial violence. Its auxiliary, the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching, under the direction of Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames, did much to educate public opinion in the causes and possible remedies for such violence.

From these early activities, the commission built up a body of acquaintance and confidence that has been an increasing asset through the years. The traditional barrier between the races was broken down to allow an interchange of ideas and mutual trust. The notion of cooperative action by people of good will, both white and Negro, took root and has continued to grow. In its 25 years of operation, the commission made the meeting of white and Negro citizens for the discussion of common problems an accepted practice almost everywhere in the South. It marshalled thousands of southern church people in opposition to lynching and other injustices, brought new light to bear on race relations, issued 2 million copies of pamphlets and leaflets, and symbolized the faith of the southern white people and Negro people in the processes of mutual agreement and cooperation.

Transition to SRC

In 1939 the leaders of the commission began to explore the possibility of expanding the activities of the organization to permit a broader approach to the problems of the South. In October, 1940, the commission instructed its executive committee to "take whatever steps are necessary to carry out the plans for the formation of a council on southern regional development," which would include in its program "the work of the commission and other activities connected with the economic, educational, and social development of the South."

Meanwhile the efforts of other progressive southerners were leading them to a similar purpose. The first movement in that direction took place when a group of southern Negro leaders met in Durham, N. C., on October 20, 1942, to set forth just what the Negro wants and is expecting of the postwar South

and Nation, and to enlist the aid of interested white southerners. The result of this historic conference was a comprehensive statement covering the following areas: Political and civil rights, industry and labor, service occupations, education, agriculture, military service, and social welfare and health. Many social thinkers regarded the Durham statement as the most hopeful pronouncement on race relations that had come out of the South in the last 75 years.

In April 1943 a group of southern white leaders met in Atlanta to consider the statement of the Durham conference. These white leaders found the statement so frank and courageous, so free from any suggestion of threat and ultimatum, and so demonstrative of good will, that they gladly pledged their cooperation. "The need," they concluded, "is for a positive program arrived at in an atmosphere of understanding, cooperation, and mutual respect."

SRC organized

Representatives of both the Durham and Atlanta conferences met in Richmond in June 1943, to work out further details. The Durham statement was adopted as a general guide to action, and a continuing committee was appointed to devise practical means of approach. The organizing meeting of the council was held in response to a call issued by some of the South's finest leadership, including C. H. Gillman, Georgia director, CIO; George L. Googe, southern director, AFL; M. Ashby Jones, Baptist minister; Ryland Knight, Baptist minister; Rabbi David Marx, The Temple, Atlanta; Bishop Arthur J. Moore, the Methodist Church; Ralph McGill, editor, the Atlanta Constitution; Stuart R. Oglesby, Presbyterian minister; Most Rev. Gerald P. O'Hara, bishop of Savannah-Atlanta; Dean S. Paden, president, King Hardware Co.; J. McDowell Richards, president, Columbia Theological Seminary; Bishop John Moore Walker, the Protestant Episcopal Church; Goodrich C. White, president, Emory University.

Following the deliberations of this group and a subsequent conference with southern Negro leaders, the SRC was chartered early in 1944. The incorporators were Bishop Arthur J. Moore; Ralph McGill; Dr. Rufus E. Clement, president of Atlanta University; Dr. Charles S. Johnson, president of Fisk University; and Dr. Howard W. Odum, professor of sociology at the University of North Carolina. At the charter meeting, the Commission on Interracial Cooperation met and formally merged its program and assets with those of the council. A strong and democratic council had been established to attain through research and action the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the region.

Since this auspicious beginning, the council's membership has included distinguished southerners, white and Negro, in all walks of life. Dr. Odum was the first president of the organization. He was succeeded by Paul D. Williams, of Richmond, Va., a prominent Catholic layman and cofounder of the Catholic Committee of the South. Mr. Williams served as president for 6 years—from 1945 until 1951. He was succeeded by Mr. Marion A. Wright, widely known as a South Carolina attorney active in civic and educational affairs, now living in Linville Falls, N. C.

How SRC works

The Southern Regional Council consists of a board of some 30 southerners representing the major religious faiths, both races, and the 13 States of the region. These people are the Southern Regional Council. They make the policies and review all activities at an annual meeting. They elect an executive committee which meets at least every 3 months to give closer direction to the organization. And full reports of all activities are sent to the members quarterly. The council is nonprofit, nonpolitical, and nondenominational.

Financial support for the council has come from many different individuals and organizations. Some of the organizations are: the Julius Rosenwald Fund, General Education Board, the Fund for the Republic, Division of Home Missions and Church Extension of the Methodist Church, Woman's Division of Christian Service of the Methodist Church, Phelps-Stokes Fund, Catholic Committee of the South, Board of Education of the Methodist Church, Ashby Jones Memorial Fund, Committee on Woman's Work of the Presbyterian Church of the United States, the National Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church, the Marshall Field Foundation, the Doris Duke Foundation, various trade unions, and some business firms. Individuals support the council through contributions, legacies, and payment of membership dues.

What SRC does

The council's present functions may be summarized as follows: (1) Clearinghouse and coordinating work with numerous agencies working on southern problems; (2) research and survey to determine the facts and the state of public opinion as a basis for sound social action; (3) educational activities through a monthly bulletin, the New South, and through pamphlets, press, radio, television, conferences, and personal contacts; (4) consultative services to private and official agencies; (5) promotion of specific programs of action through the council staff and affiliated State organizations.

Following are some of the areas with which the SRC's educational program has been concerned:

Employment of Negro policemen in southern communities.

Newspaper handling of racial news.

Community self-surveys, in which local people of both races study their problems as a basis for achieving local solutions.

Conferences of leading white and Negro southerners with common concerns and a common desire to further democratic practices in their areas of interest—religion, health, housing, education, etc.

Voluntary decisions to open professional associations, private colleges, public libraries, and the like to all qualified persons without respect to race.

The right to vote without racial discrimination or intimidation.

Impartial enforcement of the law and administration of justice in the South.

Orderly compliance at the community level with the recent decisions of the Supreme Court holding public school segregation unconstitutional.

Church support

Church people have always been the moving force in the southern interracial movement. This is as true today as it was 35 years ago. All of the major religious groups represented in the South have taken their stand in favor of the principle embodied in the Supreme Court's segregation ruling. The Court ruling was endorsed by the Southern Baptist Convention, many of the southern conferences of the Methodist Church, the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church (southern), the Province of Sewanee (southeastern) of the Protestant Episcopal Church, the Catholic Bishops of the South, the various Jewish religious and fraternal groups, and virtually all of the other denominations found in the South. It is only natural that many religious southerners should seek to put the principles of their faith into everyday practice.

The Southern Regional Council and the affiliated State groups have enjoyed both financial and moral support from religious bodies representing the three major faiths.

Dr. George S. Mitchell, executive director of the council, received the 1953 annual award of the Catholic committee of the South "for his significant contribution to the welfare of the South."

Affiliated State organizations

With the aid of a grant from the Fund for the Republic, the Southern Regional Council is assisting interracial organizations in 12 Southern States—Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia. Each of these organizations has its own membership, officers, and staff. In each case, people of the State involved make their own decisions as to policy and program. Affiliation with the Southern Regional Council is voluntary, and the purpose of the short-term financial aid from SRC is to help the State groups become strong, self-sustaining human relations agencies.

Toward the South of the future

The Southern Regional Council's main asset is and has always been those southerners who believe deeply in democratic practices, and who know firsthand the problems of the region. On such people rest the hopes of the South. They have wanted a regional organization, not out of any provincial desire to separate the South's problems from the Nation's, but out of the conviction that such an organization has unique advantages. It can express the best and often neglected elements of Southern thought and con-

science; it can serve as a convincing demonstration of southerners working together as fellow citizens without regard to race; and it can tap local resources and initiative often inaccessible to national groups.

The Southern Regional Council and its affiliates seek to be practical organizations, aiming at working solutions rather than spectacular pronouncements. They hold the belief that every community must ultimately find its own answers within the framework of law and conscience. They offer no master blueprint, no sovereign remedy for the South's human problems. But they do offer a method—that of representative citizens, white and Negro, coming together in equal dignity to find the best ways to move ahead.

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, following the statement with respect to the Southern Regional Council, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the body of the RECORD a most extraordinarily able survey the Southern Regional Council has made, which is just off the press, under date of July 18, 1957. Again I wish to emphasize I have obtained the material at my request from the Library of Congress to show that it was in no sense forced upon me, so to speak.

The survey deals State by State with the various ways in which Negroes are prevented from voting in the South. I highly commend this factual account to the Members of the Senate, as we debate part IV of the bill.

There being no objection, the survey was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE NEGRO VOTER IN THE SOUTH—PART OF A REPORT OF A SURVEY BY THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

(Furnished on his request to Senator DOUGLAS by the Library of Congress, Legislative Reference Service)

DISCRIMINATION AND INTIMIDATION

Just as the main segregationist movement has switched from the white sheet of the Ku Klux Klan to the white collar of the citizens council, so has the pattern of discrimination against the Negro southerner changed in recent years.

In no field is this gradual shift to subtler methods seen more clearly than in a study of Negro registration and voting. Killings, beatings, the dragging of Negroes from their homes in the middle of the night—these are now rare occurrences, compared to previous decades.

Overt violence is, in brief, the exception rather than the rule for racist dealing with assertive Negro citizens. The threat of violent tactics, however, is kept alive in some areas by anonymous telephone calls to Negro leaders. Crosses still are burned, jobs threatened. Occasionally, homes are shot into or bombed.

But, today, with less obvious means employed generally, Negroes interested in voting are far more likely to be barred by a question on the Constitution than by a rope or whip.

Alabama

The Alabama consultant directed a field survey in each of the counties in his State. According to these reports:

Negroes might be treated courteously, as in Bullock County, Ala., where the board of registrars has received Negro applicants pleasantly, let them fill out forms, then told them they didn't pass—with no reasons given. In this county, with 5,423 Negroes of voting age, only 6 were registered in the summer of 1956. In 1953, more than 100 attempted to register; in 1955, only 20 even tried, and of these 19 were refused. One of the six registered succeeded only on his seventh trip to the board.

In other counties of central Alabama, like Bullock, Negroes encounter greater difficulty. This is the black-belt section of the State, so-called because of the dark rich soil, an area where 15 counties have populations over 50 percent Negro.

Among these is Dallas, where only 275 of the 18,132 Negroes of voting age are registered.[1] In 1956 alone, at least 350 were turned down. Some reported that they filled out questionnaires 3 or 4 times but still were not sent registration certificates. Many reported they were given no help in filling out forms although white applicants were. One Negro teacher who registered was fired allegedly for being "too smart;" this frightened many other teachers.

Marengo, another county in the Alabama black belt, simply seems to have stopped registering Negroes. Of 10,223 eligible, 170 were registered before the Supreme Court decision calling for an end to segregated schools. This, plus formation of a local citizens council, is reported to have hardened the lines of white resistance to Negro equality and to have put the brakes on Negro registration.

In Monroe County, Ala., where 140 of the 5,914 Negroes of voting age are registered, other hopeful applicants said more often than not they found the board of registrars had "misplaced the application forms" or told them to return later. Registrars in Hale County, where 130 of 7,036 eligible Negroes are on the voting roll, have turned down 300 in the past 2 years for "failure to fill out forms correctly."

One Negro teacher in Alabama said she was refused because she didn't know the address of her estranged husband. Many Alabama boards require two voters to vouch for all Negro applicants and some require Negroes to produce white character witnesses. Registrars in one county where about 2 percent of nearly 7,000 Negroes over 21 have registered announced that a "good white man" must accompany Negro applicants.

In a black-belt county which is somewhat less than 50 percent Negro, registrars closed their office when a group of Negroes appeared. Other Negro applicants said they were told when the board would meet but then found no one present on arrival. A Negro leader who encouraged other Negroes to vote reported he was threatened anonymously by telephone and told to stop his activities or he would be run out of town. Only about 200 of over 5,000 Negroes have registered.

A Negro leader in Coosa County, Ala., also said he was threatened. Crosses were burned in front of the homes of two leaders of a Negro voters' drive in Choctow County. In the latter, 112 of 4,819 Negroes of voting age are registered; 28 said they were turned down on their first try, but accepted the second time. Most of those initially refused are teachers; maids and yardmen have found it somewhat easier to enroll.

Birmingham and surrounding Jefferson County present one of the gloomiest pictures for Negroes in the South. In no other major city of the region has it been so difficult for them to vote. Only about 7,000 of 121,510 Negroes over 21 are registered; at least that many more have been turned down. Instead of the standard form and the character witnesses, Jefferson County registrars have employed another method unique in the State: Added questions about government. They might ask on what date the 10th amendment to the Constitution became effective, what was the 14th State to be admitted to the Union, on what date did Oklahoma change from a territory to a State? They have recognized no limits to their power to interrogate. While Negroes have been the board's main target, white union members, particularly if they wear overalls or work clothes, have reported that they sometimes find registration difficult or impossible. Negroes appearing before the board often have been questioned for from 35 to 40 minutes; they have had to line up separately, and the longer the line the longer the questioning.

Strong, in his study of Jefferson County, described the method used by registrars to avoid suits with the following hypothetical case: a person who failed to satisfy the board was told orally he did not qualify; the applicant then secured an attorney and filed a suit, which was a signal for the board to register the plaintiff. His suit collapsed and no court has an opportunity to pass on section 33 of the Alabama Code and the "qualified to register" phrase.[2]

In Macon County, Ala., home of famed Tuskegee Institute, many college trained Negroes have found the barriers impregnable. Negroes outnumber white persons about 5 to 1; of the 14,526 of voting age, 1,100 have reg-

[1] Registration figures used are those of 1956.

[2] Donald S. Strong, Registration of Voters in Alabama (Bureau of Public Administration, University of Alabama).

istered. By contrast, the Associated Press reported in April 1956, that 2,700 out of a total Macon County white population of 5,000 had registered, or that fewer than 100 white persons over 21 had failed to do so. An Alabama observer said that the board of registrars would sit until all white citizens interested had registered and then resign. In any event, for the major part of 1956, there was no board in the county, for 2 of the 3 members resigned and it takes at least 2 to transact business. This was at least the third time in a decade this had happened.

North Carolina

In North Carolina, as in other States with literacy laws, the registrar has considerable latitude. He can have the applicant copy indicated sections of the State constitution or he can dictate. Some Negroes have protested the use of dictation, since a registrar often reads too fast or uses a particularly difficult section. However, the State board of elections has upheld a registrar's right to use this means of testing.

A Negro attorney in a rural eastern county of North Carolina said that in certain precincts of this and adjoining counties, "It takes a white man only a few minutes to get registered, but it may take an hour for a Negro. Actually, the latter is given an academic rather than a literacy test. In this county, the tests are tough and the literacy rate low, which doubly handicaps the Negro. The tests given here actually require an interpretation of law."

A Negro college graduate in North Carolina who attempted to register for the May 1956, primary said he was turned down because he could not write a section of the State constitution from memory. Some registrars who want to disqualify Negroes have asked for a definition of such words as "ordained," "sovereignty," "posterity," etc. The replies often do not satisfy the registrar.

But there are counties throughout the State, including the rural piedmont and eastern sections, where literacy requirements are ignored for anyone, white or Negro, who wants to register. In others, only Negroes are required to do some reading. In some rural North Carolina counties, Negroes can register with a minimum of trouble only if sponsored by white persons.

Louisiana

Louisiana applicants for registration have been given a rather complicated form and the law has barred any help in filling it out. In most instances, completion is regarded as evidence of literacy although the registrar may, if he wishes, examine an applicant. There has been wide variation in the practice of helping applicants and in the strictness with which forms are scrutinized for mistakes. In some parishes, Negroes have found it almost impossible to satisfy the high standards demanded of them. In others, both Negroes and whites have been permitted to copy from previously completed forms and mistakes have been overlooked.

If a person is unable to complete the form satisfactorily, he still may qualify in some parts of Louisiana. In a number of parishes many white and Negro illiterates have registered under the physical disability provision of the State constitution. This makes it possible in some instances to control their ballot, because such registrants are entitled to ask for assistance in voting. Practice varies widely with respect to registration of illiterates but, as a rule, where literate Negroes have found it easy to qualify, illiterate Negroes also have met few obstacles.

Under one Louisiana statute which adds to the difficulties of Negro voting, two bona fide registered voters can challenge by affidavit the right of a person to be registered. The person challenged has to respond within 10 days by appearing before the registrar to prove his right to remain on the voting list. If a person fails to appear, his name is removed automatically. Citizens council groups have purged several hundred Negroes from voting lists through this device in more than a dozen parishes, including Natchitoches, Webster, and La Salle. They are able to learn which Negroes have registered under another Louisiana law which permits any 25 registered voters, by application, to copy or photostat registration records.

The Colfax Chronicle, county weekly of Grant Parish, reported (October 12, 1956) that members of the citizens council worked in the registrar's office that week in a frank effort to disfranchise the county's 864 Negro voters. The Chronicle also reported:

Their action followed a White Citizens Council meeting in Dry Prong attended by State Senator William Rainach and other Louisiana segregation advocates. W. J. B. Jones of Colfax County, WCC president, said the group voted unanimously to try to purge Negro voters. Louis Earl Stevens, council secretary, subsequently estimated that at least 90 percent of the Negro registrants were challenged in Grant Parish.

Where, instead of writing out colored on registration blanks the applicant simply put "C," the applications were challenged as being incorrect. Each Negro's age in years, days, and months was refigured and often found off by a day or so. The Chronicle checked the first 100 white registrations in one ward and found only one card which would meet the standards set by the WCC for Negroes. Four, including the superintendent of schools, figured their ages incorrectly. In a further check, the Chronicle discovered that not a single member of a citizens council committee had filled in correctly all the blanks. Needless to say, only the Negroes were challenged. Of the more than 700 Negroes purged 2 weeks before the November general election, 399 had cleared the challenges a week before the deadline.

The Chronicle commended Registrar Maxine Mosley for her fairness in dealing with the Negroes challenged.

Not all members of the white community supported the purge effort. District Attorney Sam L. Wells said he would be a witness and sign affidavits for those challenged registrants whose place of residence he knew of his own personal knowledge. J. M. Straughan of route 8, Colfax, wrote the Chronicle:

"I'm a southerner born and raised right here in central Louisiana and I am opposed to integration as strongly as any southerner could be. But what has integration got to do with the removal of Negroes from the registration rolls. I for one, will be glad to sign an affidavit for those colored voters I know to help keep them from being imposed on."

On February 25, 1957, the Justice Department made public some FBI findings on registration of Negroes in Louisiana. Assistant Attorney General Warren Olney III, said the FBI material indicated that testimony by Louisiana Attorney General Jack P. Gremillion to a House Judiciary Subcommittee "might have left a misleading impression in a number of respects." Olney's statement was in a letter to Chairman EMANUEL CELLER, Democrat, of New York, who presided at hearings in which Gremillion testified against the Eisenhower administration's civil-rights proposals.[3]

Olney said that Gremillion had mentioned "some difficulty with respect to voting" in Ouachita Parish, but contended this was "more or less an exception."

In fact, Olney asserted, the FBI investigated the handling of registrations in 10 Louisiana parishes and found that 8,552 Negroes were challenged when they tried to register in 1956.

Olney said that in Ouachita Parish there were some 4,000 registered Negro voters in the early fall of 1956 but that after a purge in October "there were in excess of 3,000 Negro voters deprived of the right to vote in the general election of November 6."

The Justice Department official challenged a number of Gremillion's statements, including his claim that registrants had a free choice in selecting the section of the United States Constitution they wished to interpret as part of their test.

"In none of the 10 parishes is there any evidence that the registrar permitted the applicant to choose which clause of the Constitution he wished to interpret," Olney said.

"Specifically, in the case arising from Ouachita Parish, the investigation by the FBI disclosed that the registrar of voters in examining applicants used a card on which was written an excerpt from the Constitution, which card was given to the registrar by the Citizens Council of Ouachita Parish."

Gremillion had told the committee that when a registered voter was challenged, the registrar sent a record of the challenge to the registrant, including a reply form, giving him 10 days to appear and establish his right to remain on the rolls by presenting statements from three voters registered in the same parish.

Olney said this did not appear to be the general practice in the parishes investigated. In six, he added, registrars "did everything to discourage the filing of reply affidavits

[3] Associated Press, Washington, D. C., February 27, 1957.

in the statutory form and generally refused them when offered." He told Chairman CELLER that the FBI found instances of registrars refusing to accept white persons as supporting witnesses for Negroes on grounds they were of a different race.

There appeared to be a concerted effort in October 1956 by white citizens councils in Louisiana and other Southern States to get Negro registrants off the rolls or to prevent their registration, Olney added.

"With respect only to cases which have been investigated by the FBI," he continued, "the following numbers of Negro voters were challenged in each of the following parishes:

"Bienville, 560; Caldwell, 330; De Soto, 383; Grant, 758; Jackson, 953; La Salle, 345; Lincoln, 326; Ouachita, 3,240; Rapides, 1,058; and Union, 600."

However, there still are areas in Louisiana where there are no Negro registrants to challenge. For example, in one parish, which is over 50 percent Negro, none of the 4,500 Negroes of voting age had registered at the time of the 1956 general election. Only one had tried in recent years. A local priest recounted the Negro's experience: when he appeared, the registrar immediately took him to the sheriff, who asked, "Aren't you happy here? Is something wrong with the way things operate around here? If you aren't happy perhaps we could arrange for you to leave." The hapless Negro promptly assured the sheriff of his happiness and allowed that his attempt to register had been a tragic mistake. He remained in the community but his wife lost her job.

There are no Negroes registered in Tensas, East Carroll, Madison, and West Feliciana Parishes, all counties with populations over 50 percent Negro. "In these parishes," the Louisiana consultant said, "subterfuge is unnecessary to discourage Negro registration. Negroes know they should not and cannot register and therefore rarely attempt to do so."

In the general election in November 1956 Louisiana voters defeated a proposed constitutional amendment designed to help the Citizens Council cut Negro voting even more. The measure was drafted by the legislative watchdog committee on segregation which previously had won approval easily for its proposals. The amendment, which was turned down by an unofficial total of 190,410 to 178,833, required certain administrative steps before a voter losing his registration could take the matter into court. Thus, said the Associated Press in a dispatch from Baton Rouge, it would have set up "administrative barriers to a Federal court action."

South Carolina

In South Carolina the prevalence of discriminatory tactics in some counties where Negroes are in the majority is quite evident. Registration books are moved from place to place to keep Negroes from getting a certificate; they are given literacy tests that have little to do with reading and writing the State constitution, as required by South Carolina law; Negroes complain that if a number go together to register in some counties, clerks will pass only one or two and tell the rest the books are closed for the day. In a few counties, Negroes who had been certified have complied with demands of employers and other white persons that they remove their names from registration books. Some have said they were threatened with harm for attempting to vote, and many landlords reportedly have warned their Negro tenants that if they registered they would be fired.

Calhoun County, S. C., with more than twice as many Negroes as whites—10,449 to 4,304—has no Negroes registered, although 4,437 of them are of voting age. "Any Negro who tries to get a registration certificate is called a smart Negro and sooner or later leaves the community," a field consultant said.

McCormick County, S. C., where the population split is 5,998 Negroes, 3,589 whites, also has no Negroes registered out of the 2,625 over 21. All Negroes who had registration certificates in 1948 had their names purged from the voting list. The majority of Negroes in the county are sharecroppers; reportedly, they could not sell their produce until their names were removed.

In another South Carolina county, Abbeville, where only 15 of the 3,687 Negroes of voting age are registered (as compared to 6,000 of the 8,951 whites), an atmosphere of fear was found. Three years ago a Negro cottonwood worker was said to have been beaten at night for voting. Since then, Negroes have not taken part in elections and almost all of those who had registration certificates have lost them.

Texas

Intimidation as a means of limiting Negro voting in Texas was found to be relatively rare. Recent violence in the State usually has been aimed at school integration, notably in Mansfield. There have been occasional reports of local discrimination against potential Negro voters, generally in the form of a segment of the white population playing on the ignorance of the poorly educated among the Negroes—to imply, for example, that property taxes must have been paid to vote. But, by and large, the poll tax remains the only obvious deterrent.

Virginia

While discrimination in applying provisions of the Virginia poll tax and registration law is not found generally in that State, nevertheless it has been reported in certain counties and a few cities. Some Negro leaders feel that poorer white citizens often experience the same difficulties as do Negroes.

The poll tax can be an effective barrier for the politically uninformed, the educationally handicapped, and the socially disadvantaged. Just the use of words confuses many of the poorly educated who often do not know that in paying their Virginia capitation tax they have paid their poll taxes. Some tax collectors reportedly have discouraged voting by telling Negroes they do not have to pay poll taxes. Many Negroes have reported they did not receive poll-tax bills along with their property-tax notices, as did their fellow white citizens. These and similar methods have been employed to discourage Negroes from paying their poll taxes in some counties and it often seems that only those who know the legal requirements and insist on paying can win their right to register.

As for registration itself, Negroes sometimes encounter further barriers in Virginia. The same discriminatory methods of administering literacy tests found in other States turn up here and there in the State, where in some counties Negroes have to meet all the technical requirements of grammar, punctuation, and handwriting in filling out their application forms; they alone are given reading or education tests, or have to complete printed forms containing legal phraseology. Some white registrars will see white applicants at any time but are busy or ill or do not have their books when Negroes appear. When registrars operate in their homes, this presents a particular problem because of the long-standing southern custom of Negroes appearing in white homes only in a servant capacity.

Florida

In 1940, Florida had 51 counties with no Negroes registered, by 1946, only 4, and 10 years later only 2. However, the number of counties in which Negroes are registered gives an exaggerated picture of the extent of Negro registration. In some counties Negro electors constitute a small proportion of those on the voting lists. This is seen, for example, in the following counties:

County	Negro population over 21	Negro percentage of total population	Number of Negroes registered, 1956
Flagler	872	45.6	13
Gadsden	10,930	56.1	3
Liberty	333	18.1	1
Taylor	1,945	30.5	77

In the counties where Negro suffrage is limited most sharply, fear is a major deterring factor. In parts of the State, indirect methods are used to discourage Negro voters and the open threat has been reported, too. In one county, the first Negro registrants in history were subjected to several forms of intimidation—cross burnings, bomb-throwings and shots fired into their homes. All but one of the registrants in this county withdrew their names from the rolls.

In another Florida county, in the plantation section, it was reported that Negroes, most of whom live in rural areas, are not permitted in the business district on election day. In still another county one supervisor of registration has told Negro applicants, "Come on in and register," while sitting with his legs stretched across the door. Other Negroes complained that loungers around a courthouse told them, "Go ahead and register if you can take what comes afterward."

Georgia

Field studies were made in a number of Georgia counties representative of the various subregional areas of the State. One of these is Early, located in the extreme southwest portion of Georgia on the Alabama line. It is in a cluster of counties considered the hard core of the State in terms of resistance to integration. In such counties as Early, Miller, Seminole, and Decatur, the Negro population is from 30 to 50 percent of the total. In other southwest counties such as Clay, Calhoun, Baker, Dougherty, Quitman, Randolph, Terrell, Lee, Sumter, Webster, and Stewart, the Negro percentage of the total population is over 50 percent. The means of excluding Negroes as registrants in these counties is similar to that reported in other areas of the South. In some, there is the ever present threat of racial violence, which erupts on occasions. Often, police brutality against Negroes indicates to them they cannot depend upon law enforcement authorities to offer them protection if they try to vote. In recent years, economic pressures have been directed against Negroes militant enough to demand educational and political equality.

In some instances, Georgia sheriffs, instead of the boards of registrars, question prospective Negro registrants about the Constitution. Sheriffs, being white and also the "law," Negro applicants thus receive two warnings at one time.

In Early County, only 226 Negroes of the 4,790 over 18 (the legal voting age in Georgia) are registered. Many others who went to the courthouse to register said they later were summoned to appear there before the board of registrars to answer questions. The majority of those who showed up were disqualified and those who did not were removed from the list automatically. This is an effective method of disqualifying Negroes there who often think of going to the courthouse for any reason with misgiving. They know they are not expected to drive their cars up to the courthouse square to park.

Separate ballot boxes for white and Negro votes continue in use in many Georgia counties. This practice of separating ballots on a racial basis is an indirect technique of disfranchising some of the Negro voters who are unwilling to take a chance on having white persons discover how they voted.

Often, racial incidents have an effect both in the community involved and in adjacent counties. There is disagreement on the extent to which they deter registration, but fear of violence is bound to condition the thoughts and actions of some. In Walton County, Ga., many Negroes interviewed said there is more fear of lynching outside the county than inside. This county was the scene of an unsolved daylight lynching in 1946 of 4 Negroes—2 men and 2 women, 1 of whom was pregnant. One Negro in Walton said he did not think that Negroes generally are afraid to register there. He added that the so-called leading Negroes are afraid but the Negro working by the day isn't. Negro teachers and ministers seem to be afraid because of what they may lose; but what it is, I don't know."

Arkansas

In Arkansas, on rare occasions, clerks in the sheriff's office may tend to discourage poll-tax payments through various means of discourtesy. For the most part, however, the poll tax is more important in Arkansas as a source of revenue than as a device for the disfranchisement of the Negro. In 1956, voters rejected an amendment to repeal it. Some important Negro leaders opposed its abolition. They believed that if the State dropped the poll tax it might adopt registration procedures requiring the filling out of forms or answering of questions and that Negroes then would experience far more difficulty than at present.

Mississippi

Finally, Mississippi. All forms of violence, intimidation and discrimination reported from other States were found here. Where other sections usually rely on 1 or 2 means of limiting Negro registration, Mississippi, home of the White Citizens Council, apparently uses them all. As a result, the State which has the highest percentage of Negroes in the country has the lowest percentage registered. Only 4 percent were on the list of qualified voters in 1955, although Negroes make up 41 percent of the total population of voting age.

In the 13 Mississippi counties listed as having a population of more than 50-percent Negro, a total of 14 votes was cast in the 3 elections on which information was available for 1954. Five of the counties had no Negroes qualified and 3 had 1 registered who never voted. In the 7 counties having more than 60-percent Negro population, 2 votes were cast by Negroes in 1954.

Violence, threats, and economic reprisals discouraged Negroes interested in voting in Mississippi. Some instances were publicized but it may reasonably be supposed that others went unreported. In 1955 alone, a string of reports of brutality and illegal tactics came out of the State.

In the early spring of that year, Gus Courts, a Negro grocer at Belzoni, Miss., was told to move from his home and withdraw his name as president of the local NAACP chapter. He was forced to move his grocery store and advised to remove his name from the voting rolls. He refused; and, in November 1955, he was shot and seriously wounded by a group of men in a car who fired into his store.

Recovering from his wounds, Courts told a reporter: "I've known for a long time it was coming, and I'd tried to get prepared in my mind for it. But that's a hard thing to do when you know they're going to try to slip up and steal your life in the night and not in the bright. It's bad when you know you might get shot just walking around in your store. That's a hard kind of life to lead."

Courts was puzzled as to why anyone would want to shoot him for, "I've never been a troublemaker and I've never had on handcuffs. I'm 65 years old and I've never had the vote. That's all I wanted."

Courts' predecessor as NAACP president in Belzoni, the Rev. George Washington Lee, was killed May 7, 1954. The United Press, in a story from Belzoni on the Courts shooting, gave this background on the Lee death:

"The Reverend Lee was shot, allegedly on the day he refused a request from a white citizen that he remove his name from the voters' registration list. In that death, first of three race killings in Mississippi this year, Lee reportedly was driving down a Belzoni street when a car in which two white men and a Negro were riding suddenly came from behind and a shotgun blast shattered the Negro's car."

A coroner's inquest returned a verdict of accidental death and made no reference to the wounds in the dead man's face.

Other incidents in Mississippi in 1955, as reported by wire services and newspapers: T. V. Johnson, Belzoni Negro undertaker, was told to remove his name from the voting rolls if he desired continued credit; the Rev. James Hargroves fled the State after he was threatened with the fate of the Reverend Lee if he continued to work for the NAACP. In August, Lamar Smith, a Lincoln County Negro, was shot fatally; no indictment was returned, although reports indicated there were several witnesses to the shooting. Elsewhere, the home of a Negro leader was fired upon, and crosses were burned in front of the homes of two others. There were additional instances of violence against Negroes for activities other than voting.

If, despite the harassment and brutality, Negroes still try to vote in Mississippi, there is the State's registration law to act as a deterrent. The rigid education test, the essay on citizenship, all the requirements of the tighter registration law passed in 1954, present innumerable opportunities for the white registrar opposed to Negro registration.

LEGAL, SOCIAL, AND ECONOMIC FACTORS

The legal weapon most widely used in the South to discourage Negro registration is some form of literacy or constitutional interpretation test.

This weapon is the successor to the white primary—long the most effective method of restricting voting. Another weapon effective in the past, the poll tax, also has lost much of its sting with increased economic opportunity. Today only five States retain the poll tax—Alabama, Arkansas, Mississippi, Texas, and Virginia.

Some of the requirements in Southern States based on literacy or constitutional interpretation tests include:

Alabama

In addition to the usual basic qualification, the Voters Qualification Amendment of

1951 provides: "The following persons * * * shall be qualified to register * * * those who can read and write any article of the Constitution of the United States in the English language which may be submitted to them by the board of registrars, provided, however, that no person shall be entitled to register as electors except those who are of good character and who embrace the duties and obligations of citizenship under the Constitution of the United States and under the constitution of the State of Alabama, and provided, further that * * * each applicant shall be furnished * * * a written questionnaire * * *. Such questionnaire shall be answered in writing by the applicant, in the presence of the board without assistance."

Georgia

A registrant must be able to read correctly in English any paragraph of the State or United States Constitution and correctly write the same when read to him. Only those unable to read or write because of physical inability may qualify if they can understand and give a reasonable interpretation of constitutional sections read to them. There is a property alternative: 40 acres of land in the State on which an elector resides or property in the State assessed for taxation at $500 or more.

Mississippi

In 1954, Mississippi voters approved a constitutional amendment tightening the State's registration law. It makes ability to read and write a prerequisite; before that, an applicant could register if able to read or understand the Constitution when read to him. In addition to literacy, the amendment requires a new applicant to satisfy the county registrar as to his knowledge of citizenship under a constitutional form of government and to state why he feels he should be given the right to vote and what it means to him. Applicants are to write their own statements without aid.

Virginia

Unless physically unable, the prospective voter must apply to the registrar in his own handwriting, without aid, in the presence of the registrar, stating therein his name, age, date and place of birth, residence and occupation at the time and for the 1 year next preceding and whether he has voted previously and, if so, the State, county, and precinct in which he voted last. Also, he must answer on oath any questions affecting his qualifications as an elector, submitted to him by the registrar; questions and his answers must be reduced to writing, certified by the said officer and preserved as part of his official records.

South Carolina

A registrant must be able to "read and write" any section of the State constitution. An alternative is ownership and payment of taxes for the previous year on property in the State assessed at $300 or more.

Arkansas

Except for the usual requirements of age and residence, the one dollar, noncumulative poll tax is the only requirement for voting. Members of the Armed Forces are exempt. Certain adults are required by law to possess a poll tax receipt: those receiving wages, salaries, or other compensation paid from public funds (this includes white and Negro teachers) and those who apply for a license or permit from the State.

Louisiana

A prospective voter must be able to read and write and understand the duties and obligations of citizenship "under a republican form of government." Also, he must be able to read any clause in the State or United States Constitution and give interpretation satisfactory to the registrar. If he is unable to read or write, the applicant is entitled to register if he is a person of good character and reputation, attached to the principles of the Louisiana and United States Constitutions and if he is able to interpret any section of either. If an applicant is unable to read or write due to a physical disability, then the foregoing requirements may be waived. However, such an applicant must be accompanied by two witnesses who are registered voters from the applicant's precinct. No person may be a witness for more than two applicants.

North Carolina

Prospective voters must be able to read and write any section of the Constitution to the satisfaction of the registrar, who may have the applicant copy indicated sections of the State constitution or may dictate any section he chooses.

With such broad discretion left to registrars it is easy to see why Negroes may find it almost impossible to qualify in one county and comparatively easy in the next. In the last analysis, a Negro's ability to vote in a State with a literacy law still often depends on an individual registrar's sense of justice—or prejudice.

Socioeconomic factors also operate in determining the number of Negroes who vote. Racial, economic, and social patterns of any southern community exert a powerful influence on Negro registration.

Statistics on education, urbanization, farm tenancy, income, and racial composition help paint a fairly accurate picture of why Negro registration is above or below average.

Relatively few Negroes are likely to be registered in counties where they make up a large proportion of the population, in counties where education and income medians are low, and in counties that are predominantly agricultural and have a high rate of farm tenancy.

At the same time, in counties where Negroes comprise a large part of the population, white registration tends to be above normal.

Negroes are more likely to be registered in counties where they represent a small percentage of the total population, where they are better educated, are less dependent on the whims of white landlords and employers and are in a sounder economic position generally.

There are exceptions to these generalizations, of course; but Georgia presents a fairly typical picture.

In Georgia's 157 counties with Negro population of voting age, the median percentage of eligible Negroes registered is 25. However, the range of the registration figures is wide.

In only five Georgia counties does the number of Negro registrants exceed the number of white registrants, although there are more Negroes than whites of voting age in 27 counties.

The population ratio and its effect on voting is strikingly shown in Georgia figures. In counties where the percentage of Negroes in the population is below the State average, 69 percent show Negro registration above the State median; 68 percent of the counties above the State average in Negro population are below the median in Negro registration. The association is even more marked in counties with a population over half Negro—80 percent of these fall below the median in Negro registration.

The relationship between education and political participation also turned up in the Georgia survey. In counties where Negroes rank above the State median in the number of school years completed, 89 percent also are high in Negro registration. By contrast, only 37 percent of the counties below the median in Negro educational attainment have high registration figures.

As to the significance of economic factors, it is found that of the Georgia counties having median family income above the State figure of $1,130, 61 percent have high Negro registration. In counties below the median income level, only 35 percent are high in the number of Negroes qualified to vote. In short, Negro registration tends to increase along with overall income.

Also, there is a tendency in Georgia for predominantly industrial counties to rank higher in Negro registration than those primarily agricultural. Among counties in which farm income exceeds manufacturing income, 37 percent are high in Negro registration, as contrasted with 58 percent in counties where manufacturing exceeds agricultural income.

The agricultural counties in Georgia deriving more farm income from livestock, dairying, and poultry are somewhat higher in the percentage of Negroes registered than those in which the income stems largely from row crops. Also, there is a definite relationship between tenancy and registration. Among the Georgia agricultural counties which exceed the State average in the number of farms operated by tenants, only 34 percent have high registration figures, but among the counties below the State average in tenancy, 63 percent rank high in Negro registration.

Social and economic factors which influence Negro registration in Georgia apply in large measure over much of the South.

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Mr. Bennett And His Hired Witnesses

Ark. Gazette

It has not yet been determined how much the taxpayers of Arkansas paid for the Legislative Council Communist investigation, which has now concluded after serving no higher purpose than providing Attorney General Bruce Bennett a platform for a race for governor.

The fees going to J. B. Matthews, one of the discredited professional witnesses upon which Mr. Bennett relied, now total $960 and we assume that other members of the road company will be compensated on a similar basis.

Predictably, the testimony purchased at that price is already falling apart—as it would have done instantly had Mr. Bennett and the Committee permitted those who were smeared there an opportunity to reply to their accusers.

For example, Mr. Matthews identified a Horace Evans (or Adams) as being currently or formerly on the faculty of Arkansas AM&N College and being at the same time associated with the suspect Southern Conference Educational Fund. President Lawrence Davis of the College says that a check of the records of the College for several years back reveals no Horace Evans (or Adams).

Similarly Mr. Matthews named four persons he said were on the faculty of the College of the Ozarks as being associated with the Educational Fund. President Winslow S. Drummond of the College said that none of these has been on the faculty at Ozarks since he assumed the presidency in 1953, and added the simple truth that the church-related College is "militantly opposed to everything that Communism represents."

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Another of the hired witnesses who has traveled with Mr. Matthews to similar hearings in Louisiana and other Southern states is Manning Johnson, a Negro who says he is a reformed Communist and whose function is to allege that the NAACP is Communist-dominated. In addition to his fee the state had to provide several state policemen as bodyguards after he allegedly received an anonymous threatening phone call — a mission that would require a vast expansion of the force if similar service were provided for all the citizens of the state who receive such messages these days.

The validity of Johnson's testimony is indicated by the record of his appearance in March, 1957, before a Louisiana investigating committee. At that session he testified that he was "now employed as director of research for the Department of Justice in Washington, D. C." After this statement was reported in the press, the Department of Justice, in reply to a query from the NAACP, released a letter over the signature of Arthur B. Caldwell, the native Arkansan who was then head of the Civil Rights Section. This official document said in part:

> Manning Johnson is not employed by the Department of Justice as director of research or in any other capacity. In fact there is not nor has there ever been any such position as director of research in this Department. Further with respect to any testimony Manning Johnson may have given before the above mentioned committee, he had no authority to speak for or on behalf of the Department of Justice. You may be assured that his testimony concerning the alleged relationship between the NAACP and the Communist Party does not, in any manner, reflect the views of this Department or any findings it has made.

★ ★ ★

The records of these professional witnesses were, of course, available to Mr. Bennett and the Committee before they were ever hired. But their road show appears to have been politically useful in Louisiana and elsewhere, so Mr. Bennett decided to try it out here. Our own regard for the intelligence of the people of Arkansas being somewhat higher than the attorney general's, we doubt that the investigation did Mr. Bennett any good even in those primitive terms—but it certainly did harm numerous citizens and institutions who have a right to expect more responsible behavior from their elected officials.

January 14, 1970

Paul --

Late yesterday afternoon Jim got a phone call from a MR. ROBERT C. SHUMAN, APT. #7, 120 LEWIS DRIVE, MARIETTA, GA., 30060. Mr. Shuman apparently heard you on WRNG Radio and has requested documentation showing the MANNING JOHNSON'S testimonies were repudiated.

I have gone through our Defense Materials files and have come up with what I think you might want to send Mr. Shuman. As is indicated in some of the materials, Manning Johnson's testimony was found to be "tainted" by the Subversive Activities Control Board in its report of August 11, 1956. There are other items here that substantiate this fact. I looked everywhere around here, including our Research Department, trying to come up with a copy of the Subversive Activities Control Board Report. There is not one here. However, if Mr. Shuman would like to see a copy in print, he could be referred to the Subversive Activities Control Board with offices in the Lafayette Building, 811 Vermont Avenue, Washington, D. C. 20445. If you wish to send the attached I'll be glad to xerox it all for you.

Mildred

January 16, 1970

Mr. Robert C. Shuman
120 Lewis Drive
Apartment #7
Marietta, Georgia 30060

Dear Mr. Shuman:

Enclosed are excerpts from our files on Manning Johnson -- a newspaper column about him, and a brief chronology of other false testimonies he is known to have given. All of this information is on file with the Subversive Activities Control Board. Should you wish to check with that Board it is located at 811 Vermont Avenue, Washington, D. C. 20445.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosures

Mr. Bennett And His Hired Witnesses

It has not yet been determined how much the taxpayers of Arkansas paid for the Legislative Council Communist investigation, which has now concluded after serving no higher purpose than providing Attorney General Bruce Bennett a platform for a race for governor.

The fees going to J. B. Matthews, one of the discredited professional witnesses upon which Mr. Bennett relied, now total $960 and we assume that other members of the road company will be compensated on a similar basis.

Predictably, the testimony purchased at that price is already falling apart—as it would have done instantly had Mr. Bennett and the Committee permitted those who were smeared there an opportunity to reply to their accusers.

For example, Mr. Matthews identified a Horace Evans (or Adams) as being currently or formerly on the faculty of Arkansas AM&N College and being at the same time associated with the suspect Southern Conference Educational Fund. President Lawrence Davis of the College says that a check of the records of the College for several years back reveals no Horace Evans (or Adams).

Similarly Mr. Matthews named four persons he said were on the faculty of the College of the Ozarks as being associated with the Educational Fund. President Winslow S. Drummond of the College said that none of these has been on the faculty at Ozarks since he assumed the presidency in 1953, and added the simple truth that the church-related College is "militantly opposed to everything that Communism represents."

* * *

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MANNING JOHNSON

The "Nation" of 4/10/54 contained a number of articles on "The Informer" featuring on page 305 an item on JOHNSON, a Dept. of Justice informer, who has testified in about 25 court cases and a number of congressional hearings.

"...In the second trial of Harry Bridges he testified that the West Coast waterfront leader had been present at a Communist convention in N.Y.C. on 6/27 or 6/28/36. But Bridges presented 6 witnesses, a number of newspaper reports, and other documentary evidence to prove his presence at a longshoremen's meeting in Stockton,Calif, at a time which made it physically impossible for him to be in N.Y. on the days mentioned. On the basis of this evidence counsel for Bridges demanded that JOHNSON be charged with perjury. The trial judge refused immediate action, but directed JOHNSON to hold himself in 'readiness for the processes of this court until the conclusion of the trial.' To date no action has been taken against him.

In 1951 JOHNSON testified before the Subversive Activities Control Board.On cross-examination the witness confirmed that he had given evidence in a Penn. sedition trial as follows

'Q. In other words, you will tell a lie under oath in a court of law rather than run counter to your instructions from the FBI. Is that right?

A. If the interests of my gov't are at stake. In the face of enemies at home and abroad, if maintaining secrecy of the techniques of methods of operation of the FBI, who have responsibility of the protection of our people, I say I will do it a thousand times.'

In the Penn. sedition case he admitted that he had testified falsely in the deportation proceedings against one Nat Yanish in 1948.

'Q. The testimony was not correct,was it, MR.JOHNSON?

A. No, it wasn't precisely, because I could not at that time reveal the fact that I had supplied information to the FBI...I think the security of the gov't of the U.S. has priority over...any other connection.'"

In their 7/4/54 Herald-Tribune column headed "Brownell Investigates Brownell", by the Alsops, they state that 3 of the Justice Dept's paid informers,including JOHNSON, are now being investigated for possible perjury by the Justice Department itself. JOHNSON is being investigated because of his testimony in the loyalty case of Dr.Ralph Bunche. "In the last 2 years the Justice Dept. has paid JOHNSON $9,096 or just under $400 a month. The dept. does not know of any other work JOHNSON was doing until two weeks ago, when he got a job as an insurance salesman....JOHNSON has testified under oath that he would lie under oath if directed to do so by his present employers. He said this to explain a false denial,also under oath,that he had become a Justice Dept. informer."

The "New Republic" of 7/5/54 carried an article on JOHNSON entitled "Professor Of Perjury" (page 22).

On 2/22/55, Harvey Matusow testified before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, and indicated that he considered Paul Crouch,Louis Budenz and JOHNSON false witnesses.

On 2/28/55, Matusow testified before the same committee and admitted he had no proof but insisted that ex-Communists Elizabeth Bentley, Paul Crouch, Louis Budenz & JOHNSON had lied at Red trials and probes.

On 8/11/56, the Subversive Activities Control Board reaffirmed its view that the U.S. Communist Party was Moscow controlled after reviewing its finding that the Communist Party must register with the Attorney General under the 1950 Internal Security Act. The SCAB expunged from the record of hearings on the case what it called "tainted" testimony given by Harvey Matusow, MANNING JOHNSON and the late Paul Crouch.

HELP...
Defeat Liberals
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Candidates for Senate (partial listing)

	ACA	ADA
Hartke (D-Ind.)	21	100
Tydings (D-Md.)	7	89
Hart (D-Mich.)	7	100
Cannon (D-Nev.)	54	50
Williams (D-N.J.)	7	94
Montoya (D-N.M.)	7	72
Goodell (R-N.Y.)	10	83
Burdick (D-N.D.)	20	83
Gore (D-Tenn.)	43	61
Moss (D-Utah)	7	83

Candidates for House (partial listing)

	ACA	ADA
Edwards (D-Calif.)	17	100
Evans (D-Colo.)	6	80
Brademas (D-Ind.)	7	73
Hamilton (D-Ind.)	13	53
Harrington (D-Mass.)	22	100
Helstoski (D-N.J.)	12	93
Melcher (D-Mont.)	14	93
Lowenstein (D-N.Y.)	20	100
Wolff (D-N.Y.)	29	80
Yatron (D-Penn.)	29	60
Fulton (D-Tenn.)	30	40
Obey (D-Wisc.)	20	92

and
Elect Conservatives
like these

Candidates for House (partial listing)

	ACA	ADA
Phyllis Schlafly (Ill.)	*	*
Jay Wilkinson (Okla.)	*	*
Richard Richards (Utah)	*	*
Rep. Philip Crane (Ill.)	100	0
Rep. Barry Goldwater, Jr. (Calif.)	91	0
Rep. William Minshall (Ohio)	87	7
Rep. M. G. (Gene) Snyder (Ky.)	93	7
Rep. Ed Foreman (N.M.)	96	7
Rep. Manuel Lujan (N.M.)	76	13
Rep. Fletcher Thompson (Ga.)	81	0
Rep. James Collins (Tex.)	100	0
Rep. Henry Schadeberg (Wisc.)	94	13

Candidates for Senate (partial listing)

	ACA	ADA
Rep. Laurence Burton (Utah)	83	0
Rep. William Brock (Tenn.)	89	7
Rep. William Cramer (Fla.)	88	0
Rep. George Bush (Tex.)	78	7
Rep. Thomas Kleppe (N.D.)	82	7
Rep. William Roth (Del.)	82	7
Sen. George Murphy (Calif.)	81	11
Sen. Roman Hruska (Neb.)	94	6
Sen. Paul Fannin (Ariz.)	87	0
Anderson Carter (N.M.)	*	*

ADA, the Liberal Americans for Democratic Action rating organization
ACA, the Conservative Americans for Constitutional Action rating organization
*Non-incumbent

CONSERVATIVE VICTORY FUND

c/o ACU • 328 Pennsylvania Avenue, S.E.
Washington, D. C. 20003

Dear Congressman Ashbrook:

*I want to **defeat** the Liberals' revolutionary legislative program for the 70's by helping to **elect** conservatives to the Senate and House this year. I have filled in the "Conservative Victory Ballot," and I am enclosing my maximum contribution of $_____.*

(Please make all checks payable to the CONSERVATIVE VICTORY FUND.)

My Name _____
☐ Mr. ☐ Mrs. ☐ Miss (Please Print)

Address _____

City/State _____ Zip _____

Special Victory Fund Gifts:

☐ Enclosed is $15 or more. Please send me *Battle Line*—ACU's hard-hitting campaign newsletter—from now through the elections.

☐ Enclosed is $100 or more. In addition, please enroll me as a Lifetime Member of the American Conservative Union.

About Your Contribution:

The Left—represented by Big Labor, civil rights organizations, and tax-exempt foundations—is ready, willing and able to spend **millions** this year to "buy" elections for their peace candidates. Conservatives **must** be willing to meet this grave challenge or face defeat in November—**and for decades to come.** Don't let the Left win by default! Substantial contributions of $50, $100, $250, $500, $1,000 and more are needed along with smaller ones of $25, $15, $10 or less. **Every penny you give,** over and above our mailing costs, will be used **directly** and **exclusively** to help elect **conservative** candidates. So please search your heart and your pocketbook to **give your generous best.** Thank you!

Upon request, a copy of the financial statement as filed with the Clerk of The House will be sent to you showing what candidates received aid from the Conservative Victory Fund.

Conservative Victory Ballot

How do you stand on these key election year issues:

	Yes	No
1. Do you favor stronger legislation to curb crime, Left-wing terror bombings, and pornography?	☐	☐
2. Do you favor busing of children to achieve school integration?	☐	☐
3. Do you favor U. S. military **superiority**—rather than **parity**—over the Soviet Union and Communist China?	☐	☐
4. Do you support President Nixon's guaranteed annual income plan for all welfare recipients?	☐	☐
5. Do you favor immediate unilateral withdrawal of U. S. troops from Vietnam?	☐	☐
6. Do you favor increased trade with Communist countries?	☐	☐

[The results of this conservative opinion poll will be released to the press and sent to President Nixon, the GOP national committees, and to all Republican Congressional candidates to show them (a) how conservatives stand on the issues, and (b) that conservatives will support only those candidates who take similar stands.]

NOTE:
If your name appears on more than one of the mailing lists being used by the Conservative Victory Fund, you might receive a duplicate copy of this urgent appeal. If this happens, we sincerely apologize but hasten to explain that the cost to remove internal duplications on these lists is usually prohibitive and often impossible because of production problems. Instead of discarding the copy, you can help our cause by passing any extra copies along to a friend who might also contribute. Thank you!

CONSERVATIVE VICTORY FUND

Receives United Support from Conservative Leaders

Mr. John Chamberlain,
Nationally syndicated columnist

"Whether America is to survive as a nation depends on the people and their representatives in Congress. I wholeheartedly back the Conservative Victory Fund and its objective of electing conservatives to Congress."

Hon. Philip M. Crane, M.C., ***Illinois***

"Unless we conservatives unite for political action we can expect the unions and COPE to win everytime. The Conservative Victory Fund combats the power of union bosses in a way they understand—by providing political muscle to elect conservatives to Congress."

Mr. J. Alan MacKay, ***Former National Chairman, Young Americans for Freedom***

"The Conservative Victory Fund is administered by the most responsible conservative leaders in the nation. What better assurance could a contributor have that his money will go directly to electing conservatives to Congress!"

Mr. J. Daniel Mahoney, ***Chairman, Conservative Party in New York***

"Conservatives are elected to office only by hard work and financial support. The Conservative Victory Fund is the ideal means to finance a candidate for the House or Senate."

Mr. William A. Rusher, ***Publisher,*** **National Review**

"As former counsel to the Senate Internal Subcommittee and as publisher of National Review, *I have seen the power and impact of dedicated conservative leadership in Congress. The Conservative Victory Fund is an excellent means of expanding that leadership."*

Hon. Albert Watson, M.C., ***South Carolina***

"In my congressional service I have learned there are too few willing to fight for their principles. The Conservative Victory Fund will help to elect conservatives who are always willing to stand firm for principle."

Mr. Thomas S. Winter, ***Editor,*** **Human Events**

"In our weekly coverage of Capitol Hill we at Human Events *know the influence the Conservative Victory Fund will have in electing conservatives to Congress. The Victory Fund is a valuable means of putting conservative beliefs into practical political action."*

Defense Nat. General

CONSERVATIVE VICTORY FUND

328 PENNSYLVANIA AVE., S.E. • WASHINGTON, D. C. 20003

from Congressman
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Chairman, American-African
Affairs Association

Titles for Identification Only

Southern Reg Cncl Inc
8 Forsyth St Nw
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Fellow American:

I am writing you on a matter of utmost importance. The authoritative Congressional Quarterly, a political news digest, recently summed it up: "The shape of elective politics in the United States for the entire decade of the 1970's will be influenced strongly by what happens in this year's elections."

What happens in your state of Georgia, and around the country this year could well depend on how you answer my letter now, my fellow American.

Let me explain. I recently called an emergency meeting in Washington of conservative leaders to discuss a frightening report that had just been completed by the American Conservative Union (ACU) staff. The report was an analysis of the radical Left's legislative demands for the 1970's. Conservative leaders present at the meeting were Thomas Winter, Editor, Human Events; Hon. Philip Crane of Illinois; William A. Rusher, Publisher, National Review; Alan MacKay, past chairman of YAF; Hon. Albert Watson of South Carolina; and Daniel Mahoney, Chairman, New York Conservative Party.

The far Left's legislative goals are so revolutionary that if enacted they would drastically change the political and family life of 200 million Americans -- including yours and mine. Three of their top priority demands are:

--A complete guaranteed annual income -- as high as $7500 a year -- for all welfare recipients;

--A complete take over of our public schools (including busing and all the rest of the Liberal "cure-alls") by ruthlessly using the threat of cutting off federal funds to any local school district that doesn't comply with the government's demands;

--A drastic reduction of U.S. military superiority over such enemies as the Soviet Union and Communist China by scrapping essential defense systems like the ABM.

Make no mistake, my fellow American, the Left is deadly

P.A. B.A.

serious about their revolutionary legislation. And they are going to spend millions of dollars in this year's Congressional elections to achieve them. They are already working in the primary elections. The Left is uniting Big Labor, tax-exempt foundations, civil rights and peace organizations into a number of campaign front-groups to raise money to elect and re-elect peace candidates to Congress. (For instance, the tax-exempt Ford Foundation plans to give 1 million dollars to Black Left-wing candidates as "educational help." Big Labor spent $60 million in the '68 elections!)

Unfortunately, we cannot depend on regular party channels to counter the Left's campaign plans. An ACU staff study shows that the GOP senatorial and congressional committees contribute indiscriminately to both conservative and liberal candidates. Conservatives cannot afford to have their contributions diluted. We must put our money where it will do the most good.

The conservative leaders who met with me in Washington decided that the only chance we had to defeat the Liberals in the Congressional elections was to establish a responsible conservative campaign fund to be used exclusively to help elect responsible conservative candidates. The ACU CONSERVATIVE VICTORY FUND will concentrate on Senate and House seats now held by Liberals that conservatives have a good chance of winning. (See enclosed partial listing.)

The ACU CONSERVATIVE VICTORY FUND needs your immediate help to counter and defeat Liberals and gain conservative control in the House and Senate in November. A contribution of $15 or more entitles you to receive ACU's campaign newsletter, Battle Line, to keep you fully informed from now through the elections. Contributors of $100 or more will also be made Lifetime Members of the American Conservative Union. Whether you send $5 or $500, $10 or $10,000 -- please send it immediately! Conservative victories in November depend on winning conservative victories in the primaries now.

I urge you to send your most generous contribution to the CONSERVATIVE VICTORY FUND today to help insure conservative victories in the all-important primary elections.

Sincerely,

John M. Ashbrook

John Ashbrook
Member of Congress

P. S. Please be sure to register your vote on the enclosed "Conservative Victory Ballot" and return it with your contribution in the envelope provided. The results of this conservative opinion poll on key election issues will be announced to the press, and sent to President Nixon, the GOP campaign committees, and to all Republican Congressional candidates. We must show the party leadership and the nation that conservatives have tremendous vote power, and that we mean to use it in November to restore good government, a sound economy, and a safe and strong America.

NOV. 4 1959

State Said Target Of Communists

Communists headquartered at key points in the South have aimed a death blow at Mississippi, Myers G. Lowman, executive secretary of Circuit Riders, Inc., declared in Jackson yesterday.

Lowman, whose home is Cincinnati, heads the nonprofit organization committed to ridding church circles of Communist influences.

He was slated to speak at 7 tonight at the King Edward Hotel to a public dinner sponsored by the National Defense Council of the Mississippi Society, Daughters of the American Revolution.

"Mississippi is being treated now on a Communist front approach basis," Lowman said. "The people of Mississippi of all races and creeds have not been good bait for the Communists, so they're getting the 'Tyhpoid Mary' approach."

The effort to split, embitter and neutralize the state is being directed by Communists headquartered at New Orleans, Nashville and Atlanta, Lowman asserted.

Wittingly or unwittingly, he said, Mississippi clergymen and educators have given their support to Communist fronts. He said one such organization with Mississippi support is the Fellowship of Reconciliation whose emeritus head is A. J. Muste, who once directed the Trotsky division of the Communist Party in this country.

Lowman tagged most of these "front" petition signers and supporters as simply misguided, with only a small portion anywhere actual sympathizers of Communism.

A principal objective of Communism, he said, is to undercut American faith in God and the principles of freedom as embedded in the nation's fundamental documents.

"We are in this country in an era of quasi-agnosticism," Lowman said, "when people generally don't know what they believe."

Much of this confusion has resulted from the "40 years of ideological pounding away at America by the Communists," he added.

Lowman described the present as the worst threat to national security in the nation's history.

"The Communism in this country," he said, "can be compared to the Trojan Horse. But the Trojan horse of Troy was a bare outline, a mere toy, compared to the modern Trojan horse."

The Union Theological Seminary in New York was singled out by Lowman as the institution with the highest percentage of Communist front supporters among students and faculty.

Circuit Riders, Inc., was formed to oppose use of church personnel and property to push Communism and its allied causes.

NOV 9 1959

'Damn Liar,' Says Hodding Carter

Replies to Charge by Witness In Subversion Hearings

By BERRY REECE, *United Press International*

JACKSON, Miss.—A legislative committee headed into its second day of Communist subversion hearings today after its first witness was branded a "damn liar" by a newspaper editor.

Dr. J. B. Matthews, 66, former researcher for U. S. Senate and House sunbversion probes, named 11 persons who allegedly have engaged in Communist-front work in Mississippi in a full day of testimony before the General Legislative Investigating Committee.

Matthews said Greenville Editor Hodding Carter and others were among 50 members of "an interlocking directorate" of the Southern Regional Council, the Southern Conference Education Fund, and the former Southern Conference for Human Welfare, all of which he said were Communist-tainted.

Carter fired back from Greenville that "Of the organizations named by professional anti-Communist J. B. Matthews, the only one to which I belonged was the Southern Regional Council.

Interracial Organization

"I belonged to it openly and believe it a worthwhile interracial organization in these unhappy times. In implying that I am in any way linked with the Southern Conference Educational Fund and in stating that the SRC is Communist-tainted, Matthews is a damned liar," Carter charged.

Others named by Matthews as onetime members of Communist-front or infiltrated groups included Bishop William R. Wright, negro, chancellor of Campbell College in Jackson; instructor Chester W. Quimby of Wood Junior College; the late P. H. Easom, director of the negro division of the state Department of Education.

Former Prof. Lawrence Raymond Lavelle of Mississippi Southern College; Mrs. Winifred Feise, formerly of Jackson; Grady Jenkins, alleged former "Communist organizer" in Tennessee; M. E. Tilly, field secretary for the Southern Regional Council; Carl and Anne Braden, field workers in Mississippi and other Southern mates for the Southern Conference Education Fund.

Dr. Matthews admitted he himself once was a member of the Communist-front group, the American League Against War and Fascism. But he said he broke with it in 1943.

He did not say any of the people named were members or former members of the Communist Party. He said Communists like to have the majority of the front groups' membership non-Communist for deception purposes.

"But it does little good to probe their motives or say they're dupes," Matthews said, adding they were aiding the Communist cause.

fought such groups all of my adult life.

"Nor does the government of our country think me subversive. As an officer in the U. S. Army during World War II, I served in two top secret establishments. After the war, I was appointed to the Air Training Command's first advisory board. Five years ago I was offered and declined an appointment as second in command to our nation's Information Service. I am now a member of the National Defense Executive Reserve, whose duty it is to supplement present key personnel in the various executive branches of our government in the event of war. My own has to do with combating enemy propaganda.

"I have been for six years Mississippi's civilian aide to the Secretary of the Army. Two months ago I attended a meeting of the civilian aides at which all the subjects under discussion were classified and secret. In all of these posts I underwent security checkups because of the nature of what I would see or hear."

in a full day of testimony before the General Legislative Investigating Committee.

Matthews said Greenville Editor Hodding Carter and others were among 50 members of "an interlocking directorate" of the Southern Regional Council, the Southern Conference Education Fund, and the former Southern Conference for Human Welfare, all of which he said were Communist-tainted.

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"But it does little good to probe their motives or say they're dupes," Matthews said, adding they were aiding the Communist cause.

Matthews also said the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has been successfully infiltrated in its leadership since 1929.

The six-member standing committee headed by Sen. Mayes McGehee of Meadville has been working toward this hearing for almost a year. The investigation is headed by Asst. Atty. Gen. Dugas Shands and much of the work was done by state Sen.-elect Frank Barber of Hattiesburg. Both formerly worked for Sen. James O. Eastland's Internal Security Subcommittee.

Carter Hits Back At His Accuser

By United Press International

GREENVILLE, Miss.—Editor Hodding Carter pointed out today that he is civilian aide to the Secretary of the Army and a member of the National Defense Executive Reserve, which required security checkups prior to his appointment.

"If the government of my country, whose Constitution I respect—unlike some of my critics—does not view me with suspicion, I cannot be too concerned over the paid testimony of a man who reminds me of what is found in wet places beneath a rotted log." Carter said in a page one statement in the Deltea Democrat Times. "And this goes for those who hired him."

Carter referred to the testimony of J. B. Matthews of New York before a legislative committee in Jackson. He referred to the Southern Regional Council, of which Carter was a member, as a "Communist front" organization, which Carter and other members have strongly denied.

Carter's statement said "No responsible person who knows me could believe that I have or ever have been connected with any Communist, Communist front or other subversive organization. To the contrary I have our country think me subversive. As an officer in the U. S. Army during World War II, I served in two top secret establishments. After the war, I was appointed to the Air Training Command's first advisory board. Five years ago I was offered and declined an appointment as second in command to our nation's Information Service. I am now a member of the National Defense Executive Reserve, whose duty it is to supplement present key personnel in the various executive branches of our government in the event of war. My own has to do with combating enemy propaganda.

"I have been for six years Mississippi's civilian aide to the Secretary of the Army. Two months ago I attended a meeting of the civilian aides at which all the subjects under discussion were classified and secret. In all of these posts I underwent security checkups because of the nature of what I would see or hear."

11 Mississippians Are Linked In Red 'Infiltrated' Groups

By KENNETH TOLER

From The Commercial Appeal Jackson, Miss., Bureau

JACKSON, Miss., Nov. 18. — Testimony associating 11 Mississippians with organizations the Communist Party assertedly has infiltrated or is using as fronts to create racial unrest in the state was given Wednesday to the General Legislative Investigating Committee.

However, none of those named was accused of being a communist or member of the party organization or knowingly aiding that cause.

Mississippians Named

Dr. J. B. Matthews of New York, formerly associated with unAmerican and Internal Security committees of Congress, said those linked at one time or the other with groups infiltrated or used as fronts by the communists included:

Mrs. Winifred Fiese, listed from Jackson but said to be a resident of New Orleans; Bishop Sherman L. Greene and Chancellor Richard R. Wright, both connected with Campbell Negro College in Jackson; Chester Quimby, said to be with Wood Junior Methodist College at Mathiston; Lawrence Raymond La Velle, formerly with Mississippi Southern College at Hattiesburg; Grady Jenkins, listed as an organizer in Mississippi, Tennessee and Louisiana; Mrs. M. E. Tilley, field secretary of the Southern Regional Council, and Mr. and Mrs. Carl Braden, listed as field organizers of the Southern Conference Education Fund; Hodding Carter, editor of the Delta Democrat-Times at Greenville, and the late Dr. P. H. Eason, supervisor of Negro education in the State Department of Education.

Pointing to the interlocking directorates of the SRC, the SCEF and the former SCHW, Dr. Matthews said two names appearing were those of Mr. Carter and the late Dr. Eason.

Mr. Carter, advised of the statement, said he formerly was a director of the SRC, but the accusation of his connection with the other two groups "is a lie."

'Without Understanding'

Dr. Matthews admitted that some of those he named as "supporting the communist conspiracy are doing or have done so without any understanding of what they were doing."

Dr. Matthews was careful to explain that those he named were not communists or members of the party but were associated with groups which he said the Communist Party has infiltrated or was using as fronts in its goal to "destroy all free and democratic forms of government and supplant them with the Godless form of government known as world communism."

He said he had been associated with those being used by the communists but that he broke with them in 1934.

He said the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is one organization the communists have infiltrated. He said the NAACP could rid itself of the accusation by ousting some of its leaders whom he named.

Editor Brands Witness Liar After Statements To 'Subversive' Probers

JACKSON (UPI) — A Legislative committee headed into its second day of Communist subversion hearings today after its first witness was branded a "damn liar" by a newspaper editor.

Dr. J. B. Matthews, 66, former researcher for U. S. Senate and House subversion probes, named 11 persons who allegedly have engaged in Communist-front work in Mississippi in a full day of testimony before the General Legislative Investigating Committee.

Matthews said Greenville Editor Hodding Carter and others were among 50 members of "an interlocking directorate" of the Southern Regional Council, the Southern Conference Education Fund, and the former Southern Conference for Human Welfare, all of which he said were Communist-tainted.

Carter fired back from Greenville that "of the organizations named by professional anti-communist J. D. Matthews, the only one to which I have belonged is the Southern Regional Council.

"Damned Liar"

"I belong to it openly and believe it a worthwhile interracial organization in these unhappy times. In implying that I am in any way linked with the Southern Conference Educational Funds and in stating that the SRC is Comunist-tainted, Matthews is a damned liar," Carter charged.

Others named by Matthews as onetime members of Communist-front or infiltrated groups included Bishop William R. Wright, Chancellor of Campbell College in Jackson; instructor Chester W. Quinby of Wood Junior College; the late P. H. Eason, director of the Negro division of the State Department of Education.

Former professor Lawrence Raymond Lavelle of Mississippi Southern College; Mrs. Winifred Feise, formerly of Jackson; Grady Jenkins, alleged former "Communist orgaizer" in Tennessee; M. E. Tilly, field secretary for the Southern Regional Council; Carl and Ann Braden, field workers in Mississippi and other Southern states for the Southern Conference Education Fund.

Is Ex-Red Fronter

Dr. Matthews admitted he himself once was a member of the Communist-front group, the American League Against War and Facism. But he said he broke with it in 1943.

He did not say any of the people named were members or former members of the Communist Party. He said Communists liked to have the majority of the front groups membership non-communist for deception purposes.

"But it does little good to probe their motives or say they're dupes," Matthews said, adding they were aiding the Communist cause.

Matthews also said the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has been successfully infiltrated in its leadership since 1929.

The six-member standing committee headed by Sen. Hayes McGehee of Meadville has been working toward this hearing for almost a year. The investigation is headed by Asst. Atty. Gen. Dugas Shands and much of the work was done by State Sen.-Elect Frank Barber of Hattiesburg. Both formerly worked for Sen. James O. Eastland's Internal Security Subcommittee.

Senator James O. Eastland today stated to Hodding Carter, editor of the Delta Democrat-Times, that he is taking no part in the current investigation.

Senator Eastland also said that to the best of his knowledge J. B. Matthews had never worked for the Senate investigating committee of which the senator is chairman.

Chief Investigator Zack Van Landingham of the State Sovereignty Commission testified before the committee today that some alleged Communist front workers have addressed NAACP meet-

See— EDITOR — Page 10

MISSISSIPPI — Clear to partly cloudy through Friday with slowly rising temperatures, lowest tonight 32-43.

ARKANSAS — Clear to partly cloudy through Friday with slowly rising temperatures, lowest tonight in 30's, highest Friday 60's.

The Delta Democrat-Times

RED STREAK FINAL

71st Year | United Press International (UPI) | Associated Press (AP) | Greenville, Mississippi | Thursday, November 19, 1959 | Price 5c | No. 69

J. B. Matthews

Some Background On Professional Witness

Who is J. B. Matthews, the professional witness who accused the Editor of The Delta Democrat-Times of membership in Communist front organizations?

He is, among other things, a proven liar whose falsehoods have been condemned by Senator John McClellan of Arkansas, Senator Harry Byrd of Virginia, President Eisenhower and many Protestant, Catholic and Jewish clergymen.

A one-time investigator for the notorious McCarthy committee, he is the author of the slander that "the largest single group supporting the Communist apparatus is composed of Protestant clergymen." He also said that at least 7,000 such clergymen were "party members, fellow-travellers, espionage agents, party-line adherents and unwilling dupes."

The late Senator Joe McCarthy offered him an $11,000 a year job at almost the same time as his attack on the Protestant clergy. Three Democratic members of the McCarthy committee—McClellan, Stuart Symington of Missouri, and Henry M. Jackson of Washington—immediately demanded Matthews' ouster. They called the attack shocking and unwarranted and that it could not be supported with facts.

Their denunciation of Matthews was joined by Senator Byrd who said that unless Matthews could prove his charges he would "stand convicted as a cheap demagogue willing to blacken the character of his fellow Americans for his own notoriety and personal gain."

The matter came to a crux on the afternoon of July 9, 1953, when the White House received a telegram signed by a priest, a rabbi, and a Presbyterian minister, speaking for the National Conference of Christians and Jews. The telegram called Matthews' attack on the Protestant ministry "unjustified and deplorable."

President Eisenhower, who had been reluctant to be drawn into the battle of the McCarthy era, entered this one unhesitantly, allying himself with those taking strong issue against the Matthews' article.

The president made public his reply which stated he "fully agreed" with the three clergymen that the attack on the Protestant clergy "is unjustified and deplorable."

The president went on to say, "If there be any American among us, whatever his calling, guilty of treasonous action against the state, let him legally and properly be convicted and punished. This applies to every person, lay or clergy."

As the telegrams were being made public at the White House, McCarthy "very reluctantly" accepted the resignation of Matthews.

The following morning, the Wisconsin senator tried to save face by getting Republican majority of the committee to vote to give him complete power to hire and fire all his staff employes.

It was a straight party-line vote, 4-3, and shortly afterwards, the three Democratic members of the committee, after obtaining the full backing of the Senate Democratic leadership, resigned in bloc.

Senator McClellan told the press at the time, "This committee's work is so sensitive and so delicate that it should try to work in complete harmony. Any member of the staff who might be objectionable to any member on any reasonable grounds should be subject to a discharge by a majority of the committee."

Not until the following January when Congress reconvened and Senator McCarthy surrendered his "one-man" rule, with the repeal of the Committee regulation allowing him to hire and fire employes, did the three Democrats return.

About three months after his forced resignation from the McCarthy Committee, Matthews made a conspicuous appearance in Arkansas. Addressing a Freedom Forum session at Harding College of Searcy October 23, 1953, Matthews discussed in more qualified terms his charges against the Protestant clergy and contended that his article and earlier remarks on the subject had been exaggerated by the press.

Expanding into other fields, Matthews said he had information that American aircraft parts were being smuggled to Russia. He quoted a "high undisclosed source" as saying a Russian MIG airplane surrendered by a North Korean pilot to United Nations Forces was made "largely of American parts." Military leaders "didn't dare bring the plane to this country" because they were afraid to let the American people know" this secret, he added.

The Air Force immediately denied Matthews' charge. Within weeks the plane had been brought to the United States and put on public display at Air Force bases throughout the country.

A Personal Statement

This statement is not being addressed to my fellow citizens of Greenville and Washington County, among whom I have lived for 23 years. Whatever else they may think of me, I doubt that any responsible person who knows me could believe that I am or ever have been connected with any Communist, Communist-front or other subversive organizations. To the contrary, I have fought such groups all of my adult life.

Nor does the government of our country think me subsersive. As an officer in the United States Army during World War II, I served in two top-secret establishments. After the war, I was appointed to the Air Training Command first Advisory Board. Five years ago, I was offered and declined an appointment as second in command of our nation's information service. I am now a member of the National Defense Executive Reserve, whose duty it is to supplement key personnel in the various executive branches of our government in the event of war. My own assignment has to do with combatting enemy propaganda.

I have been for six years Mississippi's Civilian Aide to the Secretary of the Army. Two months ago I attended a meeting of the Civilian Aides at which all the subjects under discussion were classified as secret.

In all of these posts, I underwent security checkups because of the nature of much that I would see or hear.

If the government of my country, whose constitution I respect —unlike some of my critics—does not view me with suspicion, I cannot be too concerned over the paid testimony of a man who reminds me of what is found in wet places beneath a rotted log. And this goes for those who hired him.

—Hodding Carter

What Is SRC?

The Southern Regional Council grew out of the Commission on Inter-racial Cooperation established by leading Southern church and lay leaders in 1919. Since 1951 the Council has studied segregation problems, believing that the Southern problems can not be solved unless Southerners are willing to discuss them frankly, critically and realistically.

The Council is a non-political, non-profit and non-denominational body made up of 80 prominent Southern board members.

Though accused by critics as being everything from "liberal" to "radical," the SRC has always been cleared of charges of subversion, is listed on neither the House Un-American Activities Committee list of subversive groups nor a similar Attorney General's list.

November 20, 1959 Mississippi Edition Price 5 Cents—26 Pages

State Laws Hinted To Curb Subversion

Accused Speakers Revealed

By PHIL STROUPE
State Times Staff Writer

The 1960 legislature which meets here in January may write stronger laws on anti-subversive activities in Mississippi.

The laws, if enacted, would be based on findings of the General Legislative Investigating Committee which yesterday concluded its two-day hearings into Communist influences in Mississippi.

Committee Chairman Mayes McGehee of Meadville denied the hearing was held to pave the way for specific legislation, but one reliable source said the committee now has some sort of anti - subversive bills in mind.

The committee ended its hearings yesterday afternoon as one of the persons who had earlier been cited as a Communist, made a dramatic unannounced appearance at the hearing.

Carl Braden of Louisville, Ky., who said he worked for the Southern Conference Educational Fund, showed up at the House of Representatives where the committee was hearing testimony concerning his activities in Mississippi.

When asked by newsmen if he agreed with the testimony about himself, Braden replied curtly, "I have no comment on anything that has gone on here today. I don't think it is worthy of comment."

Witnesses

Witnesses called yesterday included Zack Van Landingham, chief investigator of the State Sovereignty Commission; Joe Ellis, editor of the Clarksdale Press-Register, and John Sullivan of Vicksburg, former FBI agent.

Testimony offered by the three witnesses sought to prove that some of the 11 alledged Communist-front workers named Wednesday by Dr. J. B Matthews, self-employed Communist hunter, have been active in Mississippi recently.

Braden was one of those 11 named by Dr. Matthews. Braden said he had been in New Orleans when he heard of the Mississippi hearings and "stopped by here to see what was going on." He said he was returning to Louisville where he and his wife Anne edit "The Southern Patriot."

Members of the Investigating Committee declined to confirm reports that the hearings were aimed at establishing a basis for outlawing the NAACP.

Van Landingham testified that six of those 11 persons named by Matthews Wednesday had addressed NAACP meetings in Mississippi in recent years.

He said those who spoke at meetings in Clarksdale, Marks and Jackson included:

Speakers Named

Rev. Martin Luther King of Montgomery, Ala., whom Matthews said had attended a Communist

See ACCUSED on Page 3A

ACCUSED

Continued from Page 1A

training school at Highlander Folk School in Monteagle, Tenn.

Ruby Hurley, director of the NAACP's southeast division, whom Matthews said was on the board of the sponsors of the New York Youth Council in 1947 and the World Youth Congress in 1945.

Atty. John Bolt Culbertson of Greenville, S. C., whom Matthews said was a vice president of the Southern Conference Educational Fund. Matthews had said the SCEF was a Communist - front organization.

Van Landingham testified that Bishop C. Eubanks Tucker of Louisville, Ky., had addressed a Negro ministers' meeting in Marks telling them "if any of you advocate segregation in any form your license will be revoked and you will be brought to trial for dishonor to your profession."

Matthews had said, "I know of no organization in the United States so heavily infiltrated with Communists as the NAACP."

The legislature directed the investigating committee to look into subversive influences and report its findings.

MISSISSIPPI — Partly cloudy, mild this afternoon and Saturday. Warmer most sections tonight.

ARKANSAS — Partly cloudy through Saturday, warmer this afternoon and in east and south portion tonight. Lowest around 40 tonight. Highest 55-65 Saturday.

The Delta Democrat-Times

RED STREAK FINAL

71st Year | United Press International (UPI) | Associated Press (AP) | Greenville, Mississippi | Friday, November 20, 1959 | Price 5c | No. 70

Anti-Subversion Legislation May Be Result Of State Probe

By BERRY REECE

JACKSON (UPI) — A two-day hearing into alleged Communist influences in Mississippi today possibly paved the way for anti-subversion legislation in the 1960 legislature.

State Sen. Mayes McGehee of Meadville, chairman of the General Legislative Investigating Committee, denied the hearing was held to pave the way for specific legislation.

But according to a reliable source, the committee now has some sort of anti-subversion bills in mind.

Witnesses called Thursday were chief investigator Zack Van Landingham of the State Sovereignty Commission, Clarksdale editor Joe Ellis and former FBI agent John Sullivan.

They testified that some of the 11 alleged Communist-front workers named Wednesday by self-employed Communist hunter, Dr. J. B. Matthews of New York, have been in Mississippi.

Unworthy Of Comment

One of those cited, Carl Braden of Louisville, Ky., showed up at the afternoon session and told newsmen afterwards he thought the testimony calling him a Communist "is not worthy of comment."

Braden said he worked for the Southern Conference Educational Fund, which Matthews called Communist-front, but Braden said the purpose of the SCEF was merely integration. He said he is currently appealing a one-year prison sentence for contempt of the House Un-American Activities Committee for pleading the 1st Amendment.

Van Landingham, a former FBI agent, testified that six of those scored by Matthews had addressed meetings of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in Mississippi.

Lists Meetings

Van Landingham said the following spoke to NAACP meetings in Jackson, Clarksdale and Marks.

Rev. Martin Luther King of Montgomery, Ala., whom Matthews said attended a Communist training school at the Highlander Folk School at Monteagle, Tenn.

Mrs. Ruby Hurley, southeastern regional director of the NAACP, whom Matthews said was on the board of sponsors of the New York Youth Council in 1947 and the World Youth Congress in 1945.

Attorney John Bolt Culbertson of Greenville, S. C., whom Matthews said was a vice president of the SCEF.

Bishop C. Eubanks Tucker of Louisville, Ky., called a director of the SCEF by Van Landingham; and Dr. Glenn Smiley and Rev. J. M. Lawson, whom Van Landingham said were officials of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, labeled Communist-front by Matthews.

Texan Tells Hotel-Motel Backers

New Hotel Benefits All City Businesses

HERBERT WILSON

The manager of a community-financed hotel in Nacogdoches, Texas, said last night that the people of his community — from shine boys to bank presidents — are grateful for the hotel.

Herbert Wilson, manager of the Fredonia Hotel, told a packed dinner meeting of the Greenville Hotel-Motel campaing leaders his hotel enjoys phenomial prosperity — but so does the rest of the city's economy.

He said retail sales jumped 17 per cent in the city the first year the hotel opened, and have in-

Nacogdoches has a 15,000 population; has two second rate hotels downtown and five good motels along the city's perimeter. One federal highway passes through the community.

50 Conventions

Since its construction, 50 conventions a year have come to the city with from 75-300 delegates, sometimes more. Each spring about 40 high schools in a 50-mile radius hold proms there instead of in the school gymnasiums as formerly.

Despite high occupancy, the food volume handled is up to 3 times as great as the room volume, Wilson says, feeding 1,000 people at a buffet from 1-3 p. m. each Sunday while other business goes to the coffee shop. Weekly, 27 civic clubs eat there.

Profits were so impressive after the first year, he said, that the directors voted to put the money into a $300,000 expansion program instead of dividends. The directors also voted to pay off the original debt in 9 years instead of 17, as contracted.

Answers Questions

Answering questions, Wilson said:

1. There are no natural recreation spots near the Fredonia, which is advertised as a place to "Come and relax and do absolutely nothing."

CHRISTMAS SEAL TIME—About 100 members of the Washington County TB association stuffed some 7,500 envelopes with Christmas seals during all-day operations Wednesday and Thursday. The envelopes will be mailed to county residents asking that they purchase the seals. The money raised, which has averaged about $3,000 yearly, goes to support the county's mobile x-ray unit, produce educational materials, and send county patients to the sanatorium. Mrs. Helen Spiars is chairman of the seal sales drive. (Staff photo)

Argue Insanity Plea In Gambrell's Trial

HATTIESBURG, Miss. (AP) — The state today placed on the stand five rebuttal witnesses who said they had talked with Thomas B. Gambrell prior to the slaying of a highway patrolman and that in their opinion the defendant was sane.

Gambrell is accused of the Aug. 19 murder of H. L. Duckworth, 42, who was shot in the back with a .22 caliber pistol in the defendant's motel room here.

The defense, which rested its case today a few minutes after circuit court convened at 9 a.m., has sought to prove Gambrell was insane at the time Duckworth was killed.

A string of defense witnesses, including one psychiatrist, said during Wednesday and Thursday court sessions that they believed the 33-year-old Jackson attorney was insane.

A psychiatrist, a law professor and a former employer of Gambrell, a 33-year-old Jackson lawyer, testified yesterday.

The psychiatrist, Dr. Claude Brown of Mobile, Ala., told the jury Gambrell was "not competent. . .not in his right mind" at the time of the shooting.

Brown said he considers Gambrell clearly in a psychotic condition then and now and unable to determine a proper course of action.

Dr. John Fox, a professor of law at the University of Mississippi, recalled a talk with Gam-

Owners Of Series E Savings Bonds Can Swap For Series H

WASHINGTON AP) — Owners of the popular series E savings bonds will be given a chance to swap them for series H bonds, which pay interest twice a year.

Those who make the switch will be able to postpone paying taxes on the interest they've earned on their E bonds. This interest is collected—and taxed—only when the bond matures or is redeemed. Its exchange for the series H bond would delay the due date of the

Nab Two Suspects In Robbery Of Louisiana Bank

BASTROP, La.(UPI) — The Morehouse parish sheriff's department said Thursday night it was holding two men fitting the description of the robbers who held up the Oak Ridge La., bank Wednesday and got away with $13,050.

The two were described as "drunk and displaying a lot of money." Both men were believed to be strangers in the area. At the same time, state police reported a car examined near Goodwill, La., in West Carroll parish, believed to be the getaway car.

Two men, their faces splotched with paint, walked into the little bank shortly before closing time and lined the three employees against a wall. They held them there with a sawed-off shotgun while they rifled the vault. Then they locked the employees in it.

Mohasco Tells Of Increased Stock Dividend Today

Hopes Dim On Steel Strike As Workers Reject New Proposal

By DAVID A. LEHERR

PITTSBURGH (AP) — Hopes for a settlement in the nationwide steel dispute were dimmer today after the United Steelworkers spurned the newest proposal of the basic steel industry.

R. Conrad Cooper, chief industry negotiator, disclosed the new offer Thursday. He said it was a "fair offer to do what can be done and still keep within non-inflationary bounds in the cost of steel production."

USW President, David J. McDonald, termed the proposal as "something only a company-controlled union would accept." He said the offer was just a rearrangement of "the same old package offered by the industry on Oct. 17."

Board Says No

The new offer was submitted to the union Nov. 15 during secret negotiations between both sides. McDonald said the union's 33-member executive board turned it down the same day.

Had the proposal been accepted, said Cooper, it would have meant a 30-cent-an-hour package over a three year period. He added that the new offer also tempered industry demands for more say over working conditions.

McDonald disagreed, claiming that the proposal would mean a gain of only 24 cents an hour over the three year period.

Little Change

"The only changes in the work rules issue are a stay of sentence in the same old attempt to deprive steelworkers of hard won gains and protections," McDonald declared.

"The offer is almost the same proposition which the companies had made in October and which was rejected by the full wage policy committee as recently as Nov. 12th," he added.

Industry estimated that the new proposal provided an increase of 6-10 of a cent an hour over the 29.4 cent hourly package offered by the industry on Oct. 17 in another three-year proposal.

New Labeling Eases Cranberry Scare

WASHINGTON AP) — A new labeling plan helped today to ease the cranberry scare.

The government Thursday assured housewives they didn't have to worry about including cranberries in their Thanksgiving menus —if the berries they buy are labeled as being safe.

Secretary of Welfare Arthur S. Flemming told berry shoppers to look for one of these labels:

1. "Examined and passed by the Food and Drug Administration of the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare."

2. "Certified safe under the plan

Leland Lions Hear

Delay Indictments Against Trio In Tupelo Violence

TUPELO, (UPI) — The Lee County Grand Jury reconvenes next Monday to consider the charges against three Negroes for stabbing white persons here.

The jury adjourned Thursday night. A statement issued by Dist. Atty. N. S. Sweat said some witnesses and evidence were not available to the Grand Jury this week.

Sweat said investigation would not be completed before next Monday and that some evidence had been sent to the laboratory for study.

"Additionally, we understand that the three stabbing victims are in serious condition." Sweat said. "And in the event one of them fails to recover, the State would present this Grand Jury a charge of murder."

County Attorney Dudley Carr said three Negroes are charged with armed robbery, a capital offense in Mississippi.

In addition to this charge, Otto Jones Jr., 18, is charged with assault and battery with intent to kill and J. B. Little, 16, and T. L. Carothers, 17, are charged as accessories.

Ike Nixes Proposal To Take Democrat Along On His Trip

WASHINGTON

HERBERT WILSON

The manager of a community-financed hotel in Nacogdoches, Texas, said last night that the people of his community — from shine boys to bank presidents — are grateful for the hotel.

Herbert Wilson, manager of the Fredonia Hotel, told a packed dinner meeting of the Greenville Hotel-Motel campaing leaders his hotel enjoys phenomial prosperity — but so does the rest of the city's economy.

He said retail sales jumped 17 per cent in the city the first year the hotel opened, and have increased 11 per cent each of three years since.

All Hotels Profited

Though the Fredonia operates at 97.5 per cent occupancy, additional business attracted by the hotel-motel has increased the income of the city's other motels, hotels and eating places. While the Fredonia grosses $600,000 a year, for each dollar spent there, another is spent in local stores, Wilson added.

ventions a year that come to the city with from 75-300 delegates, sometimes more. Each spring about 40 high schools in a 50-mile radius hold proms there instead of in the school gymnasiums as formerly.

Despite high occupancy, the food volume handled is up to 3 times as great as the room volume, Wilson says, feeding 1,000 people at a buffet from 1-3 p. m. each Sunday while other business goes to the coffee shop. Weekly, 27 civic clubs eat there.

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Answers Questions

Answering questions, Wilson said:

1. There are no natural recreation spots near the Fredonia, which is advertised as a place to "Come and relax and do absolutely nothing."

2. In the winter when other lodgings wouldn't do much business, the Fredonia overflow keeps them filled.

3. A $1,050,000 fund campaign was completed in Nacogdoches in 39 days.

4. Funds can't be raised unless the city bankers lend moral and financial support.

5. The Fredonia is an industry itself, employing 81 people with a $11,000 monthly payroll.

Matthews' Attack On SRC Was Ill-Founded; History Shown

By JOE FRANKO

Professional witness J. B. Matthews, whose fantastic charges cost him his job with the McCarthy sub-committee, has pointed the finger of innuendo at the Southern Regional Council.

Six years ago Matthews leveled a groundless blast at Protestant clergymen, alleging that at least 7,000 of them were Communist dupes, or worse.

But now he has taken on a group even more formidable than the Protestant clergy, in that membership of the SRC is composed of leading Southern citizens including some prominent churchmen of all faiths.

In accusing the SRC of being "Communist tainted" and implying that its members were Red dupes, Matthews left himself wide open for an avalanche of evidence that may disrobe him of any credibility as a witness.

SCHW Infiltrated

The SRC has been labeled as a Communist infiltrated group before, mainly on the false contention that the Council is an outgrowth of the defunct Southern Conference on Human Welfare. The SCHW was originally loyal but became infiltrated with Red leaners and eventually found a spot on the Attorney General's list of subversive organizations.

The SRC however, had no connection with the SCHW. The Council was incorporated in 1944 but its origin really dates back to 1919 when the Commission on Interracial Cooperation was formed by a group of outstanding southern churchmen.

The Commission was generated by a need for interracial harmony during the KKK days of terror and lawlessness following World War I.

Post War Problems

By the early 1940s the racial situation had changed considerably and the integration of the armed services presaged some critical postwar problems for the south. It was obvious the Interracial Commission had outgrown its usefulness and another agency was needed.

In October, 1942, a group of prominent Negroes met at Durham, N. Car., and issued the famed "Durham Statement" asking for an end to racial discrimination, the establishment of Negro rights, and equality in Negro-white relations in the South.

During the following spring a group of white southern leaders met at Atlanta and issued a complementary statement praising the courage, vision and frankness of the Negroes and offering to cooperate with the Durham representatives.

With this meeting of minds the Southern Regional Council was born and chartered in 1944. The Commission for Interracial Cooperation merged its assets and aims with the new SRC and went out of business.

Incorporators Listed

The incorporators of the Council were Bishop Arthur J. Moore, Methodist church; Ralph McGill, editor of the Atlanta Constitution; Dr. Rufus E. Clement, president of Atlanta University; Dr. Charles S. Johnson, president of Fisk University, Dr. Howard W. Odum, professor of sociology at the Uni-

See — MATTHEWS — Page 2

Mississippi.

Lists Meetings

Van Landingham said the following spoke to NAACP meetings in Jackson, Clarksdale and Marks.

Rev. Martin Luther King of Montgomery, Ala., whom Matthews said attended a Communist training school at the Highlander Folk School at Monteagle, Tenn.

Mrs. Ruby Hurley, southeastern regional director of the NAACP, whom Matthews said was on the board of sponsors of the New York Youth Council in 1947 and the World Youth Congress in 1945.

Attorney John Bolt Culbertson of Greenville, S. C., whom Matthews said was a vice president of the SCEF.

Bishop C. Eubanks Tucker of Louisville, Ky., called a director of the SCEF by Van Landingham; and Dr. Glenn Smiley and Rev. J. M. Lawson, whom Van Landingham said were officials of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, labeled Communist-front by Matthews.

Editor Ellis said Braden visited his office in 1958 to "straighten out the facts" on a story critical of often-questioned SCEF head Dr. James Dombrowski of New Orleans.

Sullivan, who runs the Delta Investigating Bureau, said he conducted a private investigation on Braden and said U. S. Senate Judiciary Committee testimony in 1957 branded him a Communist.

UPI Profile On Controversial Professional Witness Matthews

WASHINGTON (UPI)—J. B. Matthews, called a "Damned Liar" by a Mississippi publisher, is no newcomer to controversy . . . A 66-year-old one-time Fellow Traveler . . . Became an ardent anti-Communist . . . Often in the headlines as former aide to Congressional committees.

A native of Nashville, Tenn., served as executive director of the Senate Permanent Investigating Subcommittee in 1953 . . . Set off bombshell then by writing in American Mercury magazine that "Largest single group supporting the Communist apparatus in the United States is composed of Protestant clergy."

Article led to a bitter fight which pitted the late Sen. Joseph McCarthy, Chairman of the Subcommittee, against other members of Senate group . . . Matthews finally resigned.

Matthews started out as a Protestant clergyman whose zeal lead him to a Mission in Java . . . His enthusiasm switched from evangelism to "Interacialism" . . . Spent four years in Nashville where he "proposed and supported little programs for Negro and white children to get better acquainted."

Shortly before Depression, he joined the Fellowship of Reconciliation, a pacifist organization . . . That started radical period of his life . . . Over four years span, he was active in 28 different front organization, including Friends of the Soviet Union.

Matthews later detailed his activities during those years in a book called "Odyssey of a Fellow Traveler" . . . In 1934, Matthews disavowed Communist causes. By 1938, he was a prominent witness before the House Committee on Un-American Activities . . . Later became a committee researcher.

He continued as a Congressional Anti-Communist Committee figure until the episode under McCarthy ended his Capitol Hill career.

The state today placed on the stand five rebuttal witnesses who said they had talked with Thomas B. Gambrell prior to the slaying of a highway patrolman and that in their opinion the defendant was sane.

Gambrell is accused of the Aug. 19 murder of H. L. Duckworth, 42, who was shot in the back with

ant's motel room here.

The defense, which rested its case today a few minutes after circuit court convened at 9 a.m., has sought to prove Gambrell was insane at the time Duckworth was killed.

A string of defense witnesses, including one psychiatrist, said during Wednesday and Thursday court sessions that they believed the 33-year-old Jackson attorney was insane.

A psychiatrist, a law professor and a former employer of Gambrell, a 33-year-old Jackson lawyer, testified yesterday.

The psychiatrist, Dr. Claude Brown of Mobile, Ala., told the jury Gambrell was "not competent. . .not in his right mind" at the time of the shooting.

Brown said he considers Gambrell clearly in a psychotic condition then and now and unable to determine a proper course of action.

Dr. John Fox, a professor of law at the University of Mississippi, recalled a talk with Gambrell in 1958. Fox said he was "clearly convinced he was insane."

J. B. Reynolds of Jackson, claims adjustor for an insurance company, said he asked for Gambrell's resignation in March, 1958, and the defendant quit soon afterward.

There were times, Reynolds said, when "he became so incoherent I couldn't tell what he was talking about."

"We let him go because we were afraid he was going to kill himself or someone else," Gambrell's former employer said.

Two other witnesses said Gambrell fell from a horse when he was about 12 years old and received a head injury. He never received any medical treatment for the injury, they said.

Owners Of Series E Savings Bonds Can Swap For Series H

WASHINGTON AP) — Owners of the popular series E savings bonds will be given a chance to swap them for series H bonds, which pay interest twice a year.

Those who make the switch will be able to postpone paying taxes on the interest they've earned on their E bonds. This interest is collected—and taxed—only when the bond matures or is redeemed. Its exchange for the series H bond would delay the due date of the tax until the new bond matures.

The Treasury announced Thursday that, starting next Jan. 1, anyone who owns E bonds may exchange them at any time for H bonds. The offer also is being made to owners of series F and J savings bonds—types no longer sold.

Officials believe hundreds of thousands of people will make the switch. Altogether, between 35 and 40 million Americans own E bonds.

Farm Bureau Wants Balanced Budget With No New Taxes

JACKSON, Miss. (AP) — The Mississippi Farm Bureau Federation wants the state to balance its budget without any new taxes.

The federation urged yesterday that the state live within its present income during the next four years.

The farm group also went on record in favor of preservation of segregation in education and the appointment of a committee to investigate specific complaints with regard to textbook content and teaching.

In recommendations for the national program, the delegates reaffirmed their support of states rights legislation and their opposition to federalization of the National Guard in civil rights law enforcement.

The organization's Distinguished Service Award went to Sen. George B. Walker. The presentation was made at Walker's home in Stoneville because the senator was ill with the flu. The plaque was for outstanding service to agriculture.

Complete Rat Bait Distribution Today

City and State Plant Board workers are expected to finish distributing poisoned rat bait in Greenville today. They have put out more of it than they had expected to. Originally 5,000 pounds of corn meal was mixed with the rodent poison. Today an additional 500 pounds of meal was to be procured and mixed with poison.

The rat campaign began Monday with the Washington County Health Department, the State Health Department and the State Plant Board cooperating with the city which provided the money.

Workers have been giving rat poison away from door to door in paper sacks. The poison must be eaten several times by rats or mice.

Under ordinary conditions it will not kill pets and would have to be consumed in very large quantities to injure humans.

- State - City- News Briefs -Delta

PUT OUT LELAND FIRES

LELAND—Volunteer firemen put out two grass fires in less than an hour here Thursday. They were summoned to the Tony Morlino home on Seventh Street at 1:30 p.m. and used a booster tank to put out a fire, and at 2 p.m. answered a call to Joe Harrell's dwelling at 913 Feltus Street, again using the booster tank. There was no damage.

MORE GRASS FIRES TODAY, THURSDAY

Grass fires continued to break out today, one at noon in the 800 block of Lotus was caused by burning trash; another at 2 Thursday afternoon called firemen to 246 West Reed Road.

HIKE JACKSON WATER RATES

JACKSON (UPI)—Jackson water rates will be increased one-third next month, Mayor Allen Thompson said Thursday. He said this was caused by proposed city expansion and cost of a new water reservoir on the Pearl River.

ment said Thursday night it was holding two men fitting the description of the robbers who held up the Oak Ridge La., bank Wednesday and got away with $13,050.

The two were described as "drunk and displaying a lot of money." Both men were believed to be strangers in the area. At the same time, state police reported a car examined near Goodwill, La., in West Carroll parish, believed to be the getaway car.

Two men, their faces splotched with paint, walked into the little bank shortly before closing time and lined the three employees against a wall. They held them there with a sawed-off shotgun while they rifled the vault. Then they locked the employees in it.

Mohasco Tells Of Increased Stock Dividend Today

Mohasco Industries, Inc., announced today an increase in the rate of quarterly dividend on its common stock from five cents to 10 cents a share.

The boost will be effective on Dec. 15, the common dividend payment date. In addition there will be the payment of a year-end dividend on common stock for five cents per share, making the total dividend to common stock holders .15.

Preferred dividends at the regular quarterly rate of .87½ and $1.05 respectively on the 3½ percent and 4.2 percent series will also be payable on that date.

Nov. 30, 1959, will be the record date for both the common and preferred dividends.

Outlook Encouraging

Herbert L. Shuttleworth, II, president, indicated that this increase in the quarterly common dividend rate and the payment of a year-end common dividend is warranted by the favorable operating results in 1959, the encouraging outlook for 1960 and the continued improvement in the company's financial condition.

He considers this action to be another step in the company's efforts to translate this improvement into tangible benefits for its stockholders. He cited as earlier steps the resumption of preferred dividends in 1957, the liquidation of preferred dividend arrearages, the resumption of common dividends and the payment of a year-end extra common dividend in 1958 and the payment of a 10 percent common stock dividend on Oct. 15, 1959.

Gartin Suspends Sentences Of Two

JACKSON, Miss. (AP)—Acting Gov. Carroll Gartin suspended indefinitely the penitentiary sentences of two convicts yesterday.

The two were Jimmy Lee, convicted of shooting a pistol in Washington County last June, serving a 6-month term; and Douglas McCarty, sentenced to two years from Perry County last February on a charge of child desertion.

MFCA SEEKS $75,000,000

NEW ORLEANS (AP) — The Mississippi Flood Control Assn. at the close of its annual conference Friday, voted to ask Congress for at least $75 million yearly for flood protection work in the lower Mississippi Valley. Among officers elected or re-elected was Martin Heard, Leland, state vice-president.

Board Says No

The new offer was submitted to the union Nov. 15 during secret negotiations between both sides. McDonald said the union's 33-member executive board turned it down the same day.

Had the proposal been accepted, said Cooper, it would have meant a 30-cent-an-hour package over a three year period. He added that the new offer also tempered in-

proposition which the companies had made in October and which was rejected by the full wage policy committee as recently as Nov. 12th," he added.

Industry estimated that the new proposal provided an increase of 6-10 of a cent an hour over the 29.4 cent hourly package offered by the industry on Oct. 17 in another three-year proposal.

New Labeling Eases Cranberry Scare

WASHINGTON AP) — A new labeling plan helped today to ease the cranberry scare.

The government Thursday assured housewives they didn't have to worry about including cranberries in their Thanksgiving menus —if the berries they buy are labeled as being safe.

Secretary of Welfare Arthur S. Flemming told berry shoppers to look for one of these labels:

1. "Examined and passed by the Food and Drug Administration of the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare."

2. "Certified safe under the plan approved by the U.S. government for cranberries." This statement must be signed by the packer distributor who has the testing done in line with government procedures, Flemming said.

Misuse of the labels will be regarded as a crime, the secretary added.

Cranberry industry spokesmen assured housewives there will be plenty of certified berries for the holidays.

The cranberry scare developed last week when Flemming told a news conference that traces of a weed killer had been found on some berries grown in the Pacific Northwest. He said the weed killer, Aminotriazole, had produced cancer when fed to laboratory test rats.

Leland Lions Hear Of European Tour

LELAND — Leland Lions Club members Thursday heard Perry Jones, history instructor and assistant coach at Leland High School, describe his summer tour of Europe.

Jones visited 11 nations during his two and a half months spending only $400. His transportation to and from Europe was $600. Jones hitch-hiked, lived in youth, hostels, refugee camps and even a castle during his tour. He said he especially tried to see sites of historical interest.

Vicksburg Lass Is 'Miss Ole Miss'

OXFORD, Miss. (AP) — A 22-year-old education major, Mary Campbell of Vicksburg, Miss., was elected "Miss Ole Miss" at the University of Mississippi last night.

Miss Campbell and football player Bob Khayat of Moss Point, the Rebels' point kicking specialist, will reign over Dixie Week activities.

In the campus balloting, Miss Campbell drew 1,006 votes to 749 for Liz Ford of Pascagoula, Miss.

WEATHER AND RIVER

(For Greenville and Vicinity)

U. S. Observer Brodie Crump reported high temperature for the 24-hour period preceding 7:45 a. m. today, 62 degrees, low temperature 31 degrees. Temperature at 7:45 a. m. 35 degrees.

The Mississippi River at the Greenville - Lake Village Bridge, 19.61 feet at 7 a. m. today, a 24-hour fall of 0.48 ft.

NW MISSISSIPPI — Partly cloudy and warmer today, tonight and Saturday. High today 64-68, low tonight 40-44, high tomorrow 66-70. Winds south to southeast at 5-15 miles per hour. Outlook Sunday: Mostly cloudy and mild. Low 40-44, high 66-70.

Paul Nunnery Heads County BSA Leaders

Paul Nunnery of Hollandale was elected chairman of the Washington (County) District of the Boy Scouts of America at a supper meeting of the district leaders Thursday night.

Also elected at the meeting, held in the Hollandale Community House, were Bill Kimbrell, Greenville, first vice chairman, and Lester Watson, Leland, second vice chairman.

The meeting was presided over by outgoing chairman Joe Wroten, who termed the key to succes for the scouting program "regular meetings of all committees."

"What is needed is the opportunity to sit down and regularly survey what we have and have not accomplished," Wroten said.

Among the 21 scout leaders present were scout field executive Chuck Thomas and committee chairmen Eugene Raphael, Jack Madison and Dave Davidow all of whom gave short talks on the progress of the Washington County scouting program in their various fields.

District Commissioner Bob Fulmer told the scout leaders that overall scout membership was 1093 in the district in November as against 1223 in January, 1959. The total should be higher by December 31, Fulmer said.

In his concluding remarks Wroten said that being district chairman has "been a unique experience. It gave me a chance to see the human values which are reached in the scouting program."

not be completed before next Monday and that some evidence had been sent to the laboratory for study.

"Additionally, we understand that the three stabbing victims are in serious condition," Swear said. "And in the event one of them fails to recover, the State would present this Grand Jury a charge of murder."

County Attorney Dudley Carr said three Negroes are charged with armed robbery, a capital offense in Mississippi.

In addition to this charge, Otto Jones Jr., 18, is charged with assault and battery with intent to kill and J. B. Little, 16, and T. L. Carothers, 17, are charged as accessories.

Ike Nixes Proposal To Take Democrat Along On His Trip

WASHINGTON AP)—President Eisenhower has turned down a suggestion that he take a top Democratic leader with him on his foreign tour next month.

He said he thought a pre-departure discussion with congressional leaders of both parties would be more useful. He said he has already proposed such an arrangement.

The President stated his views in a letter to Sen. Thomas J. Dodd (D-Conn) from Eisenhower's vacation headquarters in Augusta, Ga. Dodd made the letter public Thursday night. There was no further comment from Eisenhower.

The letter was in reply to a suggestion Dodd made last week that one or more Democrats experienced in international affairs be invited to make the trip. He specifically suggested former President Harry S. Truman, among others.

Eisenhower leaves Dec. 3 on a 20,000 mile tour of 11 nations.

Truck Hits Deer; 27 Laborers Hurt

LUCEDALE, Miss. (AP) — A truck loaded with day-haul Negro workers slammed into a deer on Highway 98. The deer was killed and 27 truck passengers were injured.

The highway patrol said yesterday the driver was Booker T. Fairley, 39. Officers said Fairley told them the deer bounded onto the highway and he hit the animal and lost control of the truck.

The vehicle went down an embankment and overturned.

Most of the victims were injured slightly, but 9-year-old Leonard Ray Moody was hospitalized with a possible brain injury.

After Series Of Grass Fires

Warns About Burning Of Trash

Fire Chief A. Z. Lokey today warned citizens of Greenville and the area near the city of the danger of burning trash.

The chief pointed out that Greenville has a city ordinance prohibiting burning of trash.

Chief Lokey issued his warning after a rash of six grass fires Thursday caused by careless burning of trash.

The chief said Thursday runs were made to most of the fires but city firemen were unable to answer a call to a trailer court on North Broadway because all of the companies were busy.

The biggest hazard, the chief said, is that of having firemen out fighting a grass fire and a conflagration break out in the downtown area or in one of the city's big industrial plants. If a factory fire broke out it and the plant damaged men would be thrown out of work.

With cold weather and chill winds, burning trash in an incinerator at this time will hardly be the right thing to do because trash falls from an incinerator and catches fire.

The chief said people in the city and in the county areas on the fringe of Greenville should be more careful.

Typhoon Death Toll Reaches 25 Today

MANILA (AP)—The death toll from Typhoon Freda reached 25 today as delayed reports came in from storm-stricken provinces.

Government relief agencies estimated at least 50,000 persons were left homeless in 16 provinces.

CAR LOAD SALE
Special Prices on
Brand Name Furniture And
All Types Of Carpeting.
Fred W. Abide
Furniture Company
310 N. Broad St. Leland, Miss.

Charles Roberts Dies On Thursday

Funeral arrangements are incomplete for Charles O. Roberts 55, of Route two, Box 450, who died suddenly Thursday afternoon in Greenville.

Mr. Roberts, who recently moved to Greenville from Cleveland, Mississippi, was pronounced dead on arrival at Kings Daughters Hospital at 2:30 p.m. Although he had been in ill health, his death was unexpected.

The funeral is being handled by Thweatt Funeral Home of Cleveland. Burial will be in Greenlawn Memorial Gardens in Greenville.

Special Purchase
Men's Corduroy
SLACKS
Plain Front Ivy League
Styles In Light Grey and Black
– Sizes 28 to 38 –
Regular Price $8.95
$4.95
Greenley's
GREENVILLE GREENWOOD

New Lutheran Church Dedication Is Sunday

Rev. Roy A. Jacob, pastor of Faith Lutheran Church of Greenville, has announced that the congregation will dedicate its new house of worship Sunday afternoon at 4:30. The service will be open to the public.

The church is located on the intersection of Old Leland Road and Dublin Way in north Greenville, across from the Fulwiler elementary school. Refreshments will be served following the service.

Ground for the new $38,000 structure was broken on February 22. The building is intended to serve as a multi-purpose first unit of a master plan which calls for the eventual construction of an educational building and a main church. Its features include four Sunday School rooms, a pastor's study, a kitchen and balcony.

The main sanctuary will accommodate 150, and the entire building will be cooled throughout by central air-conditioning. A nursery will also be operated during church hours.

The building, designed by Harry Dickman of Greenville and constructed by Lancaster Bros., is of modern style architecture, featuring glass paneling in the front wall and laminated wooden arches in the interior, which has been purposely designed with an off-center effect.

Rev. Jacobs said that most new Lutheran churches are now being constructed in the modern style of architecture because of its economy, beauty, simplicity and utility.

The speaker for the dedication service will be the Rev. E. L. Coyner, pastor of Messiah Lutheran Church of Vicksburg and Circuit Counselor for the North Mississippi Circuit of the Lutheran Church — Missouri Synod.

Sylvester Sanders Services Are Held

CLEVELAND — Services for Sylvester Givens Sanders, who died after a long illness Tuesday at his home near Ruleville, were conducted at 2:30 p.m. Wednesday at Dockery Baptist Church with the Rev. Marion Gray officiating. Burial was in Ruleville cemetery. Thweatt Funeral Home was in charge. He was 58.

Born in Yalabousha county, Mr. Sanders came to the Ruleville area in 1942 where he has since lived. He was an automobile salesman, and member of Dockery Baptist Church.

He is survived by his wife, Mrs. Pearlie Mae Sanders; a son S. G. Sanders, Jr., of Greenville; three daughters, Mrs. Ruth Virginia Lofton of Indianola, Mrs. Roy Phillips of Texakana, Texas, and Mrs. Margie Mae Sanders of Ruleville; three brothers, Tom Sanders of Memphis, John Sanders of Prairie, Miss., and Sim Sanders of Kilmichael; five sisters, Mrs. Lillian Hall and Mrs. Roma Neely of Memphis, Mrs. Rosie Lucius of Greenville, and Mrs. Nettie Fowler of Sweatman, Miss. He is also survived by four stepchildren, Floyd Lee Smith, John Lloyd Smith, Myrtle Mae Smith, Dixie Jean Smith, of Ruleville; 13 grandchildren.

Answer to yesterday's puzzle.

E	R	S		S	T	U	B		C	L	E	W
S	E	C		C	E	R	E		A	E	R	O
S	E	R	G	E	A	N	T		R	A	R	E
	I	O	N	S		O	V	E	N	S		
D	E	B	R	E		E	K	E	S			
A	B	B	E		O	P	E	N	S	H	O	P
C	O	L		A	M	E	N	T		E	T	O
E	N	E	R	G	I	E	S		L	A	I	R
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	S	H	O	R	T		S	E	A	T		
M	A	I	D		I	M	P	E	D	I	N	G
O	G	L	E		N	O	U	N		L	E	I
B	E	T	S		G	A	R	S		Y	E	N

Agricultural Census Begins In County Today

The 1959 Census of Agriculture began today in Washington County after census enumerators attended two days of school in Greenville and Hollandale.

The last census, in 1954 revealed the following statistics: $21,853,925 worth of farm products sold. This included $20,442,348 in crops ($37,638 worth of vegetables, $44,973 for fruits and nuts, $24,775 for horticultural specialties and $20,334,962 for field crops). Livestock and livestock products sold totaled $1,386,690 ($223,350 for dairy products, $83,793 for poultry and poultry products).

The value of forest products sold from the county's farms was $24,887.

Along The Riverfront

David E. Ouzts Services Saturday

Funeral services for David E. Ouzts, 76, of Greenville, a retired Texas business man, who died in Memphis Thursday at Baptist Hospital, will be conducted at 10 a.m. Saturday at the chapel of Wells Funeral Home by Dr. Perry Claxton, pastor of First Baptist Church. Burial will be in Greenville Cemetery.

Mr. Ouzts was born in Limestone county, Texas, and engaged in the textile business at Houston, Texas, until his retirement several years ago.

He and his wife moved to Greenville three years ago to make their home with a niece, Mrs. Tommy Taylor, 519 Walker street. Mrs. Ouzts died last March. He was a member of the Baptist Church.

He is survived by a sister, Mrs. C. H. Crouch of Sedaw, New Mexico; three nieces, Mrs. G. E. McKinley of Shreveport, La., Mrs. Gee Hodes of Dallas, Texas, Mrs. Tommy Taylor of Greenville; and two newphews, W. M. Ouzts of San Diego, Cal., and C. H. Crouch Jr. of Albuquerque, New Mexico.

Matthews - -

(Continued From Page 1)

versity of North Carolina.

Other men prominent in the organization of the SRC were M. Ashby Jones and Ryland Knight, Baptist ministers; Rabbi David Marx, Atlanta Temple; Stuart R. Oglesby, Presbyterian minister; Most Rev. Gerald P. O'Hara, Bishop of Savannah-Atlanta; J. McDowell Richards, president of Columbia Theological Seminary; Bishop John Moore Walker, Protestant Episcopal church, and Goodrich C. White, president of Emory University.

Dr. Odom was the first president. He was succeeded by Paul D. Williams, Richmond, Va., prominent Catholic layman and co-founder of the Catholic Committee of the South.

80 Southerners

The Southern Regional Council consists of 80 southerners representing the major religious faiths, both races, and the 13 states of the region.

The Council is non-profit, nonpolitical and non-denominational. Financial support comes from several sources. The most abundant are church funds of six different denominations, philanthropic foundations, trade unions and Human Welfare.

The SCHW was organized in 1938 by some leading Americans and was originally a reputable organization. Many well-intentioned and patriotic southerners participated in its early activities. However, when it became apparent that Communist sympathizers had infiltrated the organization, loyal members withdrew and a number joined the SRC.

The Council has refuted subversion charges repeatedly and successfully. The staunchly segregationist Richmond Times-Dispatch has defended the honor — if not the goals — of the SRC, as have the Atlanta Constitution and the Chattanoga Times, among others.

Defended In Congress

Rep. Richard Bolling (D-Mo.) defended the loyalty of the SRC on the floor of the House of Representatives. Sen. Paul H. Douglas, of Illinois, did the same thing in the Senate.

Rep. Francis E. Walters, of Pennsylvania, chairman of the House Un-American Activities Investigating Committee, gave the Southern Regional Council a clean bill of health.

Perhaps the feeling toward the SRC and effect of Matthew's charges can be best summed up by the remarks of a prominent Greenville businessman discussing the allegations:

"I have no love for the Southern Regional Council but anyone who calls it 'Comunist tainted' must be crazy."

The new stylish
AUSTIN

Delta Farm Weather

Very Low Humidity Dries Fields

STONEVILLE—Dry weather with somewhat higher temperatures will give good conditions for field operations today and Saturday. Temperatures will climb into the mid 60s this afternoon and near 70 on the week end. Lows at night will be around 40, the Weather Bureau said.

The humidity dropped to an unusually low level—in the teens—Thursday afternoon. This dried out field crops, however the soil is still moist and some low places have mud or puddles. Excellent drying conditions will continue today.

Low pressure over southwest Texas with a weak front extending northeast into Kansas is due to move slowly eastward. There is a chance of a few light showers as it moves through this area late Saturday or Sunday. However the air over the mid-South is so extremely dry that very little in the way of rain is likely. In fact, generally dry weather is likely to continue into the middle of next week.

Listen to Delta Farm Weather, radio station WDDT, Dial 90, 7:30. 12:35 and 6:00

NOTICE

The telephone answering service owned by Laverene Thompson and operated under the name of "Stenocall" in the May Building, Greenville, Mississippi, has been purchased by Charles L. Horn, 2512 Turin Street, Greenville, Mississippi, and others, effective December 1, 1959.
11/20-25-30

Early C. Ewing Injures Hip

Early C. Ewing was brought to General Hospital about 9 a.m. today for treatment of a hip injury suffered in a fall at his home at Scott.

Mr. Ewing, for many years associated with Delta and Pine Land Company, was brought to Greenville in a National ambulance.

He was given an x-ray examination on arrival at the hospital to determine if he suffered a broken hip.

DELUXE
DRY CLEANING
10% Discount Cash & Carry
Work Called For & Delivered
Model Cleaners
Hwy. 82E Opposite Fire Station
Phone 2-6613

ONE YEAR FREE
✓ TUBES, PARTS
✓ SERVICE
✓ On New Motorola TV
JEROME SIT — ELECTRONIC WORKSHOP

SATURDAY LAST DAY SAM STEIN'S
52NI ANNIVERSARY SALE

Group Of 300
NEW FALL
DRESSES
$5.95 to $8.95 Values
TOMORROW ONE DAY ONLY –
$5
These are truly good values — choose from cottons, rayons, and blends in solid colors, checks, plaids, geometrics and novelty designs.
You'll want two of them, when you see the values!

SLACKS

Plain Front Ivy League
Styles in Light Grey and Black
– Sizes 28 to 38 –

Regular Price $8.95

$4.95

Greenley's
GREENVILLE GREENWOOD

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S	E	C		C	E	R	E		A	E	R	O
S	E	R	G	E	A	N	T		R	A	R	E
		I	O	N	S		O	V	E	N	S	
D	E	B	R	E		E	K	E	S			
A	B	B	E		O	P	E	N	S	H	O	P
C	O	L		A	M	E	N	T		E	T	O
E	N	E	R	G	I	E	S		L	A	I	R
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M	A	I	D		I	M	P	E	D	I	N	G
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B	E	T	S		G	A	R	S		Y	E	N

11-20

Agriculture
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Along The Riverfront

Brent Towing Company motor vessels radioed positions on three rivers and a canal today. The Jimmie Jr., beamed at 5 a. m. the boat's position at mile 129 and westbound on Intercoastal Canal; Jill Wasson, downbound on the Ohio river at mile 896; Barbara Brent, upbound at mile 865 on the lower Mississippi; and Betty Brent, discharging cargo at Nashville, Tenn., on Cumberland river.

Greenville Tonwing Company's motor vessel, Ben McCool, radioed at 5 a. m. today at mile 890 and downbound on the Ohio river. For the record straight day the GTC's vessel, Walter Williamson, was tied up at Mayersville, south of Greenville, discharging cargo.

Valley Towing Company's towboat, City of Greenville, enroute to Memphis, radioed early today at mile 632 and northbound on the lower Mississippi. Another Valley towboat, Lady Ree, beamed a message listing Memphis as its location where cargo is being discharged.

Port City Towing Company's motor vessel, Etta Marie, at 6 a. m. today radioed her position at mile 74 on the upper Mississippi enroute to St. Louis.

Eleven towboats beamed radio messages Thursday on passing Warfield Point, 5 miles south of Greenville, on the main channel of the Mississippi. The southbound boats passing included the Mark Eastin, Mary B., and Bonus H. Northbound boats included the United States, Jane T., City of Greenville, Sandelier, Sally Polk, Jean C. Hutchinson, Jamel and Lipscomb.

After passing Warfield Point at 9 o'clock last night, Delta Towing Company's motor vessel, Jamel, at 6 a. m. today radioed her position at mile 557 on the lower Mississippi. The Jamel is enroute to Charleston, West Virginia. Another DTC towboat, the Nita Dean, at 6 a. m. today radioed the office here her position at mile 743 on the lower Mississippi river. The Nita Dean's destination is Louisville, Ky.

Ashby Jones and Ryland Knight, Baptist ministers; Rabbi David Marx, Atlanta Temple; Stuart R. Oglesby, Presbyterian minister; Most Rev. Gerald P. O'Hara, Bishop of Savannah-Atlanta; J. McDowell Richards, president of Columbia Theological Seminary; Bishop John Moore Walker, Protestant Episcopal church, and Goodrich C. White, president of Emory University.

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The Southern Regional Council consists of 80 southerners representing the major religious faiths, both races, and the 13 states of the region.

The Council is non-profit, nonpolitical and non-denominational. Financial support comes from several sources. The most abundant are church funds of six different denominations, philanthropic foundations, trade unions and some business firms. Individuals support the Council with contributions, legacies and dues.

The SRC operated within the framework of "separate but equal" for seven years. In 1951 the Council formally committed itself to the aim of an unsegregated society. "It did so because it believed segregation to conflict with moral values, with democratic principals, and with the best interests of the country and this region," the SRC states.

Since the 1954 Supreme Court decision declaring school segregation unconstitutional the Council has favored compliance through methodical integration.

Brought Under Fire

This stand has brought the SRC under fire from southern conservatives a number of times. Detractors are goaded on by the fact that some SRC members had previously belonged to the defunct red-lined Southern Conference on the floor of the House of Representatives. Sen. Paul H. Douglas, of Illinois, did the same thing in the Senate.

Rep. Francis E. Walters, of Pennsylvania, chairman of the House Un-American Activities Investigating Committee, gave the Southern Regional Council a clean bill of health.

Perhaps the feeling toward the SRC and effect of Matthew's charges can be best summed up by the remarks of a prominent Greenville businessman discussing the allegations:

"I have no love for the Southern Regional Council but anyone who calls it 'Comunist tainted' must be crazy."

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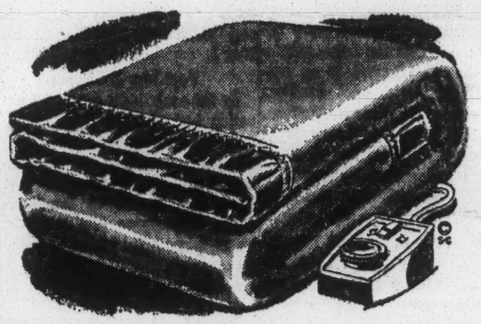

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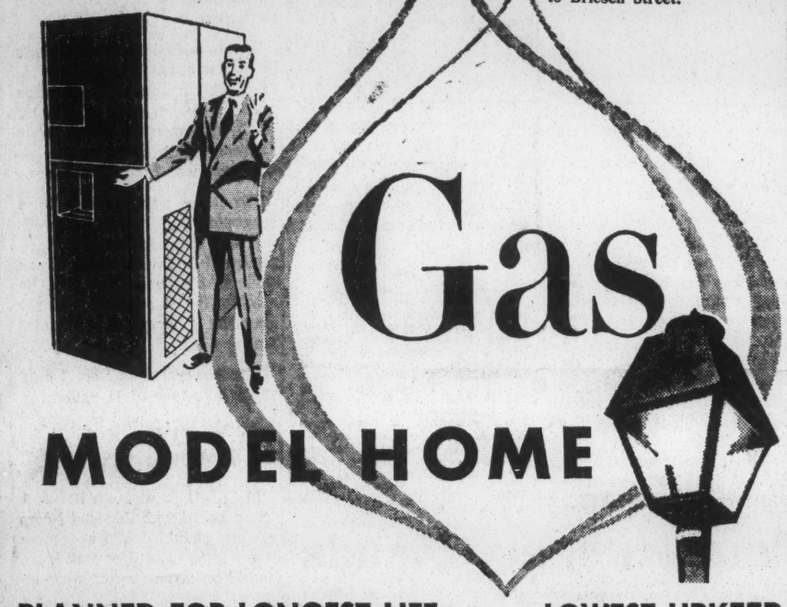

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Leland Lumber Company, one of the Delta's leading builders, has chosen gas equipment for a distinguished work of remodeling and modernizing an older home on Briesch St. in Leland.

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Subversion Legislation In Mississippi Wind?

NOV 22 1959

'Bills in Mind,' Report: More Names Called in Jackson Hearings

By BERRY REECE, *United Press International*

JACKSON, Miss.—A two-day hearing into alleged Communist influences in Mississippi today possibly paved the way for anti-subversion legislation in the 1960 Legislature.

State Sen. Mayes McGehee of Meadville, chairman of the General Legislative Investigating Committee, denied the hearing was held to pave the way for specific legislation.

But according to a reliable source, the committee now has some sort of anti-subversion bills in mind.

Witnesses called yesterday were Chief Investigator Zack Van Landingham of the state Sovereignty Commission, Clarksdale Editor Joe Ellis and former FBI Agent John Sullivan.

They testified that some of the 11 alleged Communist-front workers named Wednesday by Communist hunter, Dr. J. B. Matthews of New York, have been in Mississippi.

Braden Cited

One of those cited, Carl Braden of Louisville, Ky., showed up at the afternoon session and told newsmen afterwards he thought the testimony calling him a Communist "is not worthy of comment."

Braden said he worked for the Southern Conference Educational Fund, which Matthews called Communist-front, but Braden said the purpose of the SCEF was merely integration. He said he is currently appealing a one-year prison sentence for contempt of the House Un-American Activities Committee.

Van Landingham, a former FBI agent, testified that six of those scored by Matthews had addressed meetings of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in Mississippi.

Van Landingham said the following spoke to NAACP meetings in Jackson, Clarksdale and Marks:

Rev. Martin Luther King of Montgomery, Ala., whom Matthews said attended a Communist training school at the Highlander Folk School at Monteagle, Tenn.

Speaker Accused

Mrs. Ruby Hurley, southeastern regional director of the NAACP, whom Matthews said was on the board of sponsors of the New York Youth Council in 1947 and the World Youth Congress in 1945.

Atty. John Bolt Culbertson of Greenville, S.C., whom Matthews said was a vice president of the SCEF.

Bishop C. Eubanks Tucker of Louisville, Ky., called a director of the SCEF by Van Landingham; and Dr. Glenn Smiley and Rev. J. M. Lawson, whom Van Landingham said were officials of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, labeled Communist-front by Matthews.

Editor Ellis said Braden visited his office in 1958 to "straighten out the facts" on a story critical of often-questioned SCEF head Dr. James Dombrowski of New Orleans.

Sullivan, who runs the Delta Investigating Bureau, said he conducted a private investigation on Braden and said U.S. Senate Judiciary Committee testimony in 1957 branded him a Communist.

'Guilty Plea' By NAACP Official

Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the NAACP, said in New York:

"The action against the NAACP in Mississippi is reported to have been launched because our organization has goals 'contary to Mississippi's segregated way of life.'

"We plead guilty to this charge. We have fought the Mississippi way of life for the 50 years of our existence and we expect to continue our efforts until segregation is eliminated from American life.

"NAACP is not now nor has it ever been either a Communist or a Communist front organization."

JOHN HERBERS

NOV 22 1959

Red-Hunt Hearings May Mean More State Laws

By JOHN HERBERS
United Press International

A question around the state capitol this week is what's behind the two-day subversion hearing conducted by the Legislative Investigating Committee. Why was it conducted and what did it accomplish?

Members of the committee have acted very mysterious about the matter. The first word of the hearing came out Tuesday afternoon when Sen. Mayes McGehee of Meadville, committee chairman, called a news conference and distributed a one-sentence signed statement to the effect that there would be a public hearing at 10 a.m. the next day in the House chamber.

And that was all he would say about the nature of the hearing.

It was known the committee had at least one investigator assigned to a secret project for more than a year. It was obvious this was it. But why?

When the hearing opened the next day the main witness was J. B. Matthews, 66, the highly controversial anti-Communist, a former fellow traveler and integrationist who later turned against the party and spent several years as aide to congressional committees until he was let out of the McCarthy committee for a magazine article he wrote saying "the largest single group supporting the Communist apparatus in the United States is composed of Protestant clergy."

Matthews' testimony on Communist infiltration and front groups was substantially the same as that repeated many times before federal and state investigations except that he threw in some local names. He established no difference between known Communist front groups and the Southern Regional council which is supported by many leading Southerners and has been cleared of subversion charges by the federal government.

But that turned out to be a side issue to the next day's testimony.

Zack Van Landingham, chief investigator for the State Sovereignty Commission, used Matthews' testimony to show that speakers at NAACP and regional council of Negro leadership meetings in Mississippi had been active in Communist front groups.

The Legislative committee previously has confined its investigations to state institutions and agencies as a "watch dog" group to see that there was no graft or corruption. But the 1958 Legislature adopted a resolution authorizing the committee to investigate the NAACP for subversive influences and to determine its purpose.

The hearing apparently was an answer to that but it was not known whether the hearing would be used as a basis for outlawing the organization. Some legislators are opposed to that on the basis that it can be better watched when its activities are legal and open.

However, the hearings may form the basis for some anti-subversive legislation at the 1960 Legislature. The state now has laws that would permit arrest of any out-of-state NAACP speaker but possibly some legislators think more are needed.

The hearing may be a prelude to another raft of anti-integration legislation. Large volumes of this type laws were passed at the 1958 and earlier sessions.

On outlawing the NAACP, such action has stood up in only one state—Alabama. There the organization was fined $100,000 after the NAACP refused to make public its membership list. The NAACP did not pay the fine and therefore is not allowed to exist. Similar organizations with the same purposes sprang up in its absence.

Mississippi is armed with a 1958 law that would permit Mississippi to take the same action against the NAACP as Alabama did.

Mid-South News In Brief—

NOV 22 1959

Neighbors Behind Carter

GREENVILLE, Miss., Nov. 21.—A group of leading Washington County citizens, including the entire legislative delegation, Saturday released a statement supporting Greenville editor and publisher, Hodding Carter. Mr. Carter, author and Pulitzer Prize winner, was accused this week of belonging to communist front organizations.

Their statement said in part: "We strongly condemn the smear technique by which a man's good name can be dragged in the mud..."

Signers included state Senator-elect and Leland Mayor William J. Caraway, Representative Joe Wroten, and Representatives-elect Deloach Cope and Horace Meredith Jr., Leroy Percy, former president of the Delta Council, Maj. Gen. Galla Paxton (USA, ret.), Monty Payne, president of the Washington County Farm Bureau, and other county leaders.

The Delta Democrat Times

HODDING CARTER
Editor and Publisher

JOHN T. GIBSON
General Manager

Greenville, Miss., Sunday, November 22, 1959

Were it left for me to decide whether we should have a government without newspapers or newspapers without government, I should not hesitate a moment to prefer the latter.
—Thomas Jefferson

McCarthyism In Mississippi

TWO observations seem in order following the two day hearing by the General Legislative Investigating Committee in Jackson The first is that it accomplised no good purpose and unearthed no new information but did blacken the names of a number of innocent people. The second is that in technique and intent the Committee followed a course highly reminiscent of the old McCarthy pattern of smear and run.

What exactly did the committee unearth? First of all, they brought forth a professional anti-Communist, J. B. Matthews, who very carefully hedged everything he implied or stated and ended by making no charges which could be acted upon. Of the people he mentioned, some are dead and most are out of the state.

The one person he mentioned who is still active in Mississippi, the editor of this paper, was able to prove both his loyalty and the falsity of the charges brought by Matthews. What cannot be fully countered, however, is the lie which has now been spread abroad, for fact rarely completely catches up with fiction. This the smear artists and witch hunters know full well. Sadly enough, of course, none of the others named by Matthews have a forum from which to answer his allegations.

Both days saw the witnesses neatly mixing up the names of one or two known Communists and fellow travellers with a large percentage of non-Communists. The committee's counsel brought out the desired effect of muddying the waters so that everyone mentioned came out under suspicion.

Indeed, when asked whether the committee wasn't in reality practicing guilt by association, the chief investigator for the State Sovereignty Commission, Zack Van Landingham, told the questioner to "draw your own conclusions."

The conclusion is inescapable. What was being practiced was McCarthyism plain and simple, with all the forms and practices which were discredited nationally five years ago reemerging. Guilt by association, half-truths, and outright lies — these were the rule rather than the exception during the committees hearings.

The question is, where is Mississippi heading? During the course of the past six months we have seen vicious attacks made upon our schools' textbooks, upon the University of Mississippi, and upon a simple film on tolerance in the state department of education. Now this committee hearing.

The answer which appears inescapable at the moment is that those who are in the saddle in the state today are determined to impose total control on the entire community of Mississippi, Negro and white. To do this they are willing to see freedom of thought, freedom of opinion, and freedom of inquiry totally destroyed.

They are well on the road to success.

Cranberry, Cigarettes And Cancer

IT is pleasant to know that the cranberry controversy has come conclusive, but nary a peep do we hear from Secretary of Welfare

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IT is pleasant to know that the cranberry controversy has come to an almost happy ending. We have been assured that safe and sane cranberries will be available at the grocery stores, so we're going to have the works with our turkey after all.

All this controversy about the possible cancer-inducing effect of cranberries makes us feel just a little cynical about the government's bravery, however. The Food and Drug people are not really sure that the chemical ingredient in the weed killer put on some cranberries will cause cancer in humans, but the government rushed madly in to block all sales through adverse publicity and confiscating some cranberries. The cranberry industry only does business valued in the millions, however.

The link between cigarette smoking and cancer is far more conclusive, but nary a peep do we hear from Secretary of Welfare Arthur Fleming that, if he were a housewife, he'd think twice about buying cigarettes.

As an out, of course, the government can say that there's no law concerning harmful agents in cigarettes while there is one covering food, but it could be the fact that the tobacco industry is in the multi-million category while the cranberry boys aren't has something to do with it, too.

In any case, we're glad that cranberries will be on the market and we're pleased to see a government agency taking a public stand against cancer producing products. Now if one of those bureaus up there would just carry this war against cancer to its logical conclusion, we might get somewhere in the war against the dread disease.

Justice In The Spotlight

TUPELO and Corinth in all probability will be the scene of trials which could attract national attention.

In Tupelo three Negroes have been charged with the stabbing of three white men, all of whom are injured seriously. In Corinth eight white boys face murder charges in the shotgun slaying of a Negro teenager.

The two cases have parallels that may put the administration of justice in Mississippi to a strict test.

In both cases groups of teen age boys have been charged with unprovoked attacks on males of another race they did not even know. In the Corinth case the victim was slain immediately. In the Tupelo case the grand jury consideration of charges has been delayed so that murder charges can be filed if one of the victims died.

Indictments and trials occurring almost simultaneously in these two Northeast Mississippi Cities in all likelihood attract the attention of many people outside the state. Up to the present time, the actions of citizens and law enforcement officers in the two cases has been exemplary.

The crucial test will come in the way both sets of assailants, Negro and white, are prosecuted. Once again the state's reputation is on trial as well as the accused. Justice must be done in the two cases in complete and impartial form, if we are to regain a reputation for fair play in our courts regardless of race or circumstance.

MISSISSIPPI — Cloudy to partly cloudy through Sunday with a few showers mainly north portion this afternoon. Not much change in temperatures.

ARKANSAS — Partly cloudy through Sunday. No important temperature changes. Highest Sunday in 60s.

The Delta Democrat-Times

71st Year | United Press International [UPI] | Associated Press (AP) | Greenville, Mississippi | Sunday, November 22, 1959

PARADE PREPARATIONS — A group of young workers put the finishing touches on some float decorations for the Christmas Parade December 1. They are, from the left, Jerry Jones, 12, Tommy Stevens, 13, Tommy DeFreez, 11, and Julie DeFreez, 14. All of them will be riding on the floats in the parade. (Staff photo)

John Herbers Reports From Jackson

Legislative Probe May Be Aimed At Outlawing NAACP In State

By JOHN HERBERS

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See Legislation

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Sambrell Gets Death

At GAFB Graduation

Gen. Humfield To Address 60-D

Brig. Gen. Harold E. Humfeld, commander of the 340th Bomb Wing, Whiteman AFB, Mo., will address the 51 graduates of class 60-D at Greenville AFB ceremonies Wednesday.

Among the graduates are 14 ROTC officers, eight rated officers, one Air National Guard officer, one aviation student and 25 aviation cadets. First Lieutenant John T. Hicks, of Prospect, Ky., and 2nd Lt. Gordon E. Fornell, Chicago, will be honored as top graduates.

Also graduating will be A/1C Edward Williams, of Gloucester, Pa., who will become the sixth member of his family to fly professionally.

Four brothers before him were military pilots and a sister is an airline stewardess.

Against Editor

25 County Citizens Condemn Red Smear

A 25 man group of Washington County citizens today issued "an open letter to the people of Mississippi" in which they affirmed their belief "in the good citizenship, honesty and patriotism" of Hodding Carter, editor-publisher of the Delta Democrat-Times.

The statement by the local group, which included the entire legislative delegation of the county, followed charges made on Wednesday at a legislative committee hearing in Jackson that Carter was a member of a communist "tainted" organization.

The text of the statement said:

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"We recognize also that such rights are in peril in our state today. We strongly condemn the smear technique by which a man's good name can be dragged in the mud. And we earnestly hope that the recent hearings in Jackson have not set a pattern for the future."

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More Grass Fires

Community Fund Final Re Du

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More Grass Fires

Community Fund

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NOV 23 1959

Believes Matthews Overstepped Self

State Times,

Can you find out by what authority this man "Matthews" is the supreme authority on who is and who is not a Communist, and also why the Legislative Committee selected him to do their witch-hunting? I believe he overstepped himself when he included among those "banned" the name of Dr. P. H. Easom, former Director of the Negro Division of the State Department of Education. Dr. Easom was not a personal friend of mine but I knew him and his work well enough to know, beyond a doubt, that he was a highly-educated, Christian gentleman of the highest honor and integrity. Dr. Easom gave his life to the cause of justice, fair-dealing and harmony between the races. Since he cannot speak for himself it behooves some one to speak for him. Our state is strong for "States Rights" (and I am too), but what about "personal rights" and "individual liberty?" If these liberties are not guaranteed to us then, after we are dead and gone, some one (like Mr. Matthews) may come along to smear the record we left. What about it?

I am a Mississippi - born white, voting citizen—one who cherishes the "right of the individual", which I think is the basis of American freedom.

PATRIOT

★ ★ ★

November 23, 1959

Mr. Hodding Carter
Delta-Democrat Times
Greenville, Mississippi

Dear Hodding:

I just want to say a word of hearty thanks to you for giving Hired Hatchet Man Matthews the treatment he deserves, and for defending SRC's good name. I'm sorry I was out of town when the business broke, but other staff members gave out appropriate statements to the UPI.

It occurs to me that you ought to have an up-to-date list of SRC's members, enclosed.

If there's anything more we should do, please let me know.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - (Board list)

Enclosures: Ark. Gazette: 12/18/58 "J. B. Matthews...Some Background on a Professional Witness"
Journal & Guide Reprint
Congressional Record Reprint "SRC, Origins and Aims..."
Congressional Record Reprint "SRC"- Inserted by Richard Bolling
Chatt. Times Editorial - Dec. 20, 1958 "Matthews and SRC"
Atl. Constitution Editorial - May 12, 1953 "Attack on Clement is Dirty Politics"
Analysis of the Firing Line Attack
Francis E. Walter Ltr. - Aug. 30, 1956
Ark. Gazette - 12/18/58 "By Association"
The Southern Patriot" May 1945 "Hugo Black Dinner"
Richmond Times Dispatch Reprint "A Race Agency and the Facts"
SRC News Release, April 6, 1959 (Ministers statement deploring McCarthyism.)

via air mail special delivery November 18, 1959

Mr. Hodding Carter
Delta-Democrat Times
Greenville, Mississippi

Dear Mr. Carter:

Enclosed are materials which we believe you will find helpful in commenting on the current investigations in Mississippi.

At your convenience, would you please return the photostat copy of the Southern Patriot. There is no need to return the other materials.

Needless to say, we can supply you with additional materials and information if you have need for them. If this is the case, please call on us.

We would appreciate having any newspaper stories or editorials which you feel would help to inform us of the current situation in Mississippi.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf

Memo FROM THE DESK OF **PAUL ANTHONY**

Wednesday 11.18

HCF:

Hodding Carter called today while I was out concerning an attack in Mississippi: testimony by J. B. Matthews before the General Legislative Investigion Committee in hearings which began today.

Called back and talked with H. Carter, Jr. Paper wanted general defense materials to answer charges, especially old SCHW origin claims.

Letter and list of materials sent attached.

The Delta Democrat-Times

HODDING CARTER
Editor and Publisher

JOHN T. GIBSON
General Manager

Greenville, Miss., Thursday, November 26, 1959

In the chief's warning he said it would be possible for a big industrial plant to catch fire that

The chief's warning should be heeded. Be careful when you burn trash.

The Mud Won't Stick

(Editor's Note: The following editorial is reprinted in full from the Memphis Press-Scimitar where it appeared under the title, "The Mud Won't Stick On Hodding Carter.")

DR. J. B. MATTHEWS is barking up the wrong tree when he accuses Hodding Carter of being a Communist-fronter.

Matthews, by his own admission a former member of a Communist-front group, and by Carter's description now a "professional anti-Communist," attacked the distinguished Greenville, Miss., editor in testimony before the General Legislative Investigating Committee of Mississippi.

We believe history will show Hodding Carter as one of the great, effective foes of Communism, both inside and outside of this country.

Carter is pursuing an intelligently conservative course in these difficult times. He understands that the United States must live in the world and stands firm for the minimum of what the U. S. and the South can have of what we want in view of world affairs.

Thousands know just how loyal, intelligent and courageous Hodding Carter is. Some hot-headed, short-sighted individuals do not because they will not.

Fortunately, Carter's prestige is so great that attacks such as those by Matthews cannot hurt him.

CHATTANOOGA TIMES

Candles in the Darkness

R-SIS,

The Mississippi legislative committee investigating what it call subversive forces at work in the state followed a familiar pattern in listening to horrendous charges without producing much substantive proof of their accuracy.

J. B. Mathews, the discredited professional witness, was a key figure as he has been in so many of these witch hunts. In the course of his testimony, he termed Hodding Carter, editor of the Greenville (Miss.) *Delta-Democrat Times* and a known liberal, a member of the "interlocking directorate" of Communist-tainted organizations.

"That was a lie out of the whole cloth," commented the Pascagoula *Chronicle Star*, "as Carter rightly labeled it."

It was too much, too, for a group of the editor's fellow townsmen, including his county's entire legislative delegation. In an open letter to the people of Mississippi, they made this statement:

"We, the undersigned citizens of Greenville and Washington County, which to express our belief in the good citizenship, honesty and patriotism of our fellow citizen, Hodding Carter.

"We have not always agreed with him, but we recognize his right to differ as well as our own.

"We recognize also that such rights are imperiled in our state today. We strongly condemn smear techniques by which a man's good name can be dragged in the mud."

CHATTANOOGA TIMES

In recent years, Mississippi has become an abode of intimidation, an arena of suppression, in which scarcely a voice was raised to protest conformity with a way of life decreed by the White Citizens Council.

JAN 8 1960

The council said service on the advisory council of the Civil Rights Commission would be "traitorous," and for months no Mississippian would accept appointment. Finally, Joel Bliss of Wiggins, a state legislator, said he would ignore the council's admonition and would "think for himself" rather than let the council do it for him. The *Tylertown Times* hailed his decision as "an indication there is still room in our state for a difference of opinion; this is as it should be."

A few Mississippians are lighting candles instead of cursing the darkness that has descended on their state. It is good to hail actions which so many have avoided for so long.

Smear Campaign Can Hurt Cause Of Mississippi

By OLIVER EMMERICH

A group of 25 Washington County leaders, including the county's entire legislative delegation, have emphatically voiced faith in the "good citizenship, honesty and patriotism of our fellow citizen, Hodding Carter."

The meeting of these leaders in Greenville followed the meeting of a legislative committee in Jackson in which Editor Hodding Carter was named as one of 11 Mississippians belonging to Communist front organizations.

No one could convince us that Hodding Carter is a Communist.

Nor can it be said that he is not a patriotic American, interested in the things which are best for America.

Mr. Carter is a segregationist. He has repeatedly stated his position in this respect. He has, however, throughout his career opposed racial injustices and in so doing has created some bitter opposition.

We do not agree with all of the editorial positions taken by Editor Carter. Neither do we condone the smear tactics that have been used against him.

It is wrong to condemn the smear tactics used in other countries and then embrace them in Mississippi and America.

There is no question but that Hodding Carter is being used as a whipping boy. Things are being charged against him that are contrary to the truth, founded upon hearsay and enlarged upon by rumor. It is a reflection of the frustration that is typical yet understandable in Mississippi today.

When we disagree with a position, it is right that we condemn it. Differences of opinions are essential to growth. But there is a wide difference between the American concept or differing and the use of smear campaign tactics which have characterized the campaigns of countries whose ideologies do not embrace that of individual liberty.

The statement by the Washington County group, in an open letter to the people of Mississippi, said:

"We, the undersigned citizens of Greenville and Washington County, Miss., wish to express our belief in the good citizenship, honesty, and patriotism of our fellow citizen, Hodding Carter, who has been accused in a legislative hearing of having Communist-front connections.

"We have not always agreed with him, but we recognize his right to differ as well as our own.

"We recognize also such rights are imperiled in our state today. We strongly condemn smear techniques by which a man's good name can be dragged in the mud. And we earnestly hope that the recent hearings in Jackson have not set a pattern for the future."

Among those signing were Leroy Percy, planter and past president of the Delta Council; Sen.-elect J. W. Caraway of Leland; Rep. Joe Wroten; Reps.-elect Horace L. Meredith Jr. and Deloach Cope; Lt. Gen. A.G. Paxton, former commander of the Mississippi-Alabama National Guard division; Sheriff-elect Alton Hollingsworth; Chancellor S. B. Thomas; Wade Hollowell, president of the state Blue Cross organization; Greenville city attorney Albert Lake; Arch Toler, president of the Greenville Bank and Trust Company, and barge line owner Jesse Brent.

★ ★ ★

Anyone who is acquainted with the leadership of the Mississippi Delta, home region of the Greenville newsman, must agree that the people who issued this protest against "smear campaign" tactics are loyal and patriotic Mississippians. They would not voice an opinion if they did not sincerely believe in it.

EIGHTY ADVENTUROUS YEARS

THIS IS A SYNOPSIS OF THE BOOK, EIGHTY ADVENTUROUS YEARS, BY SHERWOOD EDDY, WHO HAS A LONG RECORD OF SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES STRETCHING OVER SIXTY YEARS, THIRTY COUNTRIES, AND FOUR CONTINENTS.

EDDY AND A GROUP OF HIS ASSOCIATES, ALL OF WHOM HAVE LONG RECORDS OF SUBVERSION, HAVE OWNED PROPERTY IN MISSISSIPPI SINCE THE YEAR 1936.

CHAPTER EIGHT LISTS THE NAMES OF THE ORGANIZERS AND OWNERS OF COOPERATIVE FARMS, INC., NEAR HILLHOUSE SETTLEMENT, KNOWN AS ROCHDALE, IN BOLIVAR COUNTY, AND THE PROVIDENCE COOPERATIVE FARMS IN HOLMES COUNTY, MISSISSIPPI.

A. E. COX, ONE OF THEIR AGENTS COMMENDED IN THIS BOOK, HAS RECENTLY BEEN NEGOTIATING FOR A TRACT OF LAND IN LEFLORE COUNTY NEAR THE ITTA BENA VOCATIONAL (NEGRO) COLLEGE IN THE NAME OF THE DELTA FOUNDATION.

COX IS NOW TRAVELING OVER MISSISSIPPI AND OTHER SOUTHERN STATES PROMOTING THE R. A. D., A KENNEDY RURAL AREA DEVELOPMENT PROJECT, PATTERNED ON THE ORDER OF THE AGRARIAN REFORM PROGRAM ADOPTED IN RED CHINA JUST BEFORE THE COMPLETE TAKE-OVER BY THE COMMUNISTS.

IN VIEW OF ACTIVITIES SET FORTH IN THE ATTACHED REPORT AND STATEMENTS QUOTED THEREIN, A. E. COX AND AARON BARKER, WHO IS DIRECTOR OF MT. BEULAH SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN INSTITUTE, AN ADJUNCT OF TOUGALOO SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN COLLEGE, SHOULD BE BROUGHT BEFORE AN INVESTIGATING COMMITTEE AND QUESTIONED AS TO THEIR ACTIVITIES IN MISSISSIPPI.

SERS
Library

TITLE OF BOOK:

EIGHTY ADVENTUROUS YEARS

Author:

Sherwood Eddy

Publisher:

Harper & Brothers
New York, N.Y. (1955)

In the book entitled "Eighty Adventurous Years", autobiography of Sherwood Eddy, a Socialist and a pioneer for racial integration and "racial equality", which is an altogether impossible accomplishment, we find the names of organizers of Hillhouse settlement in Bolivar County, Mississippi called Rockdale and the Providence Cooperative Farm in Holmes County.

A comment attached to the front of the book states:

". . . . Eddy flug himself into the fight for social justice as he helped found and operate the Delta Cooperative farms in an area where tenancy and peonage were at their worst."

Sherwood Eddy posed as a christian, but he used church organizations as a vehicle to subvert the minds of young people and to reduce our American government to a welfare state.

He was for approximately forty years an official of the Y.M.C.A. and in this capacity he spread his socialistic and subversive influence over the world. Eddy was a pioneer promoter of the student movement which is now agitating for racial integration and for a Communist World. He boast in the foreword, Page 13:

"I approach the close of my thirty sixth book - - - I have had the unique experience of working for sixty years in thirty countries over four continents."

The introduction to this book is written by Reinhold Neibuhr of Union Theological Seminary, who has a long and disastrous record in the field of communism in the churches. Speaking of Eddy he states:

"After that he enlisted me as a helper in his tour of Colleges and insisted on paying the salary of an assistant minister for my parish to free me for college work. Subsequently he was instrumental in bringing me to the faculty of Union Seminary. - - - His passion for social justice embodied the best in the tradition of the social gospel. - - - He conducted more college missions than any other christian leader. - - - I could enumerate at least a dozen enterprises in which Eddy gave leadership and enlisted the services of men who were probably intellectually his superiors but who were willing followers of his leadership and the grateful beneficiaries of his uncomplicated directness. - - - Mr. Eddy is a vivid reminder to us all that evangelical experience and social passion can be united."

In addition to his work with the Y.M.C.A., he was secretary of the Student Volunteer Movement in India and Ceylon and was one of the first organizers of a Foreign Educational Exchange program.

The following excerpts from this book show Eddy's thinking.

Page 104

"I believed then with Einstein that if only 2 per cent of us -- enough to fill all our prisons and jails -- would go on strike against war, refusing to fight under any circumstances, it would mean the abolition of war. In desperation the makers of national policies would have to find some other method of settling disputes."

Page 118-119

"Most of the world is colored, and any policy of "white supremacy" is ultimately doomed. Most of the world is poor. Per capita income in the United States is fourteen times that of Africa, sixteen times that of the Middle East, over twenty times the average of South Asia and China. Most of the world is ill fed and nearly two-thirds of its people go to bed undernourished. Most of the world is sick and the majority have no access to scientific medicine or surgery. Most of the world is illiterate; the preponderance of the population of Asia and Africa cannot read or write."

"Through inevitably bound up with the economic order, conditioned and compromised by it, I came to the conclusion that henceforth I must live a social life, proclaim a social message, and help to organize a socialized society."

"Our task, then was not only to win or change individuals, all important as that was, but to build a new social order and to Christianize the whole of life and all its relations, industrial, social,

racial, and international. We had not only to pluck brands from the burning but to put out the fire. We had not only to relieve poverty and misery but to remove their causes."

Page 120-122

"I began with others of like mind to work to build a new social order based upon the demands of economic justice, a social order that would include clean politics, complete racial brotherhood, and international co-operation toward the goal of abolishing war and substantiating peace.

"The proclamation of a new social message involved the exposure of our unjust social order and meant inevitable controversy. Reactionary vested interests have opposed almost every radical new message, whether argued by Socrates, Roger Bacon, Copernicus, Columbus, Galileo, Kepler, Newton, or the army of martyrs. It was under the conviction that I would be embroiled in controversy that I went to Vienna in 1920 to meet John R. Mott, the head of the North American YMCA, and to resign from the Association. I felt I could not continue to ask rich men for their money while, at the same time, I criticized their methods of making that money. I knew that many of the men I had solicited would never tolerate the social gospel I felt impelled to proclaim. My wife and I agreed that we would stand together as we embarked upon this uncharted and hazardous course.

"In answer to my proposed resignation, Mott replied that no organization needed a social gospel more than did the YMCA. He asked me not to resign, but when I returned to New York I placed my resignation before the International Committee. They also refused to accept it. I warned them that I was bound to embarrass them personally, for many of them were men of wealth, and that there would be trouble for the Association. And soon there was. Judge Gary took up the cudgels for big business and by implication threatened a boycott of the YMCA by industrial leaders. He demanded my expulsion from the Association; like-minded industrialists from Chicago seconded the demand. The battle was on and life became increasingly exciting, with all the zest of big-game hunting once again. There was plenty of jungle and more than enough game, red in tooth and claw.

"In addition to the capitalists who took up the fight on the side of Judge Gary, organizations began to line up. The American Legion repeatedly tried to have my meetings canceled. The commander of the Legion said he would like to see me silenced in peacetime and shot in time of war. The Daughters of the

American Revolution, the Better America Federation, and other convinced or professional patrioteers were likewise not failing in their duty to save the country from an individual who, according to them, was being "supported by Moscow gold"; and they were all the more certain of my contamination because I had long advocated the recognition of Soviet Russia by our government. I now had the privilege of having my name appear on the honor rolls of the various black lists."

"The story encounters, the hecklers, the public denunciations--these were dramatic. But underneath lay deep problems which had to be thought through. I faced the looming alternatives of individualism and collectivism, capitalism and socialism, Fascism and Communism. These systems I had known only traditionally, following them blindly or rejecting them by inherited prejudice. Now I had to study each on its merits and arrive at a critical, and if possible unprejudiced, judgment concerning all of them."

"As my work carried me north and south in our own country and east and west across the world among people white and black, yellow and brown, the problem of race obtruded itself and would not be downed. Racial justice, equal education, Oriental immigaration, segregation vs. social intercourse, mob violence and lunching, Negro subjection and anti-Semitism--these were all facets of the problem."

Page 125-127

"From each country I sent home report letters through my private secretary, whose support was provided by Madam McCormick. When I reached London I went to hear my friend, Maude Royden, preach, and after the service was invited by her to a later-supper with John D. Rockefeller, Jr. To help meet the abysmal needs of China he gave me $25,000 a year for three years, the money to be administered by the China Council of Churches, the YMCA, and the YWCA. It was hoped that this experiment in China would eventually show the way to change the inferno in which most of the cheap labor in Asia were living."

"At the end of the tour, in the library of the International Labor Organization at Geneva, I wrote The New World of Labor. In that book I made this challenge:

> 'History repeats itself, from the strike of the oppressed Hebrew bricklayers in Egypt to the volcanic upheaval in autocratic Czarist Russia. And yet in every age, learning nothing and forgetting nothing a Bourbon class arises in

industrial, policital or religious life, claiming a special privilege which in the nature of the cases can only be enjoyed by a small minority, at the expense of the rights of the vast majority. And in every age, just because it is human and cannot deny its God-given irrepressible instincts, that majority rises, organizes and claims its rights, peacably if it be under a rule of liberty, violently if it be under a system of repression. Man has at last won liberty of conscience in the religious sphere, the ballot and some measure of democracy in the political sphere; he has not yet won industrial democracy or justice in his economic life.'

"In addition to writing and speaking, I gave my support to organizations working for social change in ways that seemed sound and wise to me. I helped to found the Fellowship for a Christian Social Order and was a member of the early group out of which came the Fellowship of Socialist Christians. I voted for Norman Thomas. And I had the privilege of paying Reinhold Niebuhr's salary during his first years at Union."

Page 128-130

"And so in 1921 began the annual pilgrimage which came to be known as the American Seminar. It continued for nearly two decades, until 1939, when World War II made its continuance impossible. In 1950, at the suggestion of British leaders who hoped to strengthen the ties between Britain and America, it was reorganized as the Sherwood Eddy Seminar and has since conducted a party of some fifty lecturers, educators, and ministers through the principal countries of Europe each summer.

"The first party included, among others, Bishop Charles D. Williams of Detroit, Bromley Oxnam, Governor William E. Sweet of Colorado, Fletcher Brockman, Henry P. Van Dusen, Paul Blanshard, Jerome Davis, Sidney Gamble, Arthur Holt, George Stewart, Alva W. Taylor, Kirby Page, Cameron Hall, and Ben Cherrington. The first speaker to address our group at Toynbee Hall, where the London sessions were held, was Ramsay MacDonald, speaking on the coal strike. Before our visit had ended we had listened to and engaged in discussion with R. H. Tawney, Sidney Webb, G.D.H. Cole, George Lansbury, Margaret Bondfield, Philip Kerr (later Lord Lothian), Seebohm Rowntree, Harold Laski, W.E. Orchard, A.E. Garvie, Bishop Temple, Hugh Dalton, Philip Snowden, Robert Smillie, J.A. Hobson and Arthur Greenwood. Lord Robert Cecil addressed us at the League of Nations Union House. Lady Astor gave us a reception at her home, a courtesy which she repeated almost annually, and Ramsal MacDonald and Arthur

Henderson invited us to tea on the terrace of the House of Commons. Similar invitations were extended year after year.

"Our first program on the continent laid foundations for future years.

"In 1923 the third seminar group included Reinhold Niebuhr, Bishop William Scarlett, James H. Causey, E. E. Barnett, Kirby Page, W. O. Mendenhall and some fifty members. Among others we were addressed by Lloyd George, Lord Haldane, Lord Milner, Bernard Shaw, Gilbert Murray, Maude Royden, and H. G. Wells. The successive Archbishops of Canterbury met with us annually: Lord Davidson, and later Cosmo Lang, William Temple, and Geoffrey Fisher."

Page 134-138

"With the Seminar and on personal trips I came to know well both Czarist and Societ Russia, which I visited fifteen times; twice under the Czars, in 1910 and 1912, and thirteen times under the Soviet regime, in 1923, 1926, 1929, and then annually through 1939. Under the Czars, the Russian nobility to the very end dined and danced and caroused over the exploited bodies of the people. A shot in far-off Serajevo brought about the precipitous mobilization of the Russian imperial army, which proved to be the match that ignited World War I. Then under the weight of corruption and the waging of war on a colossal scale came the collapse of the old Czarist system followed by the Kerensky revolution and later, on November 7, 1917, by the seizure of power by Lenin and Trotsky.

"Once more I was almost on the ground floor of revolution, arriving six years after Bolshevism had achieved power, two years following the adoption of the New Economic Policy, and only a year after the terrible famine which affected forty million people. (The famine he refers to was manmade by taking away the wheat crop. Krushchev ordered and supervised the slow-starvation of 5,000,000 Ukranians.) When I arrived in 1923, few foreign visitors were being admitted to Russia. Memories of civil war were still vivid, and only three years before had the Allied armies of occupation withdrawn, including the armed forces of the United States in Siberia. I found the people just emerging from the abyss of misery. They had suffered from World War I, two revolutions, civil war between the Red and White armies, invasion by fourteen foreign armies fighting at one time on a dozen fronts, and a world blockade to starve Russia. Some ten million people had perished. Industrial production had fallen to 17 per cent of the Czarist maximum. The government had had to face the sabotage and opposition of the old bureaucracy and the bourgeois class but somehow had managed to survive.

"I did not go to Russia because I had any fondness for Communism but because, from the beginning, the experiment there seemed to be

both a warning and a challenge to us. I had great eagerness to understand what was going on. Not until 1926 was I able to make arrangements for the first visit of the American Seminar, composed of twenty-four educators, editors, religious leaders, social workers and businessmen. Four members of our group spoke Russian. Among the members of our party were Charles Clayton Morrison, Chester Rowell, Jerome Davis, William H. Danforth, Louise Gates, William Scarlett, Tully Knowles, Kirby Page, Frew W. Ramsey, Mrs. Ralph Adams Cram, Cameron Hall, Matthew Spinka, and Sidney Gamble.

"In the early years of Communism, before Stalin had killed or imprisoned his enemies, there were things good and bad side by side in Russia, and evidence of the early idealism embodied in the first Russian constitution could be found.

"Later in the purges Stalin had Ossinsky shot with thousands of others whom he suspected of agreement with Trotsky or who differed from him on the right or on the left. All the other members of Lenin's first Politbureau and most of the heroic "old Bolsheviks" who had risked their lives for the revolution were "liquidated" by Stalin until the early idealism of the movement was destroyed. Yet so secretly were most of these purges conducted -- men simply disappeared at midnight from their homes -- that years afterward many of the youth of Russia still believed they alone could build a new world and were prepared to sacrifice life itself to that great end."

Page 140

"And out of this came another significant experience. I had pointed out to the Soviet leaders that in three cities of Russia, under the unspeakable Czarist regime in 1912, I had been able to give lectures and conduct religious meetings for students. Why then was I not free to do so under the present regime?"

Page 143-145

"As I reflect on the visits of the American Seminar to Russia, I am amazed that we could go back regularly year after year and were allowed so much freedom. Every member of the Seminar knew that he was free to speak his mind when he returned to the United States, and to write what he saw fit. Personally, I never felt any restraint in voicing my convictions about the situation in Russia. I went all over Russia, often without any guide, spy, or official and was allowed great liberty. I sought eagerly to see every possible value and any possible lesson that America might learn from Russia. However, I am compelled to record the growing evils that began to menace, Russia and the world under Stalin.

"I saw the official atheism of the Soviet system furnish the

logical foundation for immorality and amorality. Then I saw in the distance some of the first of their slave labor camps, which I was never allowed to visit. My friend and fellow engineer H. K. spent two years as a prisoner in these awful camps and then in my office dictated to my secretary an account of his whole experience. He was later murdered by the Communists in Korea because he knew too much.

"What is Russian Communism? It is an economic theory of Karl Marx; it is a power system for world conquest inherited from the imperalistic Czars; but, deepest of all, it is a passionate, fanatical, sacrificial faith, as much as Islam ever was.

"Better than statistics, an illustration will show what I mean by Communism's being a religion. On an early visit to the Soviet Union I sat between two young men upon a park bench. Upon my asking how many hours a day in unpaid labor each was working for his Communist cause, one replied three and the other four hours a day. My guide Ellen, a student in the University of Moscow, was working five hours a day, outside her studies. In five languages, she was corresponding with the youth leaders of Europe and America, not of course to Christianize but to communize them. I tried to think of any student in our colleges, or youth in our churches, who was working as effectively and sacrifically as were these young people, whether for America, or for "free enterprise", or for the Church, or for Christianity, for God or man, but I could think of none."

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Chapter 8 entitled
"Building a New America"

This chapter deals with the activities IN THE STATE OF MISSISSIPPI -- of one of the worst groups of subversive agents in the United States. It verifies the fact that this group has had holdings in Mississippi since 1936, named the Cooperative Farms, Inc. in Bolivar County and Providence Cooperative Farms in Holmes County. We have proof that negotiations have recently been underway to procure acreage in Leflore County near the Ita Bena Vocational (Negro) College under the name, Delta Foundation.

We know too, that since 1936 members and agents of these cooperatives have continuously engaged in subversive work throughout this state among Negroes and a certain type of white people. How long they were operating before that date is not known. But they are very active at the present time.

Page 152-163

"When I retired from the Young Men's Christian Association at the age of sixty, I was given a farewell banquet by friends in New York, on January 27, 1931. Addresses were given by Alfred E. Marling, John R. Mott, and Raymond Robins. I was surrounded by old and dear friends, and we all caught the spirit of the festive occasion. Much hilarity was engendred by the brilliant chairman Alfred Marling's attempt to "rate" my traits of character. On the scale of 100 I was given only 48 for modesty, for "shrinking from giving my opinions" ... But some marks were much higher, 110 for cocksureness, and 116 for nerve!

"I pointed out that this conviction meant several things for me: basic economic justice, brotherhood and fellowship in race relations, clean politics, right international relations, the abolition of war ... On the question of politics, I said at that time:

> 'I am not a Communist; I am not a Capitalist; I am a Socialist. I voted for Norman Thomas at the last election and for La Follette at the election before that'

"After retirement I was free from all organisational responsibility, but I continued the work of personal and social evangelism in the colleges, at youth gatherings, and in the churches.

"For the next two decades from the platform, in the pulpit, in articles and pamphlets and books, I brought a continuing indictment against our present social order and entreated men to help build a Christian society.

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"As I survey past history I think I can see that nations pass through various stages in their economic progress. From slavery, to feudalism, to capitalism; then to some form of controlled or regulated capitalism; and finally to the socialized planned economy of a welfare state. Each stage is fiercely defended by its beneficiaries, who condemn the threat of the impending new order. Reactionary neo-Fascists today assure us that "the welfare state is half-way to socialism, socialism is halfway to Communism, and Communism more than halfway to hell.

"Though strangely backward in many respects in culture, in character, and in spiritual qualities, America is today the richest nation on earth, capable of the largest production the world has ever known, and with the responsibility of assuming world leadership to help other nations gain or regain their footing.

"As I have shuttled back and forth for sixty years among thirty nations, I have been able to see my own beloved country more objectively and impartially than if I had never left it. From a world viewpoint I find that Americans are practical, utilitarian, efficient, mechanical, often materialistic, progressive, adaptable, courageous, adventuresome, generous, philanthropic, moral, and religious. These qualities are almost ideal characteristics for world leadership.

"But I find also that, compared to Europeans, Americans are adolescent, immature, isolationist in tendency, hypersensitive to criticism, often crude, sometimes vulgar, lack-in culture, sentimental, emotional, in certain situations hysterical, mob-minded in crises, with a bad record in graft and crime from the time of George Washington to Senator Kefauver. I find all these traits confirmed by Professor Henry Steele Commager after he has lived, lectured, and journeyed much abroad, and by other liberals.

(Henry Steele Commager is another individual with a long history of pro-Communist affiliations who has used American school textbooks to instill un-American ideas in the minds of America's children.)

"There have been great economic and social tensions in our country, and my eyes were opened to one of them -- the plight of the sharecroppers in the South -- through an experience with violence in Arkansas. With my fellow worker, Sam Franklin, of Tennessee, I visited Arkansas and Mississippi in the spring of 1936 to investigate the predicament of evicted tenant farmers. The first day we saw aspects of slavery, feudalism, and Fascism in the attitude of the planters and landowners toward the evicted sharecroppers and tenant farmers, both black and white. The ordinary sharecropper in Arkansas was then receiving an average income of $212 a year per family. Twenty-five thousand of these poorest sharecroppers had formed the

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Tenant Farmers' Union, which was bitterly opposed by the landowners and planters, who were genuinely alarmed lest it liberate these men from the existing system of peonage and semi-slavery. The result was that scores of families, white and black, had been evicted from their farms and homes, this wholesale eviction being the weapon used to check the growth of the Union. I went out from Memphis with several friends, including a professor of the University, to visit one colored colony of recently evicted families. Within half an hour after we had arrived at the tent colony and had begun to investigate conditions we were arrested by Deputy Sheriffs Tip Sullivan and J. W. Shelby of Parkin, Cross County, Arkansas. We were taken to a large cotton store and locked in for two hours, while a score of planters and leading men were brought in to tell us "the truth about these damned niggers who won't work." They bitterly resented our coming from other states, seemingly to interfere with their victims and their own "state's rights."

"Further investigation revealed appalling conditions among tenant farmers in several other states. Standards of living were disgracefully low, undernourishment was widely prevalent, and virtual peonage was practiced across wide areas. We decided that something should be done at once; at least a beginning might be made to challenge this system of peonage and help these farmers to achieve a better standard of living, a liberated life. We bought a farm on the spot, raised $17,500 in thirty days and paid cash for the 2138 acres which we called Rochdale, located in Bolivar County, Mississippi. Within a few months thirty evicted families were settled on the farm. Then Cooperative Farms, Inc., was formed with Reinhold Niebuhr as president, myself as secretary-treasurer, Sam H. Franklin, Jr., as director, and Bishop William Scarlett, John Rust, and William Amberson as trustees. Response to the public appeal for financial assistance was so generous that within a year the farm was clear of indebtedness, and improvements to the extent of $30,000 had been made.

"In 1939 a second farm, the Providence Cooperative Farm, was purchased on the edge of the Delta in Holmes County. Activities were gradually transferred to Providence, and the Delta Rochdale Farm was sold in 1942 for $34,000 cash. The history of the project for the next decade was one of constant struggle in the midst of bitter race prejudice, a mixture of failure and success, and of sacrificial service rendered by volunteer workers from near and far. The war, which brought relative prosperity to cotton workers as it did to farmers generally, disrupted many activities and resulted in the loss of farm families and staff members. After a checkered history, this collective, or producers' co-operative, had been dropped, and the land is being operated by individual families. But for fifteen years some of us had thrilling adventures in fighting lawlessness, race prejudice, and poverty in one of the most backward states in the deep South. We pioneered in a number of experiments that were later copied in more elaborate government projects undertaken by the New Deal. The publicity regarding our

farm and the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union during this period of violence and dire poverty helped to focus the attention of the country on the South, which, in the words of President Roosevelt, was "the nation's number one economic problem." Conditions have been slowly but radically improved throughout Mississippi, both economically and in race relations. Our experience seems to confirm that of others in the past that a consumers' co-operative store, or a credit co-operative, if conducted on sound lines on the Rochdale plan, is usually successful. But it also seemed to show that producers; co-operatives, whether in agriculture or in industry, have practically always failed in the free world, as a century ago Emerson and Hawthorne found at Brook Farm and Fruitlands and Robert Owen at New Harmond, Indiana. One of the important continuing features of our Providence Cooperative Farm is the Medical Clinic, under the able direction of Dr. David R. Minter. Having treated over twelve thousand patients, mostly Negroes, Dr. Minter is still treating them at the rate of some fifty a day in his new clinic. The work of A. E. Cox as director has also been efficient and devoted.

"I have become increasingly aware of the disastrous practice of lumping together in a single category varied types of social change. For thirty years I have been trying to help people recognize the differences between old-line predatory capitalism, New Dealism, Fair Dealism, Norman Thomas socialism, Earl Browder-Eugene Dennis Communism and American neo-Fascism. Constantly I have combated the widespread habit of labeling all departures from orthodox capitalism as "red" or communistic. From the days of the Lusk Committee on the Un-American Activities and Senator McCarthy, the practice has prevailed of looking upon socialists and liberals and pacifists as "subversive", "red", and "communistic".

"I have myself often been the victim of this practice. Countless times the charge has been made that I am a Communist, or at least a fellow traveler. This falsifying has not been stopped by constant affirmation and reiteration in my addresses, pamphlets, articles and books that it is morally impossible for me as a Christian to be a Communist or fellow traveler. I am proud that my name was included in The Red Network, edited by Elizabeth Dilling in 1934. Since this volume has been "the Bible" of organizations and individuals following the practice of lumping together socialists and liberals and pacifists, and because it is still being used as an authoritative source, let me point out certain things about it.

"Among the organizations listed as "subsersive" were the invaluable and courageous American Civil Liberties Union, the American Friends Service Committee (Quakers), the Catholic Association for International Peace, the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, the Foreign Policy Association, National Catholic Welfare Conference, Union Theological Seminary, the YMCA and YWCA. Among individuals listed as "reds" were

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Jane Adams, Secretary of War Newton D. Baker, Senator William E. Boarh, S. Parkes Cadman, S. M. Cavert, John Dewey, Paul H. Douglas (now Senator), Albert Einstein, Harry Emerson Fosdick, Felix Frankfurther (now Justice), Mahatma Gandhi, Charles W. Gilkey, Lynn Harold Hough, Paul Hutchinson, Senator La Follette, Rabbi Louis L. Mann, Bishop F. J. McConnell, Charles Clayton Morrison, Reinhold Niebuhr, Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, Bishop William Scarlett, Luther A. Weigle, and Rabbi Stephen S. Wise. Though unworthy, I am proud to belong to such an honor roll.

"This smearing of liberals and pacifists has reached its culmination in the actions of Senator McCarthy. With skill and ruthlessness he has used the device of guilt by association, guilt by accusation, by character assassination, by insinuation and falsification. He early discovered the technique of the "big lie" in his smear campaign. In the Congressional Record for February 20, 1950, he said in almost succeeding sentences, "vast numbers of other Communists" (in the State Department), "over 200", " the names of 57 Communists", "the cases number 81". and then: "I know absolutely of one group of approximately 300 certified to the Secretary (to be) discharged because of Communism." Up to the moment of writing he has failed to prove the guilt of a single case. -- whether 205, 57, 81, 200, 300, or finally even "one chief Russian spy." Further, he has attacked in turn three of the most distinguished men in America, switching from Professor Owen Lattimore of Johns Hopkins University, to Dr. Philip C. Jessup, and then to a sixty-thousand-word, violent, bitter, and false attack on General George C. Marshall, former Secretary of State, Chief of Staff and Nobel Prize winner, as a traitor who "had always supported Soviet interest." I could literally fill a whole chapter with an account of innocent people who have suffered, lost their positions or their reputations by the lies and gratutious, unproved accusations of Senator McCarthy and his henchmen. I was proud of the defense made by my former private secretary, Bishop G. Bromely Oxnam, in his I Protest, after his eventful twelve-hour day before the committee. He truly says: "This is not an investigation. It is intimidation. It is a 20th-century inquisition."

"I hope McCarthy will soon pass from the scene as did Huey Long -- whom I knew personally and who was our one potential Hitler in his day. I mention McCarthy only as a symptom of moral degradation in America. I believe, however, that as Germany reached an all-time low in Hitler, and Russia in Stalin, McCarthy marks an all-time moral low in our own country.

"Readers of Alan Bullock's Hitler: A Study in Tyranny must have been struck, as was President Eisenhower's brother, by the many similarities between Hitler and McCarthy. Both were nominal Roman Catholics, though neither gave evidence of believing in God or man. Neither had the advantage of a wholesome, happy home life. Both were attacking Communism and each professed to be the savior

of his country from this dire evil. Both used the method of violent vituperation, and both seized the initiative by repeated attacks against every opponent, often without offering evidence and without bothering to defend their own falsehoods. Both had ability, both were clever charlatans, both were able speakers, both despised the lack of intelligence of the common people and believed they could command a following and increase the national hysteria that would bring them into such power that they would never have to justify the false and evil means they had used. The same ugly rumors persisted concerning the top associates of both Hitler and McCarthy. Both had a consuming ambition for power and believed that the end justified any means whatever.

"Upon his return to the United States, Dr. Roswell P. Bates, speaker of the Maine House of Representatives, a member of our seminar in Europe in 1953, stated in the Bangor Commercial that out of sixty-six speakers heard by the Seminar in all of Europe, fifty raised the issue of McCarthyism in criticism of America. Adlai Stevenson in his journey around the world had the same experience. Both men found that McCarthy had lowered American prestige all over the world, as the representatives of our State Department in all countries have reported.

"Perhaps the most serious aspect of the present crisis in our national affairs is the fact that a man of this character and with this record could be elected to high office by the vote of the people. The man himself is a revelation of the gullibility, the passions, the fears, the hysteria, the moral callousness of many citizens. In attacking McCarthy we are really indicting ourselves. I have been amazed at the number of reputable Republicans since Senator Taft, some of them earnest professing Christians, who have been blind to the inevitable moral results of using the slanders of Senator McCarthy for the advantage of cheap party politics.

"We must be on guard, however, against bitterness and contempt for our fellow men. I am convinced by overwhelming evidence, confirmed by fearless articles by Justic Douglas and our best commentators, that Senator McCarthy is a national menace. I do not hate but I have pitted and abhorred Hitler, Stalin and McCarthy and shall fight against their influence to my last breath.

"In striving to build a new America I agree with the transparently devout Roman Catholic, Father James Keller, in his recent book, You Can Change the World. Father Keller shows that less than one per cent of our population are gangsters, criminals and Communists, intent on tearing down our social order. He pleads for another one per cent as "Christophers," of Christ-bearers, to overcome these forces of evil and play a part in building the new America and the new world. If real Christians, Catholic and Protestant, and all liberals and decent people can thus unite we can indeed build a new America.

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"As Justice Douglas points out, nothing less than a welfare state, demanding justice for all, concerned with the impoverished masses and with "the people's livelihood" can possibly save India or any other land in Asia."

The following is Eddy's comment on Red China where Communism has caused the atrocious murder of more than 50 million people and made slaves of the 600 million they have allowed to exist.

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"No individual has any rights before the absolute Communist state. The intellectual worker or teacher must continually reveal his mind to the authorities under a rigid "thought control". The system seems to be destroying many of the human values built up through long centuries of both Confucianism and Christianity.

"All of these things being true, many Americans, as well as the American press, seem to feel it is disloyal to admit any good trait in Communist China. However, my friends in China inform me that while all the evils I have mentioned do characterize the Communist regime, it has nevertheless launched a score of desperately needed reforms. A land reform, however ruthless, has at last materialized, and half the country's land has been divided among some forty million of the landless peasants, who consequently defend the regime that gave them the land. Inflation, long the bane of China, has at last been controlled. For the first time the "people's livelihood" has been taken seriously and the government seems determined to realize a higher standard of living for all. The age-long curse of graft and corruption has been largely swept away. Taxes, though high, now go into the government coffers. Banditry, which has been widespread since the warlord period, has markedly decreased. Laws made in the capital, Peiping, are now administered in the remotest village.

These people were allowed ownership of the land only long enough for the Communists to take over and send the husbands to one labor Commune, the wives to another and the children to a Communist indoctrination Commune then the Communist government took the land.

"Many of these facts were confirmed by the report of the United Nations Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East in 1953. Half the cultivated land of China has been distributed to 90 per cent of the peasants in small holdings. Nationalization has extended to 80 per cent of heavy industry and 90 per cent of light industry. The government operates all railways and 60 per cent of the steamships; is responsible for half of the wholesale and 30 per cent of the retail trade; controls 90 per cent of all loans and deposits. And 90 per cent

of the rural population appear to have benefited by the agrarian reforms."

Here he reveals his closeness to John Dewy, who fathered the subversive Progressive Education program, which has for decades been downgrading American ideals and using school text books to brainwash our youth with an anti-national One World Policy.

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"I agreed with my dear friend John Dewey at this point that the quest for absolute philosophic certainty was forever vain. I was now a candidate for truth -- all truth.

"Many of my adventures have been in pioneering in dangerous or unpopular fields. To become a herald of the social gospel and demand justice of selfish capitalism, or to urge equal brotherhood without segregation in southern colleges and churches, or to demand peace in a warring world as it enters the atomic age are all adventures in controversy that are painful unless one becomes a bit tough and really loves a fight. Finally, when I tackled the most unpopular cause of all in investigating psychic research, I little realized that I was entering one of the greatest adventures of my life. I felt I must find out if there actually is sufficient scientific evidence to support belief in survival, or personal immortality, or whether such belief is purely a question of blind religious faith."

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"In this statement of my beliefs I claim no originality, for like Sir Isaac Newton I "stand on the shoulder of giants." It is not necessary, however, to use quotation marks because it will be quite evident what and how much I owe to my beloved friend Reinhold Niebuhr, to Paul Tillich, William Temple, and more recently younger men like Nels Ferre'.

"I find nothing closed, final or perfect -- n either the Bible, the Church, human reason, nor anything in the whole swirling universe."

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"I rejoice that Nels Ferre' and Karl Barth, neither of whom seems as yet to have a closed system or a closed mind, "seem to be turning to a universalist doctrine that in the end all are saved." If God is love, if it is not his will that any should perish, if Christ died for the ungodly, than given all time and eternity, all power and all love in God, may it not be literally true that "we have our hope set on the living God who is the Savior of all men, especially of those who believe" (I Timothy 4:10)? There are many passages contradictory to this one, but so there are contradictory passages on all other essential doctrines. In any case, I hold to this hope of universal salvation."

Nels Ferre' is the so-called minister who said that Christ was most likely the son of a Roman soldier and a harlot.

ACTIVITIES OF A. E. COX OF THE DELTA FOUNDATION AND SOME OF HIS ASSOCIATES

In 1936 Sherwood Eddy, Reinhold Neibuhr, Bishop William Scarlett, Samuel H. Franklin, John Rust and William Ambrose bought a tract of land near Hillhouse in Bolivar County, Mississippi for $17,000.00 and established a settlement known as Rochdale Cooperative Farms. Since Rockefeller was a generous contributor to Eddy's project, we wonder if that is not why this farm was named Rochdale. This settlement was composed of white and Negro tenant farmers. According to a statement Eddy made in his autobiography, Cox was an agent of this corporation.

In 1939, this group purchased Providence Plantation in Holmes County. This project operated under the title of Providence Cooperative Farms, owned by the Delta Foundation.

On this farm, which Eddy said was in an area where "tenancy and peonage was at its worst", a colony of white and colored tenant farmers were located for the purpose of promoting racial integration.

A. E. Cox and Dr. David R. Minter were in charge of this operation. Dr. Minter set up a medical clinic and A. E. Cox was business director of the project.

For quite some time little notice was given to this settlement, but as time went on it became evident that something unusual and contrary to the best interests of both the white and colored races was taking place in this colony. Negroes were seen in swimming with white children, and it was then found that white and Negro families attended the same church together and visited in each other's homes.

After the unusual happenings at Providence commanded the attention of the people of Holmes County, it became evident that other individuals were participating in activities taking place there. Among them were Will D. Campbell, who at that time was on the Payroll of the University of Mississippi, as Director of Religious Life, and Mrs. Hazel Brannon Smith, at that time editor of the Lexington Advertiser and Durant News, but who is now publishing the Flora Banner, the Northside Reporter, and the Negro Free Press, which is a vicious, trouble-making sheet agitating for complete racial integration. Other known participants were two Negro integration leaders, Dr. Felix Dunn and Dr. Gilbert Mason, who have been trouble-makers on the Mississippi Coast and were prominent in the Biloxi beach integration incidents.

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Each of these four individuals have played leading roles in the Communist promoted racial integration issues in the state and elsewhere.

Will D. Campbell is now employed by the National Council of Churches. He wrote instructions for the sit-in campaigns which have upset the nation and have cost the states millions of dollars and incited no end of racial strife. He traveled over the country soliciting support and assisting in organizing these sit-ins.

From instructions sent out to officials of "United Church Women" from their New York headquarters, the following is quoted:

"United Church Women
475 Riverside Drive
New York 27, New York October, 1960

"How we wish it had been possible during the months since the sit-in movement began to have talked with those of you in key positions in United Church Women and in your community so that our total United Church Women movement could profit from your thinking and experience. We are grateful, however, that this could happen at least in part, through the Board of Managers Meeting in April.

"I am writing yesterday as president of your local council, together with other presidents in cities where sit-in demonstrations have occurred, to share with you what has been done nationally, and to send you material which we hope will prove useful as you face the question of what you as an individual leader, or as one of a group in the council, feel you can do in the coming weeks to help bring about a just and equitable solution in your community.

"Because situations are changing so rapidly, it may be that your city has already reached an adequate answer, and that this has occurred since the list of cities was revised. If this is the case we should be so glad to have you write us, giving any experiences which could be valuable for other communities.

"Nationally, as you may well know, the Christian Social Relations Advisory Committee contacted all its state chairmen in the spring, expressing support of the non-violent protest to effect desegration at lunch counters and suggested practical steps which might be taken nationally and locally. Since that time resolutions have been adopted by the Board of Managers of United Church Women at its annual meeting in April and more recently by the National Council of Churches. Copies of these statements are enclosed.

"We have tried to act nationally on the recommendations made to us. We wrote to the headquarters of the Woolworth and Kress Companies and have also had a long interview with Kress Vice President in charge of public relations. We have had consultations with other Divisions and Units of the National Council of Churches and with related organizations such as the Y.W.C.A. Our experience resulted in the conviction that the key to any effective solution lies not with bodies or individuals outside but with the concerned people in each local community. Those close to the whole situation say that desegration has not occurred in any city except with the help of a local committee which has the respect of both sides enough to make communication possible and to effect a reconciliation of views culminating in an acceptable formula for a just solution. This has led us to feel that the most useful service United Church Women nationally could render would be to share with the local presidents that conviction and provide material about the nature and methods of citizens' committees in cities where desegregation has occurred.

"We are therefore enclosing two brief materials prepared especially for the United Church Women.

"Committees Playing a Supportive Role in the Sit-In Movement", prepared by Rev. Will D. Campbell, Associate Executive Director, Department of Racial and Cultural Relations, National Council of Churches . . . . . .

"Very often individuals within United Church Women, because of their conviction, experience and the respect in which they are held, are in a position to provide strong support for, or where necessary initiate, something such as a citizen's committee, either directly themselves or through some appropriate person or persons in the community.

"If your city should be at a point where it would be valuable to rely upon the experience of a person rather than material alone, you might want to contact Rev. Will D. Campbell, 1716 West End Avenue, Nashville, Tennessee. Mr. Campbell, a native of Mississippi, whose professional responsibility as a National Council of Churches staff member is to give help in the area of human relations, has had a great deal of valuable experience, as the material he has prepared indicates. Within the limits of his travel schedule he would be glad to be of use to you.

. . .

"We shall share with you any further insights or information which may come to us.

Sincerely,
Margaret E. Kuhn
Chairman"

(This letter is not quoted in its entirety.)

Mrs. Hazel Brannon Smith has for years worked continuously with Negro agitators for integration. She has figured prominently in many trouble-making racial issues in Holmes County over a long period of time. She assisted in the recent Clarksdale "boycott". She has participated in meetings with officials of the NAACP and is known to maintain regular contact with Negro Medgar Evers, State Field Secretary of the NAACP.

The above mentioned are only a few of Mrs. Smith's many activities which have done much to arouse and stimulate dangerous tensions between the white and Negro races.

A news item under a Carbondale, Illinois dateline of July 20, 1960, stated that Mrs. Hazel Brannon Smith, editor of the Lexington Advertiser had won the Elijah Parish Lovejoy award and said:

> "Mrs. Smith, publisher of several papers besides the Advertiser, has been the target of a group which opposes her news and editorial policies <u>supporting integration.</u>"

It is a matter of public knowledge that Mrs. Smith's papers have been subsidized by hard core Communists such as Sydney Hollander of Baltimore, Maryland, and Communist Foundations. (See letter)

She was closely alligned with Dr. Minter and A. E. Cox on the Providence Farm and it is reliably reported that A. E. Cox still calls on her regularly.

Mrs. Smith came to Mississippi in 1936. Since that is the year the Sherwood Eddy group, with Cox and Minter, came to Mississippi, and since their mutual interest is promotion of racial integration, the question arises as to whether or not their arrival in Mississippi in the same year was coincidental.

Mrs. Smith gained notoriety as a racial agitator on the state and national level in 1954 when the Holmes County Sheriff shot a negro in the leg. She wrote numerous libelous articles about the sheriff and published them in the columns of her papers, and as a result the sheriff sued, and obtained a judgment against her.

The people of Holmes County had long been cognizant of Mrs. Smith's activities among the Negro population, but after this large scale attempt to stir up a racial issue was picked up by the press in New York, Chicago, St. Louis, Los Angeles, and over the nation, they became aware of the liberal and Communist element who alligned themselves with her.

Among the Communist and pro-Communist organizations and people who have backed and subsidized Mrs. Smith's racial activities are the following:

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The Edith Lauer Fund, the Fund For the Republic, Southern Regional Council, and members of the National Citizens Political Action Committee such as Sydney Hollander, Nelson Poynter, and James Dombrowski. Ralph McGill, H. N. Heiskell, Mark Ethridge, Francis Harmon, and Hodding Carter have been identified with her activities.

Hodding Carter, who has worked for racial integration on the national and international front has worked closely with Mrs. Smith. He recommended her for an award from the Fund For the Republic for defending "Civil Liberties". She was awarded $500.00 and Hodding Carter collected it and turned it over to her.

Mrs. Smith is known to have worked with CORE and NAACP in the racial strife which has swept the state during the past year, causing fearful damage to the heretofore generally harmonious race relations and forcing a terrific expenditure of state and municipal funds.

In 1955, the "Social Experiment" in racial integration being conducted by A. E. Cox and Dr. David Minter on Providence Plantation erupted into a sensational incident when a white girl on a roadside awaiting a school bus was accosted by four Negro youths, one of whom made obscene suggestions to her. A few minutes later a lady who lived in the county drove by and picked the girl up to give her a ride to her school in nearby Tchula. This lady immediately noticed that the girl was emotionally upset and inquired as to the reason. Upon being told, she drove straight to the school and reported the incident to the school superintendent who in turn called the Sheriff and the Negroes were soon taken into custody for questioning.

The girl's parents lived on the Providence settlement, and when A. E. Cox heard that the Negroes were being held he went to the Sheriff and tried to get him to drop the charges and release the Negroes. This the Sheriff refused to do.

After the Negroes were jailed, they were questioned and their testimony which was recorded on tape verified the fact that racial integration was practiced on the project. It was then decided that a mass meeting should be called and the tape played so that the people might know of the activities taking place in their community.

Following the playing of the tape a resolution was offered requesting A. E. Cox and Dr. Minter to leave Holmes County for the good of all concerned. All but a few of the 500 to 700 people voted in favor of this resolution.

Mrs. Smith and her husband were in the audience, as were A. E. Cox and Dr. Minter. In the audience also was a Presbyterian minister, Marsh Calloway, who arose and challenged the meeting. "What legal or moral right do you have for such a meeting as this?" he asked. He was loudly booed and sat down. Calloway revealed the fact that he had known

Dr. Minter for 29 years. The attitude of this minister in his defense of Cox and Minter was such that his congregation of the Presbyterian Church at Durant released him from this charge immediately.

Calloway came to Durant from Arkansas, as did the parents of the girl involved in the incident.

Mrs. Smith undertook the defense of Cox, Minter and Calloway, through the columns of her papers and attacked the citizens of Holmes County and the people of the town of Lexington, who fought against racial integration. She wrote such bitter and slanted articles that soon reporters from Chicago, Los Angeles, New York and elsewhere began coming to Lexington and writing ugly articles to further incite local trouble and to give the state bad publicity.

Up until 1955, it had been the custom of the Negro Saints Industrial School and College, of which Dr. Arenia Mallory was president, to celebrate May Day with a parade on the streets of Lexington. But shortly before this date an announcement through the press had stated that at the annual Negro Leadership Council to be held in the Delta, there would be a panel discussion on "The Place of the Negro in Integrated Society", and that Arenia Mallory would conduct the panel. This announcement brought more emphasis on existing racial situations.

In view of the tense feelings growing out of the previous year of integration activities, the Mayor and Board of Commissioners were fearful that some incident might touch off serious trouble, and as a precautionary measure, it was decided to pass an ordinance prohibiting parades on the square.

When Mrs. Smith head of this, she immediately put in a call for Negro Arenia Mallory who was in New York City at that time. Her papers came out with big headlines PARADES OUTLAWED IN LEXINGTON. The gist of the article was that the action was foolish and stated that she had failed to reach Dr. Mallory for comment.

The November, 1957 issue of "Ebony", a Negro magazine carried Mrs. Smith's picture over this by-line "Hazel Brannon Smith edits two crusading newspapers -- which have been called the conscience of Holmes County."

Sometime later, a Methodist minister was invited to hold a revival in Durant, and word leaked out that he had taken a stand for racial integration and his invitation was withdrawn. Again Mrs. Smith entered the issue and defended him through the columns of her papers.

On March 28, 1961, Mrs. Smith took an active part in an interracial meeting which took place in St. Andrew's Episcopal Church on Capitol Street in Jackson. Other participants in this meeting were Mrs. Wallis I. Schutt of the Civil Rights Commission, nine Negro students

from Tougaloo Negro College, who took part in the "Sit-ins", seven Negro students from Jackson State College. Others present were William Higgs, a Negro whose name is Turner, Edd Ezell, Edward Harrison, pastor of St. Andrews, Power Hearn, and a Rabbi, name not known.

Mrs. Wallis Schutt, who is a member of the Civil Rights Commission, came to Jackson from Washington, D. C. some twenty years ago. Many believe she is a "plant". She has been a regional director of the Girl Scouts, works with The Little Red Schoolhouse, is president of the United Church Women, and with the Negro sit-in groups. At the Episcopal Church meeting, she made the statement that she was considering entering Tougaloo Negro College to further her education.

On Friday night, December 15, 1961, Hazel Brannon Smith participated in an integrated meeting at 1072 West Lynch Street in Jackson, in which other participants were Negro Medgar Evers, Mississippi Field Secretary for NAACP, William Higgs, Robert L. T. Smith, Negro, three unidentified Negro men and Walter Dyer Smith, husband of Hazel Brannon Smith.

Mrs. Smith has seized every opportunity to use the columns of her papers to publish scathing editorials attacking organizations and individuals who have striven to maintain segregation of the races.

A. E. Cox, who has worked in Mississippi in connection with the Harwood Eddy group is now living at Whitehaven, Tennessee and travels over Mississippi and several other states. He was with the National Council of Churches, for several years, and is now traveling over the South promoting the Rural Area Development program of the Kennedy Administration.

He was seen at the trial of Elliott Dogan in Federal Court at Oxford, December 21, 1961, when two busloads of Negro students from Rust College took over the courtroom.

On February 9, 1962, Cox was interviewed in the New Capitol in Jackson. When asked about his present activities, he stated that he was working with the Delta Foundation in conjunction with RAD. When asked if he were an employee of the government receiving a government salary, he said no. He stated that he traveled over several states and sought out areas which had been stricken by mechanical farming, throwing many farm laborers out of work.

He stated that he visited with preachers and sold them on the idea that it was their Christian duty to talk for and to sponsor projects good for those who have been thrown out of employment, and that he told them about what had been done in Oklahoma, Arkansas, and Texas. He said he tried to show preachers that "Smoke-stacks and Church-steeples are closely related, and that where the economy runs down the Church would

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surely follow."

When questioned about the National Council of Churches, he said he was an employee from 1956 to 1960, but was no longer with that organization, although he was still closely alligned, and attended their meetings in the south and southwest. Asked why he attended if no longer employed, he stated "To contact preachers and to learn their local problems and advise them how they and their community can benefit by RAD", said he did not work for but with the NCC, trying to better living conditions of mankind.

After stating that he was not on a government salary, and was not an employee of the NCC, he was asked where he got his traveling expenses. His reply was, "The Delta Foundation." Asked where the Delta Foundation get its funds he stated "from various sources, churches and civic clubs, but refused to name any of them. He stated that he had no other source of income.

When questioned as to who comprised the Delta Foundation, Cox stated that it was a non-profit corporation of which he was president, his wife a director, and that Dr. and Mrs. David Minter were directors. This foursome, he said, held all the offices in the Delta Foundation, which had received no donations recently but were operating on profits made on a previous sale of a tract of land purchased in Bolivar County for $17,000 and sold for $35,000. He stated that they took $20,000 and had the YMCA Secretary Earl Brandenburg of New York to invest it for them in 1942, and that the investment had brought them more than $40,000 in dividends since that time.

Cox stated that the Delta Foundation still owned 1600 acres in Holmes County and that he personally owned 143 acres adjoining and that Dr. Minter owned 280 acres, but that after the salary of the Negro who ran the farm, and his wife who runs the store was paid and the taxes taken care of, there was no profit left.

The Negro woman Fannie Booker who runs the store on Providence Plantation is said to be Cox's secretary and has been his dancing partner too, citizens of that community have reported. It is also reported that she makes trips to St. Louis twice each year for some unknown purpose.

Cox was reminded that the $40,000 dividend on investments over a period of twenty years would amount to only $2,000 per year, which could not possibly cover expenses incident to his extensive traveling, living expenses, clothing and taxes. He then admitted that he did have other income but would not reveal its source. When pushed for this information he suddenly decided he was in a great hurry and had to leave, but said he would write and give this information a little later. To date, May 3rd, 1962, this information has not been received.

He apparently is being financed by some source he fears to reveal, and seems to fear an investigation of his activities. He stated that he felt he was being persecuted by some people who called him a communist, and added, "Maybe there are things I believe which are the same as the communists believe, but that does not mean that I am a communist."

Cox inquired about James Meredith's chances of entering Ole Miss and was told that his chances, in the opinion of the interviewer, were slimmer than they had been in the past twenty years. He admitted that he didn't doubt it, but said that knowing some of the professors at Ole Miss as he did that he felt that if Meredith had made application in 1954 immediately after the Supreme Court Decision entrance would have been easily accomplished since these professors would have recognized the decision as the law of the land. He added that a few years ago a lot of people would express themselves for or against integration, but that now Mississippi had perhaps 100,000 people organized to fight the Supreme Court Decision.

Cox stated that he thought the Clyde Kinard conviction for stealing chicken feed was a terrible miscarriage of justice.

He admits that he is an integrationist, and that he feels the Negro is abused and denied his civil rights. He stated that integration is coming and the best the South can do is to prepare the Negro intellectually and socially to take his place in the white man's society. He intimated that the time was very near, and it is the opinion of his interviewer that Cox would go to extreme ends to bring it about when he feels that the time is right.

Cox and Minter have recently been negotiating for a tract of land in Leflore County adjacent to the Ita Bena Vocational College for Negroes. Minter at present is living in Arizona.

The activities of A. E. Cox take him regularly to Mt. Beulah Negro College near Edwards. People who live in that area have expressed themselves as being skeptical of the activities at Mt. Beulah.

Officials have stated that school buses are frequently seen after midnight delivering Negroes in various parts of the county, and they have made numerous inquiries about the nature of these meetings but have had little enlightment.

Mt. Beulah was visited recently in an effort to ascertain the nature of its operation. A Negro minister, an employee by the name of Walker was asked about Cox. He said he knew him but insisted that Cox had no connection with Mt. Beulah.

Aaron Barker, a white minister, was interviewed. He stated

that he knew Cox but insisted that he had no connection with Mt. Beulah, that he came there to visit his friends, the Hendersons. (These are the same Hendersons who formerly lived on Providence Plantation, coming there from Arkansas.)

Barker was asked if he knew about the trouble on Providence Plantation. He said he had heard of it and that he thought Cox and Minter were treated very badly in Holmes County, and that he thought Cox was a fine person. He stated that integration was definitely unavoidable, and approaching, and that he had no objection to integration as he felt that God made no distinction between the races.

Barker was asked what church Cox belonged to. He pretended not to know, but said he thought Presbyterian. He was then asked if it were not a fact that Cox attended the Christian Church in Vicksburg when Barker was pastor there. He admitted that he did. Asked if he had ever discussed integration with Cox, Barker replied that he had not. He admitted that Cox visited Mt. Beulah regularly every 60 to 90 days.

The interviewer was told by an official in Edwards that Cox wrote checks on Mt. Beulah Institute. This official reported that he had numerous inquiries for directions to Mt. Beulah from strangers most of whom were white and who spoke with a brogue. He stated that meetings were held there every Tuesday and Friday nights which lasted until almost daylight. He said the people in that area were suspicious about what goes on out there and felt that no good purpose was served.

The officer said that Mt. Beulah was consolidated with Tougaloo College and supported by the Congregational Church which does not conform with Christian beliefs.

The fact that Cox made deposits and wrote checks on the Mt. Beulah project was verified by authorities in Edwards and at the Bank of Edwards.

After obtaining proof that Cox was definitely transacting business for Mt. Beulah the interviewer went back to Barker who had emphatically stated that Cox had no connection with Mr. Beulah. Barker was asked how Cox got the authority to make deposits and draw checks on Mt. Beulah, and was told that probably Mary Dale, who is in charge of their Agricultural Executive Department of their Home Missions in Indianapolis, Indiana, must have done it.

Barker finally stated that Cox, he believed, but did not seem to be sure, served in his place last summer while he was on vacation. (A bad memory?) He was asked if it were not unusual for Cox, a Presbyterian, to be appointed to direct a Christian Church institution. Barker then stated that it was probably due to the fact that Cox was with the National Council of Churches.

It has been found that Cox and Barker both attended and finished at Texas Christian University at Ft. Worth, Texas, and that Cox is not a Presbyterian, but a member of the Christian Church.

Barker stated that the school is now giving not more than 50 Negro youths special training for college entrance. (Are they being trained to integrate white colleges?) He said that it was better to train Negroes to assume responsibilities as first class citizens than for them to assume these responsibilities without this training.

The interviewer remarked to Barker that he could not understand how a Christian could confuse communism when it was completely God-less. Barker, with no denial of embracing Communism, stated that the Communist doctrine was founded on God and said that Communists in America do not think precisely as the Russian Communists do. He further stated that the Communist doctrine is derived from a Godly doctrine and is well intentioned.

It is our belief that several of the people mentioned herein should be brought before the Legislative Investigative Committee and questioned about their activities.

SIDNEY HOLLANDER
2513 Talbot Road
Windsor Hills, Baltimore

Sept. 9, 1958

Mrs. Hazel Brannon Smith,
The Lexington Advertiser
Lexington, Mississippi

Dear Mrs. Smith:

How are things with you and the ADVERTISER? I hope that between your own efforts and those of your friends enough was raised to take care of the ADVERTISER'S needs, for it's highly important that good liberals like yourself shouldn't be forced out by bigots like the Citizens Councils or self-serving politicos.

I was indeed glad you were able to suggest a method by which the Edith Lauer Fund could give a hand, and I hope its $1000 grant proved helpful.

Please let me know the subscription rates of the ADVERTISER as I'd like to become a regular reader.

Cordially,

(Signed) Sidney Hollander

SH:SS

Received and opened in Advertiser office Friday, Sept. 12, 1958.

Letter was addressed to:

Mrs. Hazel Brannon Smith,
The Lexington Advertiser,
Lexington, Miss.

Postmarked: Baltimore, Md.

NOTE: Letter was not marked (Personal) and was opened as much of the mail received in the Advertiser office is addressed to Mrs. Smith. Only letters marked Personal are not opened.

REINHOLD NIEBUHR

** Member, National Advisory Board, American Friends of the Chinese People, (Official Publication "China Today", May, 1940.)

Signer, letter to President Asking Neutrality Amendment, (Daily Worker, Feb. 16, 1938.)

* Sponsor, "Boycott Japanese Goods Conference," under the sponsorship of the American League for Peace and Democracy. (Daily Worker, Jan. 11, 1938.)

* Sponsor, China Aid Council, American League for Peace and Democracy, (letterhead, June 11, 1939.)

* National Committee, American League for Peace and Democracy, (letterhead, May 18, 1939.)

** Member, Advisory Board of the American Student Union (undated leaflet).

Signer of an appeal put out by the Committee for a Boycott Against Japanese Aggression. (Daily Worker, early 1938).

** Member, the Coordinating Committee to Lift the Embargo, (Official booklet of the Coordinating Committee to Lift the Embargo).

Signer of a letter commending Stanley M. Isaacs for his "courageous action" in standing by his appointment of S. W. Gerson, former Daily Worker reporter to a post on his staff. (Daily Worker, March 4, 1938).

** Sponsor at Mass Rally to Protest Brutal Nazi Persecutions, auspices of the American Labor Party. (leaflet, undated).

** Member, Editorial Board, the Protestant Digest. (letterhead, Dec, 27, 1939).

Member, American Round Table on India (letter, undated).

Member, Citizens' Committee to Aid Striking Seamen (letterhead, Jan. 28, 1937).

** Sponsor, Consumers National Federation (undated leaflet titled "Come and Hear the Case of 'The People vs. H.C.L.'").

Key

* Organization cited as subversive by the Attorney General

** Organization cited as subversive by the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

Writer of article entitled "Our Romantic Radicals," in The Christian Century, April 10, 1935, p. 474, criticizing the Communists.

Writer of criticisms of Communist purges in Radical Religion, Summer, 1938, p.3.

Writer of article criticizing the Stalin-Hitler Pact in the Christian Century, October 25, 1939, pp. 1298-99.

NIEBUHR, Reinhold, clergyman; b. Wright City, Mo., June 21, 1892; s. Gustave and Lydia (Hosto) N.; student Elmhurst (Ill.) Coll., 1910; Eden Theol. Seminary, St. Louis, Mo., 1913; D. D., Eden theological Seminary, 1930; B. D., Yale Divinity School, 1914, A. M. 1915; D. D., Grinnell College, 1936, Wesleyan Coll., 1937, U. of Pa., 1938, Amherst, 1941, Yale, 1942, Oxford, 1943, Harvard, 1944, Hobart Coll., 1948, Dartmouth Coll., 1951; LL. D., Occidental Coll., Los Angeles, Calif., 1945; D. D., Princeton Univ., 1946, Glasgow U., 1947, New York Univ., 1947; Litt. D., New Sch. Social Research, 1951; D. D., Manchester University, England, 1954; married Ursula Keppel-Compton, 1931; Children--Christopher Robert, Barbara Elizabeth. Ordained ministry Evangelical Synod of North America, 1915; pastor at Detroit, 1915-28; associate professor philosophy of religion, Union Theol. Seminary, 1928-30, prof. applied Christianity, 1930--. Member of Institute of Arts and Sciences, 1952, Alpha Sigma Phi. Author several books since 1927; Christian Realism and Political Problems, 1953; The Self and the Dramas of History, 1955. Editor of bi-weekly, Christianity and Crisis. Home: 606 W. 122d St., N. Y. City. *

Who's Who in America. 1958-59, p. 2048

SHERWOOD EDDY

** Signer of an appeal sponsored by the American Committee to Save Refugees (no date given)

** Member of the Committee, American Friends of Spanish Democracy, letterhead dated Feb. 21, 1938.

* Sponsor, China Aid Council of the American League for Peace and Democracy, letterhead, June 11, 1938.

** Member, Advisory Board, Russian Reconstruction Farms, Inc., letterhead, March 20th, 1926.

Sponsor, No Munich for Spain or China!, announcement appearing in The New Masses, Nov. 15, 1938, under the auspices of the Committee to Save Spain and China.

** Member, the Coordinating Committee to Lift the Embargo, official booklet of the Coordinating Committee to Lift the Embargo.

** Sponsor, Descendants of the American Revolution, from an official leaflet of the Descendants of the American Revolution (no date given)

** Sponsor for the Call for the Protestantism Answers Hate Dinner-Forum, New York, Feb. 25, 1941, under the auspices of the Protestant Digest Associates, leaflet.

Signer, Open Letter to Governor Thomas E. Dewey requesting pardon for Morris U. Schappes, New York Times, Oct. 9, 1944. (Schappes, Communist teacher convicted of perjury)

Signer, Advertisement in New York Times, January 31, 1939, sponsored by the Washington Committee to Lift Spanish Embargo. (See Coordinating Committee to Lift the Embargo)

Key

* Organization cited as subversive by the Attorney General.

** Organization cited as subversive by the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

SHERWOOD EDDY

Author of "The Challenge of Russia " (New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1931); "Russia Today" (New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1934); "Eighty Adventurous Years" (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1955), from which we quote:

> "I saw the Soviet Union pass through three awful purges. Then I saw the chief purgers themselves eliminated...I saw the official atheism of the Soviet system furnish the legal foundation for immorality and amorality. Then I saw in the distance some of their slave labor camps, which I was never allowed to visit...Finally, I saw this degraded slave state of Stalinism embark on its period of world conquest." (p. 143)

EDDY, Sherwood, author, ex-sec. for Asia, Y.M.C.A.; b. Leavenworth, Kan. Jan. 19, 1871; s. George Alfred and Margaret L. (Norton) E; Ph. B., Yale, 1891, hon. M.A., 1916; hon. M.A., Coll. of Wooster, LL. D., 1916; married Moud Arden, 1898 (died 1945); children—Margaret M. (dec.), Arden (dec.); married 2d, Louise Gates, 1946. In India as a national secretary Y.M.C.A., working among students there, 1896-1911; appointed secretary for Asia, Y.M.C.A. work of International Committee, 1911, working among students of Japan, Korea, China, India, the Near East and Russia as an hon. worker without salary; by request addressed Chinese provincial parliaments, boards of trade, Govt. instns., etc. In war work with British Army as Y.M.C.A. sec., 1915-17: with American Army, 1917. Author numerous books, latest include: God in History?, 1947; You Will Survive After Death, 1950; Eighty Adventurous Years, and Autobiography, 1955; Why I Believe, 1957; also books pub. in India and England. Home: 108 Finley St., Jacksonville, Ill. * 27

* Who's Who in America, 1958-59. p. 811.

BISHOP WILLIAM SCARLETT

Bishop William Scarlett, Episcopal, St. Louis, Mo., sponsor, the Call for the Protestantism Answers Hate Dinner-Forum, New York, Feb. 25, 1941,
(**) under the auspices of the Protestant Digest Associates; leaflet.

KEY

** Organization cited as subversive by the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

WILLIAM SCARLETT

ORGANIZATION	AFFILIATION	SOURCE
American Committee for Non-Participation in Japanese Aggression	Sponsor	Letterhead, Jan. 1940
Churchman Associates Dinner Presenting Award to G. Bromley Oxnam	Member of honorary committee	Program, Febr. 23, 1949
Nation Associates	Sponsor of dinner-forum	Program, May 25, 1952
National Federation for Constitutional Liberties	Signer of statement approving War Department's order permitting commissioning of members of the Communist Party	Worker, March 18, 1945, pp. 1-3, mag. sec.
Protestant Digest Associates	Sponsor of dinner-forum	Letterhead, Jan. 22, 1941

SCARLETT, William, bishop, retired; b. Columbus, O., Oct. 3, 1883; s. William and Myra (Siehert) S; A. B., Harvard, 1905, D. D., (hon.), 1950; B.D., Episcopal Theological School, 1909; LL.D., U. of Arizona, 1922, Washington University, 1932; D.D., U. of the South, 1932; m. Leah Van Riper Oliver, Sept. 2, 1941. Deacon, 1909, priest, 1910, P. E. Ch.; asst. St. George's Ch., New York, 1909-11; dean Trinity Cathedral, Phoenix, Ariz., 1911-22; dean Christ Church Cathedral, St. Louis, 1922-30; elected bishop co-adjutor, P.E. Ch., 1930; bishop of Mo., 1933-53, ret.; chmn. JointCommn. on Social Reconstrn. P.E.Ch. 1940-52; chmn. dept. Internat. Justice and Goodwill, Nat. Council Chs. Christ in Am., 1948-52. Mem. Sec. Navy's Civilian Adv. Commn. Regent University of Ariz., 1913-21; mem. American Council Race Relations; member national committee American Civil Liberties Union, 1930-55. Member Delta Tau Delta. Mason. Clubs: Harvard (New York City and Boston). Contributor to Best Sermons, 1926; What Are We Fighting For?, and other volumes. Editor, Christianity Takes a Stand, Christian Demand for Social Justice; Phillips Brook's Selected Sermons; To Will One Thing; mem. editorial bd. Christianity and Crisis, 1954-56; Contbr. Interpreters Bible. Home: Dyce's Head, Castine, Maine.

Who's Who in America, 1958-59, p. 2426

TOUGALOO SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN COLLEGE
Tougaloo, Mississippi
April 25, 1962

Dear Friend:

You are cordially invited to attend a reorganization meeting of the Mississippi Council on Human Relations in the Science Hall at Tougaloo Southern Christian College, Thursday, May 3rd, at two o'clock.

A group of concerned people met at Waveland, Mississippi, last fall, convinced that men and women of both racial groups in Mississippi could contribute to the promotion of better human relations by meeting and working together.

A planning committee was set up at the Waveland meeting to explore the possibility of reorganizing the Mississippi Council on Human Relations or to set up some similar organization to provide opportunity for people of good will to work together on some of the important issues confronting us as citizens of Mississippi.

An organization meeting is called for Thursday, May 3rd, at Tougaloo. We hope that you will attend and bring with you any friends who would like to share in this cooperative effort.

To stimulate our thinking a proposed "Statement of Purpose" is enclosed. This statement has not been adopted. It is sent to you for your reflection and reaction. Please bring the statement with you and be prepared to discuss it at the May 3rd meeting.

We shall look forward to seeing you at Tougaloo Southern Christian College, near Jackson, on the extension of North State Street, on May 3rd at two o'clock.

Planning Committee:

Mr. H. Power Hearn (Jackson), Chairman
Bishop Joseph Brunini (Jackson), Vice Chairman
Rabbi Charles Mantinband (Hattiesburg), Vice Chairman
Rev. Henry Clay (Laurel)
Rev. Murray Cox (Gulfport)
Dr. D. I. Horn, Jr. (West Point)
Mrs. Lillian Rogers Johnson (Clarksdale)
Rev. E. A. Mays (Jackson)
Dr. A. D. Beittel (Tougaloo), Secretary

Proposed

Statement of Purpose

for the

Mississippi Council on Human Relations

Believing that all men are of equal worth in the sight of God, and drawing our inspiration and guidance from the Judaeo-Christian continuity of prophetic witness for social justice, and desiring to support in the State of Mississippi those objectives in this direction which elsewhere within our nation have won general recognition and acceptance, we hereby propose to form in Mississippi an organization to be known as THE MISSISSIPPI COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS.

We wish to set forth as clearly as possible a bill of particulars presenting our concerns in the form of protest against specific existing conditions and support of certain constructive objectives.

We stand in opposition to:

1. The attitudes and practices of the Citizens' Council of Mississippi in its domination of the political, economic and social structure of our state through propaganda, intimidation and reprisals.

2. The existence of a sovereignty commission which is designed through an un-American method of inquisition to preserve the un-American institution of enforced segregation.

3. The condition in which the Negro does not receive equal Justice before the law in many places within the state.

4. The many manifestations of the evil of taxation without representation and access to tax-supported institutions and facilities.

5. The inequality in application of procedures of registration for voting.

Within the context of these social injustices under which as citizens of the state we find ourselves now living, we feel constrained to adopt a number of specific objectives.

We express support of:

1. The traditional freedom of speech including its class-room counterpart of academic freedom for all teachers.

2. The basic freedom of assembly in which men who believe in democratic institutions may meet together without anxiety.

3. Absolute impartiality as to race in the enforcement of law by police and courts and in the selection of jury members.

4. The application of one set of requirements in one manner to all individuals who seek registration for voting, regardless of race.

5. Employment in industry and agriculture on the basis of merit.

6. Wise compliance with the spirit of the Supreme Court Decision of 1954 within the living context of the situation in Mississippi through:

a. Voluntary removal of state and local laws enforcing segregation.
b. Prompt acceptance of qualified Negro applicants on the part of colleges and graduate schools.
c. Initiation, on the part of men of good will of both races within local communities of plans for compliance in the lower schools, in advance of compulsory action by federal courts.
d. Immediate representation by qualified Negroes on local and state boards of education where these posts are appointive.

Recognizing that in the current climate of public opinion, which tolerate defamation of character, there will be the charge that those who advocate this program are "communist-inspired", we feel it may serve some purpose to do what ought not to be necessary: put forth our profound opposition to communist theory and practice which also denies the dignity and worth of the individual. At the same time we would dissociate ourselves from the various rampant forms of chauvinistic nationalism which constitute the last refuge of those who would conceal their crass self-interest and virulent prejudices.

We propose that membership in this organization shall be limited to residents of the state of Mississippi. While it is intended primarily to unite Christians and Jews who so interpret the common prophetic witness and moral imperative of their respective faiths, members of other faiths and those who call themselves humanists who are also in sympathy with the purposes set forth above are invited into full membership.

We propose affiliation with the Southern Regional Council because we intend to build in association with members of other southern states a new way of life which will preserve what is of abiding value in our best traditions, purged now of the poison of legalized segregation.

OFFICERS OF THE MISSISSIPPI COUNCIL
ON HUMAN RELATIONS

A. D. Beittel - Chairman

Dr. D. I. Horn, Jr. - Vice Chairman

Rabbi Charles Mantinband - Vice Chairman

Lillian Rogers Johnson - Secretary

I. S. Sanders - Treasurer

Rev. Henry Clay - Executive Committee Member

Aaron Henry - Executive Committee Member

Mrs. Wallis Schutt - Exectuvie Committee Member

Beittel, Mantinband and Mrs. Schutt are white and the others are Negroes.

Steps should be taken to stop Mrs. Wallis Schutt from her activities in the Mississippi Girl Scout organization.

MISSISSIPPI COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

On March 12, 1957, MANNING JOHNSON, a Negro self-confessed Communist Party member testified before a Legislative Committee at Baton Rouge, Louisiana to the effect that the Mississippi Council on Human Relations was a transmission best of communist infiltration in the South. Johnson named the following individuals as officers and directors of this organization. Some of these individuals are white and some are colored:

Mrs. W. H. Ratliff, Sherard, Mississippi, President
Mrs. C. E. Dishman, Piney Woods, Miss., Vice-President
Bishop Joseph B. Brunini, Jackson, Miss., Sec.-Treas.
Charles T. Morgan, Mathiston, Mississippi
Alexander Fitzhugh, Vicksburg, Mississippi
Miss Alma Hickman, Hattiesburg, Mississippi
Mrs. E. R. Dear, Hattiesburg, Mississippi
Rabbi Charles Mantinband, Hattiesburg, Mississippi
Rev. Duncan M. Hobart, Meridian, Mississippi
F. W. Miller, Jackson, Mississippi
Dr. H. G. Williamson, Grenada, Mississippi
Dr. Thomas L. Zuber, West Point, Mississippi
Mrs. J. A. Burt, Jr.
Mrs. C. A. Williams
Mrs. C. C. Clark, Jackson, Miss.
Miss Jamie Turnage, Jackson, Miss.
Ernest Borinski, NAACP member, Tougaloo College, Miss.
Sam Barfield, Miss. Southern College, Hattiesburg, Miss.
J. J. Bolton, principal of Campbell College and High School, Jackson, Mississippi
Harold Fleming, Atlanta, Georgia
Mrs. A. Charles Hunter, Columbus, Miss.
Ruby Lyells
Rev. John Mangum, Chaplain, Tougaloo College, Miss.
M. G. Pruett

The Southern Regional Council was receipient of a gift of $445,000 from the Ford Foundation Fund For The Republic, IN SUPPORT OF STUDIES AND ACTIVITIES TO PROMOTE INTERRACIAL ACTIVITIES IN THE SOUTH. The three year report of THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC dated May 31, 1956, on page 22 states The Southern Regional Council "has concentrated on building strong state organizations so that each of its groups will be able to stand on its own feet when FUND support is terminated." (See New York Times, 12-16-1956)

The Southern Regional Council was founded in 1944 and is a successor to the COMMISSION ON INTERRACIAL COOPERATION, INC. The "Objectives and Purposes", stated were "TO ORGANIZE AND MAINTAIN A REGIONAL COUNCIL FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF ECONOMIC, CIVIC AND RACIAL CONDITIONS IN THE SOUTH. . . . To reduce race tension, the basis of race tension, racial misunderstanding and distrust; to develop AND INTEGRATE LEADERSHIP IN THE SOUTH ON NEW LEVELS OF REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND FELLOWSHIP."

The Superior Court of Fulton County, Georgia, filed the names of five of the incorporators of the Southern Regional Council. The names are: RALPH McGILL, BISHOP ARTHUR J. MOORE, RUFUS E. CLEMENT, ATLANTA, GEORGIA, CHARLES S. JOHNSON, NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE, AND DR. HOWARD W. ODUM, CHAPEL HILL, NORTH CAROLINA. (See New York Times, 10-17-1955)

(You will note that the cities represented by these men were first to integrate.)

The official organ of the Southern Regional Council is "New South".

The head office in Atlanta has, since the $445,000 GRANT, from The Fund For The Republic increased its activities to extend over 12 SOUTHERN STATES as of 1956 -- Arkansas, Alabama, Georgia, Florida, Kentucky, Louisiana, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia and MISSISSIPPI.

A "RED FRONT"

Manning Johnson, a self-confessed member of the Communist Party, appearing before the Louisiana Legislative Committee on Segregation revealed information to the effect that THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL WAS "FORMED BY JAMES E. JACKSON, A SOUTHERN ORGANIZER OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY" AND "IS AFFILIATED WITH THE MISSISSIPPI COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS."

In hearings before the Subcommittee To Investigate The Administration Of The Internal Security Act and Other Internal Security Laws of the Committee On The Judiciary, United States Senate, held in New Orleans, March 18, 19 and 20th, 1954, respecting SUBVERSIVE influence in the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc., the following points are brought out.

"THE SOUTHERN CONFERENCE FOR HUMAN WELFARE" (OF WHICH THE MISSISSIPPI CONFERENCE IS AN ADJUNCT) "WAS CONCEIVED, FINANCED AND SET UP BY THE COMMUNIST PARTY IN 1938 AS A MASS ORGANIZATION TO PROMOTE COMMUNISM THROUGHOUT THE SOUTHERN STATES. Earl Browder, former general secretary of the Communist Party in the United States, in a public hearing, identified the SOUTHERN CONFERENCE FOR HUMAN RELATIONS AS ONE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY'S TRANSMISSION BELTS."

It was cited on June 12, 1947 by the Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities as a Communist-front organization "which seeks TO ATTRACT SOUTHERN LIBERALS on the basis of its seeming interest in problems of the South," although its "PROFESSED interest in southern welfare is simply an expedient for larger aims serving the SOVIET UNION and its subservient Communist Party in the United States.

Hodding Carter of the Greenville Democrat Times was cited at this same investigation as being affiliated with this organization.

James A. Dombrowski of 822 Perdido Street, New Orleans, is Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council. Communist Carl Braden, who has recently finished a prison term, travels over the Southern states representing the Southern Conference Educational Fund in the promotion of racial integration.

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SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Atlanta 3, Georgia

BOARD OF DIRECTORS
April 1957

(Copy of official list of Board of Directors)

Anderson, Olaf %	Clergyman	4213 Church Way, Louisville, Ky.
Atwood, R.B. (1)	Educator	Kentucky State College, Frankfort, Ky.
Aycox, Mrs. Nanie B. %	"	Texas Southern Univ. Houston, Texas
Bates, Mrs. L. C.	Civic Leader	1804 Bishop St., Little Rock, Ark.
Bates, Mrs. W.F. (2)	Church Leader	125 Atkins St., No. Little Rock, Ark.
Beckman, F. Woods #	Businessman	5908 Magazine Rd., Knoxville, Tenn.
Bond, Ulysses S. (1)	" "	Madison, Arkansas
Brazeal, B.R. %	Educator	Morehouse College, Atlanta, Georgia
Brooke, W.C. #	Clergyman	Box 208, Staunton, Virginia
Brunini, Rt.Rev. Msgr. Joseph B. (2)	" "	123 North West St., Jackson, Miss.
Bryant, Mrs. Myra J. (2)	Civic Leader	432-12th. Terrace, N., Birmingham, Ala.
Burney, I. H. (1)	Ins. Exec.	P.O. Box 660, Jacksonville, Florida
Carter, Hodding (1)	Editor	Delta Democratic-Times, Greenville, Miss.
Christopher, Paul R. (2)	Labor Leader	216 Flatiron Bldg., Knoxville, Tenn.
Clement, R.E.	Educator	Atlanta University, Atlanta, Georgia
Clingman, Rt. Rev. C. (1)	Bishop	421 S. Second St., Louisville, Ky.
Crate, Mrs. Jas. S. #	Civic Leader	2410 Inwood Dr., Houston, Texas
Crossman, Jerome (1)	Businessman	3400 Republic Nat'l Bank Bldg., Dallas, Texas
Dabbs, James M. (2)	Farmer	Mayesville, South Carolina
Darragh, Fred #	Businessman	1401 E. 6th. St., Little Rock, Ark.
Davidson, Herbert M. (2)	Editor	Daytona Beach News Journal, Daytona Beach, Florida
Dent, A.W. *	Educator	Dillard Univ., New Orleans, La.
Doggett, Caxton #	Clergyman	376 NE 90th. St., Miami, Florida
Ellison, J.M. %	Educator	Virginia Union Univ., Richmond, Va.
Evans, J. Claude #	Clergyman	P. O. Box 867, Columbia, So. Carolina
Foster, Luther H. (2)	Educator	Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee, Alabama
Friedman, S. Thomas (1)	Social Worker	1110 Bissonet, Houston, Texas
Golden, Harry L. (2)	Editor	P.O. Box 2505, 1229 Eliz. Avenue Charlotte, No. Carolina
Gomillion, C.G. (2)	Educator	Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee, Alabama
Griffin, John A. (2)	Professor	Emory University, Emory Univ., Georgia
Haas, Leonard *	Attorney	Suite 601, Haas-Howell Bldg., Atlanta Ga.
Hammer, Philip (1)	Planning Consultant	70 Fairlie St., Atlanta, Georgia
Hancock, Gordon B. *	Professor	P.O. Box 6056, Richmond, Virginia
Harris M. Lafayette (2)	Educator	Philander Smith College, Little Rock, Ark
Hunter, Duncan #	Clergyman	Alexander City, Alabama
Hamilton, Grace		Atlanta, Georgia
Johnson, Charles S. (2)	Educator	Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn.
Johnson, Guy B. (1)	Professor	Univ. of No. Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Kidd, A.L. %	Professor	Fla.A & M Univ., Tallahassee, Florida
Larkins, John R. %	Soc.Worker	Bd. of Charities & Social Welfare, Raleigh, No. Carolina
Lewis, Dr. Elsie %	Educator	Tenn. A & I, Nashville, Tennessee
Looby, Z.A. (1)	Attorney	419 Fourth Ave., N. Nashville, Tenn.
Mays, B.E. (1)	Educator	Morehouse College, Atlanta, Georgia
McCann, John (1)	Businessman	231 Baronne St., New Orleans, La.
McDowell, E.A. (2)	Professor	So. Baptist Theol.Sem.Wake Forest, N.C.
Milton, L.D. (1)	Banker	Citizens Trust Co., Atlanta, Georgia
Moron, A.G. (1)	Educator	Hampton Institute, Hampton, Virginia
Paul, Mrs. Marion %	Civic Leader	2324 Washington St., Columbia, S.C.
Penick, Rt.Rev.E.A. (2)	Bishop	802 Hillsboro St., Raleigh, No.Car.
Perry, W.H. #	Educator	2320 West Chestnut St., Louisville, Ky.
Ratliff, Mrs.W.H. #	Church Leader	Sherard, Mississippi
Rayzor, Mrs. J.N. (2)	Civic Leader	3207 Groveland Lane, Houston, Texas
Reddix, J. L. (1)	Educator	Jackson College, Jackson, Miss.
Richards, J.M. (2)	" "	Columbia Theol.Seminary, Decatur, Ga.
Richardson, H.V. (2)	" "	Gammon Theol.Seminary, Atlanta, Ga.
Rinehart, Hollis (1)	Attorney	Ingraham Bldg., Miami, Florida
Robinson, Mrs. E.U. (1)	Church Leader	Gallatin, Tennessee
Rousseve, Numa J. %	Businessman	4636 Willow St., New Orleans, La.
Shaw, Charles A. (1)	Ins.Exec.	2206 Dowling St., Houston, Texas
Smith, J.Edwin (2)	Attorney	505 Scanlan Bldg., Houston, Texas
Sparling, Mrs. E.M. (2)	Civic Leader	222 Thompson Bldg., Hot Springs, Ark.
Stewart, James E. (2)	Businessman	548 N.E. 4th St., Oklahoma City, Okla.
Stroud, Mrs.Tommie (1)	Civic Leader	2524 Old Oaks Drive, Waco, Texas
Solomon, W.E. (2)	Exec.Secy.Tchrs.Assn.	1719 Taylor St., Columbia 1, So.Car.
Sytz, Miss Florence (2)	Professor	Tulane School of Social Work, New Orleans, La.
Tillman, Mrs.J.F. (2)	Church Leader	Lewisburg, Tennessee
Trenholm, H.C. %	Educator	Alabama State College, Montgomery, Ala.
Wellons, R.D. #	Educator	Pembroke College, Pembroke, No. Car.
Wheeler, John H. (1)	Banker	Mechanics & Farmers Bank, Durham, N.C.
Wilkins, Miss Jos. (1)	Civic Leader	c/o Biltmore Hotel, Atlanta, Ga.
Willbarn, York, (2)	Educator	Univ.of Ala. Tuscaloosa, Alabama
Williams, Paul D. (1)	Businessman	3320 Gloucester Rd., Richmond, Va.
Wright, Marion A. *	Lawyer	Top Knot, Linville Falls, No. Car.
Young, Thomas W. (1)	Publisher	Journal & Guide, Norfolk, Virginia
McManus, Rev. Eugene		1911 Law St., New Orleans 19, La.
Peters, E.C. #		Atlanta, Georgia
Sharp, Walter #		Nashville, Tennessee
Steele, Charles T.		608 W.Walnut St., Louisville, Ky.
Wheeler, Raymond #		Doctors Bldg., Charlotte, No. Car.

SYMBOLS

*SRC Officer
% State Representative
# Ex-Officio
(1) Term Expires November, 1957
(2) Term Expires November, 1959

James A. Dombrowski (Assistant, Department of Christian Ethics, Union Theological Seminary; administrator, Southern Conference Educational Fund)

(1) American Committee for Indonesian Independence -- joined in congratulating Premier Sjahrir on first anniversary of Indonesian Republic -- Indonesian Review, 1946

(2) American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born -- signer of birthday greetings to Adolph Sabath, senior member of the House of Representatives -- Lamp, May 1946, page 3

(3) American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born -- sponsor of 15th Anniversary National Conference -- program, December 11-12, 1948

(4) American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born -- signer of open letter to members of Congress calling for the repeal of the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act -- Daily Worker, April 8, 1953

(5) American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born -- signer of open letter to the U.S. Congress calling for the revision of the McCarran-Walter Immigration Law -- press release, January 9, 1959

(6) American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born -- sponsor -- letterhead, November 7, 1959

(7) American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born -- sponsor of 27th annual national conference -- call and program, December 19-20, 1959

(8) American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born -- contributed financially toward expenses of the ACPFB -- Memorial Journal (to honor Abner Green), December 19-20, 1959, page 19

(9) American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born -- sponsor of appeal for financial aid to Communist deportees; and appeal for the enactment of a 5-year statute of limitations in cases of alleged violations of the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act -- letterhead, July 1960

(10) American Continental Congress for Peace, Mexico City -- leaflet announcing the congress and listing Dombrowski as a U.S. sponsor -- announcement, September 5-10, 1949

(11) American Peace Crusade -- signer of call for pilgrimage to Washington, D. C. -- leaflet, March 1, 1951

(12) American Peace Crusade -- sponsor -- letterhead, May 26, 1951

(13) American Peace Crusade -- signer of statement urging peace negotiations regardless of time involved -- Daily Worker, January 20, 1954, page 4

(14) American Peace Crusade and Peace Pilgrimage -- initial sponsor -- Daily Worker, February 1, 1951, page 2

(15) American People's Congress and Exposition for Peace -- sponsor of meeting held in Chicago -- call and program, June 29 to July 1, 1951

(16) Appeal for Amnesty for the Jailed Leaders of the Communist Party Convicted Under the Smith Act -- signer of plea -- Daily Worker, December 10, 1952, page 4

(17) Bachrach Open Letter to the Attorney General -- signer of petition for severance of Marion Bachrach's case from the Smith Act trial of Trachtenberg and others -- press release from Helen Alfred, September 19, 1955

(18) Citizens Committee to Free Earl Browder -- signer of supporting statement -- Daily Worker, May 8, 1942, page 4

(19) Committee for Equal Justice for Mrs. Recy Taylor (auxiliary of International Labor Defense) -- sponsor of demand for prosecution of white youths in rape case in Alabama -- booklet, August 1945, page 15

(20) Committee for Medical Freedom -- signer of statement opposing the interrogation of professional people by the House Committee on Un-American Activities -- leaflet, June 1952 (California)

(21) Commonwealth College (Mena, Arkansas) -- signer of statement endorsing the school -- Commonwealth College Fortnightly, August 15, 1937

(22) Communist Party -- signer of brief amici curiae on behalf of the party in the case before the Subversive Activities Control Board -- brief filed with the U.S. Supreme Court, October Term 1955

(23) Communist Party -- identified as member in the sworn testimony of Paul Crouch -- Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, March 18, 1954, page 47-48

(24) Communist Party -- identified as member in the sworn testimony of John Butler -- Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, March 18, 1954, pages 44-47

(25) Communist Party -- signer of statement defending the party against FDR's charge of sabotage in defense industries during the period of the Stalin-Hitler Pact -- Daily Worker, March 5, 1941, page 2

(26) Communist Party -- denied membership in the party -- Dombrowski testimony before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, March 18, 1954, page 43

(27) Conference on Constitutional Liberties in America -- speaker -- program, June 7-9, 1940

(28) Continuations Committee of the Conference on Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact -- signer of open letter to members of Congress urging opposition to the pact -- press release, August 21, 1949

(29) Highlander Folk School (Monteagle, Tennessee) -- an original incorporator; chairman of board; an instructor from 1936 to 1942 -- Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, hearings on Southern Conference Educational Fund, page 47

(30) International Workers Order -- defender against state prosecution -- Fraternal Outlook, November 1948; and Daily Worker, June 18, 1951, page 8

(31) Methodist Federation for Social Action -- nominee for member-at-large, national membership meeting, Kansas City, December 27-29, 1947 -- official ballot, 1947, page 2

(32) Methodist Federation for Social Action -- nominee for national committee -- official ballot, September 2, 1953

(33) Methodist Federation for Social Action -- member 50th anniversary committee -- letterhead, March 11, 1957

(34) Methodist Federation for Social Service -- nominated for membership on the national committee -- official ballot, 1945, page 4

(35) National Citizens Political Action Committee -- member -- press release, August 28, 1944 (released in Washington, D.C., by Sidney Hillman)

(36) National Committee to Repeal the McCarran Act -- signer of open letter to members of Congress, urging repeal of the Internal Security Act of 1950 -- press release, January 19, 1951

(37) National Committee to Repeal the McCarran Act -- signer of petition for repeal -- press release, June 22, 1951

(38) National Committee to Repeal the McCarran Acts -- signer of petition for hearings on the Interanl Security Act -- letter to Senator Hennings, November 14, 1955

(39) National Committee to Win Amnesty for the Smith Act Victims -- plea for convicted Communists -- folder, May 22, 1953

(40) National Committee to Win Amnesty for the Smith Act Victims -- sponsor -- letterhead, April 27, 1954

(41) National Committee to Win Amnesty for the Smith Act Victims -- sponsor -- folder, "One Word to the President of the United States", 1954

(42) National Conference to Defend the Bill of Rights -- sponsor of annual meeting of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born -- letterhead, October 10, 1950; and leaflet, December 2-3, 1950

(43) National Federation for Constitutional Liberties -- signer of petition opposing renewal of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House of Representatives -- brochure, January 1943

(44) National Negro Congress -- sponsor -- program of the 10th convention, May 30, 1946

(45) Open Letter to President Eisenhower Urging Amnesty for Communist Leaders Convicted Under the Smith Act -- signer -- Daily Worker, October 20, 1954, pages 2, 6

(46) People's Institute of Applied Religion -- sponsor of school founded and run by Claude Williams, Presybterian clergyman and Communist Party member -- letterhead, April 9, 1942

(47) People's Institute of Applied Religion -- member of Southern Committee -- letterhead, January 1, 1948; and letterhead, April 16, 1953

(48) Southern Conference Educational Fund -- director; endorser of "A Declaration of Civil Rights", renouncing all forms of segregation, adopted at conference in Madison Hall, University of Virginia -- folder, November 20, 1948

(49) Southern Conference Educational Fund -- director, organizer of first southwide conference on discrimination in higher education, held at Atlanta University -- program, April 8, 1950, and list of sponsors

(50) Southern Conference Educational Fund -- executive director -- letterhead, January 1951; letterhead, July 1954; letterhead, April 1955; letterhead, November 1, 1956; and letterhead, May 1958

(51) Southern Conference Educational Fund -- reported in Communist press to be arranging for an anti-segregation conference -- Daily Worker, March 31, 1955, page 1

(52) Southern Conference Educational Fund -- coordinator of Southwestern Regional Conference on Integration, Houston, Texas, -- program and sponsors, May 17, 1955

(53) Southern Conference Educational Fund -- guest of honor at reception given by New York Friends of SCEF -- Southern Patriot, May 1960, page 4

(54) Southern Conference Educational Fund -- executive director -- Southern Patriot, January, February, March, April, May, June, September, October, November, and December 1960 (Southern Patriot, official organ of SCEF, published monthly except July and August, lists Dombrowski as executive director in each issue)

(55) Southern Conference for Human Welfare -- executive secretary -- SCHW Report, 1942; Daily Worker, January 29, 1946, page 4; letterhead, June 1, 1947; letterhead, September 7, 1945; call to conference, September 23, 1945; letterhead, July 25, 1947

(56) Southern Conference for Human Welfare -- administrator -- program, Washington, D.C., dinner, May 22, 1946

(57) Southern Conference for Human Welfare -- signer of declaration advocating racial integration -- Southern Patriot, June 1947, pages 4-5

(58) Southern Conference for Human Welfare -- member of board of representatives; giving luncheon to honor two Columbia University Communists, Gene Weltfish and Ruth Benedict -- program, Astor Hotel, New York City, March 16, 1948

(59) Southern Resident Labor Colleges -- member, finance campaign committee -- letterhead, February 10, 1937

(60) Win-the-Peace Conference -- sponsor of this fake "peace" front of the Communist Party, in the early months of the cold war -- call and program, April 5-7, 1946

(61) World Peace Appeal -- signer of statement also known as the "Stockholm Pledge", around which the worldwide Communist apparatus organized one of its most extensive propaganda campaigns of the post-War era -- leaflet of the Peace Information Center, August 31, 1951

Exhibit #670
Circuit Riders, Inc.,
110 Government Place
Cincinnati 2, Ohio

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U. S. Senate Internal Security
Sub-Committee Report

March 1, 1960

RE: Congress of Racial Equality (CORE)
513 W. 166 Street, New York, N.Y.

The Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) has received cordial publicity and promotion in the Communist press, notably, The Worker of December 20, 1959, pages 3 and 14, and February 21, 1960, pages 1 and 14. (Photostats can be secured.)

The Congress of Racial Equality has not been cited as a Communist front by either the Attorney General or any Congressional or state committee.

Among its supporters, however, are individuals who have contributed significantly to the support of Communist causes.

A. J. MUSTE, member of the Advisory Committee of CORE, (letterhead, February 16, 1956), was selected as an observer to the 16th National Convention of the Communist Party, U.S.A., with that organization's approval. (Daily Worker, 2/11/57, p. 1) He has been consistent and active in support of Communist cases prosecuted under the Smith Act. (Daily Worker, 1/4/59, p. 5; 10/4/56, pp. 1 and 7; 3/14/56, p. 3; 9/27/59, p. 5; 1/7/57, p. 8; 12/21/55, p. 1; 11/8/59, p. 16) He has even gone to the length of urging clemency for Julius Rosenberg, convicted atomic spy. (Daily Worker, 1/18/53, p. 2)

ROGER N. BALDWIN, member of the Advisory Committee of CORE (letterhead, February 16, 1956), has a record-breaking list of affiliations with organizations cited as Communist fronts by either the Attorney General or the House Committee on Un-American Activities, or both. He has been active in support of Communist cases prosecuted under the Smith Act. (Daily Worker, 10/30/49, p. 6) (People's World, 6/22/51, p. 1)(Daily Worker, 2/11/54, p. 3)

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On some occasions, Roger Baldwin has ventured to differ with the Communists.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH, member of the Advisory Committee of CORE (letterhead, February 16, 1956), has in the past supported organizations which have been cited as subversive by the Attorney General, notably, the National Negro Congress and the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy, American League Against War and Fascism, American League for Peace and Democracy, United May Day Committee, Southern Negro Youth Congress, and other organizations. His reputation in the labor movement as the president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters is that of a strong anti-Communist who has broken with his past affiliations.

LILLIAN SMITH, a member of the Advisory Committee of CORE (letterhead, February 16, 1956), has in the past supported the campaign for the Freedom of Earl Browder, General Secretary of the Communist Party, U.S.A. (Daily Worker, May 2, 1941, p. 2). She has also supported the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship. (Daily Worker, November 19, 1944, p. 2) This organization has been cited as subversive by the Attorney General. She was also associated with the Emergency Peace Mobilization, which held a meeting in Chicago from August 31 to September 2, 1940. This organization was also cited as subversive by the Attorney General. She was a member of the Committee for Equal Justice for Mrs. Recy Taylor, an auxiliary of the International Labor Defense. (Booklet, August 1945). The International Labor Defense has also been cited as the "legal arm of the Communist Party" by the Attorney General.

ALLAN KNIGHT CHALMERS, member of the Advisory Committee of CORE (letterhead, February 16, 1956), has lent his name to the support of Communist cases prosecuted under the Smith Act, notably that of Gilbert Green and Henry Winston. He has denounced Congressional investigating committees as "contributing to the subtle break-down of our democratic process." (Daily Worker, 4/15/53, p. 2)

IRA De A. REID, member of the Advisory Committee of CORE (letterhead, February 16, 1956), has an extensive record of affiliations with organizations cited as subversive by either the Attorney General or the House Committee on Un-American Activities, notably the Jefferson School of Social Science, the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, the Council on African Affairs, the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, the United States Congress Against War, the National Council of the Arts, Science, and Professions, the Scientific and Cultural Conference for World Peace. In 1941, he signed a letter to President Roosevelt urging freedom for Earl Browder, General Secretary of the Communist Party. (Daily Worker, 11/3/41, p. 2).

GOODWIN WATSON, member of the Advisory Committee of CORE (letterhead, February 16, 1956), has written a book entitled "Action for Unity" in which he comes out openly in support of the following Communist fronts, cited as such by the Attorney General; International Workers Order, National Negro Congress, National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, and the People's Institute for Applied Religion. He has consistently opposed the efforts of Congressional committees to investigate Communist activities. (Daily Worker, 4/8/40, p. 2; 1/8/40, p. 4). He pleaded with President Truman for amnesty for convicted Communist leaders in August 1952. The Americanism Commission of the Westchester County American Legion has charged him with championing the "objectives of the Communist conspiracy." (New York Times, March 6, 1954, p. 22.)

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An exact copy of a map taken out of the secret files of the Communist Party. The blacked-in area represents what the Communists have some day (if they can promote a bloody revolution) will be the Negro Communist Soviet. It represents approximately 140,000 square miles. About 14 million white people will have to be driven out of their homes. Among the leading cities that will be turned over completely to the Negroes will be Charleston, Atlanta, Shreveport, New Orleans, Savannah, as well as many others. The land which now belongs to the whites will be confiscated and turned over to the Red bureaucrats for control. Shortly before the war this plan was discussed in detail by Josef Stalin in an address before Lenin University where 2,000 American Communists are being trained now to run the United States. As late as February 16, 1947, a copy of a textbook, now being used in the Russian Army, was exhibited before the Congressional Committee for the Investigation of the Un-American Activities. The title of the military textbook is "How to Bomb and Sabotage the U.S.A." Under the Communist plan the dark line marks the territory to be segregated on the border of the Black Soviet. All this, along with the blacked-in area is to be governed by Paul Robeson or another loyal follower like him.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

THE ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

Its full name is Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. B'nai B'rith means "Children of the Covenant", and was organized in 1843 as a purely American institution. Of the 7 million Jews in this country, it represents roughly 3%, or about 200,000. The Anti-Defamation League is an appendage organization to B'nai B'rith, as its name indicates. It was organized in Chicago in 1913. Its headquarters are still in Chicago. It maintains organized branches in about 20 American cities, and membership branches in possibly 75 or 80 more. The number of its present membership is unknown, but believed to be between 30,000 and 40,000. Its last published budget was no less than $5 million per year, which is an amount hard to account for, unless it be used for activities which it does not care to disclose.

Its stated purposes are two-fold: first, to combat racial and religious intolerance, particularly against Jews, and the supposed defamation of Jews; and second, to carry on a propaganda program. But its aims and program, as deduced from its acitivities, are greatly different. These may be briefly outlined as follows:

1. The League is internationalist, and violently anti-nationalist. It seeks to condition the mind of youth to Communism, and Internationalism. It has various deceptive disguises. It has, no doubt, infiltrated the schools by lectures, and textbook adoption for these purposes. It has long advocated the establishment of a world court with unlimited powers. It favors the Genocide Pact, and promotes the activities of UNESCO, and many other ideas of internationalsim which would tend to destroy the sovereignty of the American government.

2. The League is a secret police organization within the B'nai B'rith. It is known to report on the activities and opinions of almost every person

in public office who openly express opinions which are not in conformity with its own, even including citizens in private gatherings.

3. The League defames all who actively and aggressively oppose Communism, but there are no known instances of its defaming or attempting to suppress anyone engaged in pro-communistic activities. It has had in its open employ at one time, such pro-communists and smear artists as: Carey McWilliams, John Roy Carlson, whose real name is A. B. Daroumian, and who is the author of the smear volume "Under Cover". There is no telling how many such people are in its services covertly. Among the many public figures who have been attacked at one time or the other by this organization are: Senators McCarthy, Wheeler and Eastland; Representatives Martin Dies and Francis Walter; Fulton Lewis, Jr., Dean Manion, and countless others.

4. It is seeking to make the Jews as race conscious as possible, and whether by connection or not, the Communists have taken advantage of this effort to brand nearly all anti-Communist activities as anti-Semitic. This easily fits into the League's program of coupling in the public mind the anti-Jewish crimes of the Nazis with anti-Semitism in this country. The two have no connection, but the slighest criticism of anyone who is identified as a Jew, whether he be engaged in communist activities or not, is immediately seized upon, and the whole idea is looked upon as a crime. In fact, that is just what the Anti-Defamation League has tried to make it.

5. The prinicpal themes of the League's propaganda coincide with the principal theme of Communism. The League's program is subtle, but continuous and effective in undermining of our unity and traditions. The race propaganda

tends strongly to divide the "majority" and to pit minorities against the majority. The Communist Party drives this wedge hard, possibly aiming at open warfare at the propitious moment.

6. The League indicated that it has a foreign program. What this foreign program is, and by what right a private, secret organization presumes to carry on operations abroad remains a mystery.

7. The League often uses techniques identical with those of the Communists in all countries. Character assassination, for instance, to keep down opposition to Internationalism and Communism.

8. The effect of the League's work is to set up Jews in a preferential status- a "chosen people" in this modern age when all people have equal rights. The League seeks to bring other minorities under its leadership in a race rivalry fanned by its propaganda. To accomplish this end, it has joined with a great many other organizations of like aim. For instance, we generally think of the FEPC being solely a creation of the NAACP. Actually, the FEPC is largely a creation of the Anti-Defamation League, which has continuously advocated further and further adoption of so-called FEPC laws. It might be noted in passing, that the president of the NAACP is Albert Spingarn, who is also a member of the Anti-Defamation League.

Among its more recent activities are the following:

1. Wrote letter to Baldowski of Atlanta Constitution congratulating him for cartoon depicting high cost of contesting integration.

2. Sent Sandy Griffiths to Montgomery as agent provocateur in spring of 1960.

3. Became a Member of the National Consultative Congress on De-Segregation along with: American Civil Liberties Union; Americans for Democratic

Action; American Jewish Congress; American Jewish Committee; Southern Regional Council; National Share-Croppers Fund; and the NAACP.

4. Issued a list of several Pro-Integrationist Tracts.

5. One of its speakers, Levine, made a bitter attack against South in Nashville.

6. As early as 1933, took steps to stifle sale of Madison Grant's "Conquest of a Continent", which was the first book alerting the American people.

7. Called on Justice Department to take action against Citizens Councils in 1956.

8. Published and spread pamphlet by Chester Bowles, "The Negro Progress and Challenge"-1954.

9. Now working through Southern Regional Council to promote intergration in the South. It is financing the Sou. Christian Leadership Conf. rather generously.

How an organization like this can set itself up as a spokesman for the Jews in this country is more than I can understand. But it has, and in the process has intimidated newspaper editors, radio and T. V. sponsors, under threat of withholding advertising. It has effectively prevented any discussion of its aims and activities on the floor of Congress, although these are well known in that body. It even has members here in Jackson who do not hesitate to call on citizens who dare question the activities of any Left-Wing members of the Jewish Race. Upton Close has this to say about it:

"On the lips of too many people of all kinds today is the whisper: "Look out! - Shh! - The Anti-Defamation League!" Deservedly or not, it has achieved in the minds of too many Jewish and Gentile Americans alike a

fear-inspiring quality and a status above the law such as attached to the private secret police organizations of upcoming dictators in unfortunate European countries.

Some persons have come with apprehensions that their telephones have been tapped, their mail opened, their names referred to smear sheets and their intimate associations intruded upon, their professional standing attacked, their business boycotted, their employers or customers alienated by a mysterious network organization with vast funds and agents available to follow cases anywhere. Some have suffered legal persecution. Some American citizens of Jewish ancestry have come to confide that their own feelings and better judgment were ruthlessly over-ridden in the process of campaigning and collecting funds for the purposes of "fighting anti-Semitic defamation".

It is high time, therefore, to reveal this organization and its money-raising and money-spending activities. It is time to discover its place in American life and its part in Jewish world community trends. If some sinister force is using the remendous potentialities of this richly-financed staff, its own officials and representatives ought to be called to account, and its supporters ought to know such facts. The American people and American Congress ought to know them."

HARRY ALLEN OVERSTREET

Professor Overstreet was born in San Francisco in 1875, and finished at the University of California, and Balliol College of Oxford University. He became Professor of Philosophy at the City College in New York in 1911, and was later appointed Head of the Philosophy Department, retiring as Emeritus Professor in 1939.

About 1920 Professor Overstreet became a member of the John Reed Club. John Reed was a notorious Harvard educated Communist, who spent a number of years in Russia, and devoted his life to writing about the superiority of Communistic government. Since this club was largely composed of open and avowed Communists, and it is ridiculous for Professor Overstreet to say that he did not know what kind of organization he was joining.

In 1924 Professor Overstreet became a lecturer at the New School of Social Research in New York City, which the New York State Legislative Report on Seditious Activities stated to have been founded by "men who belong to the ranks of near Bolshevik Intelligentsia". The Communist and Socialist press was continually writing up the programs of its lecture hall, and indeed they should have, because some of the most active participants in this organization were either outright Communists, or some of the most notorious Communist-fronters that this Nation has ever produced. Several of its lecturers were Reds who had been driven out of Germany prior to, or during World Was I. It seemed to be obsessed with two subjects: the promotion of Communism; and extensive and probing lectures in the very lowest levels of human sexual behavior. We can only speculate on the subjects of Professor Overstreet's lectures at this place, but knowledge of them would probably be revealing. A few of his fellow lecturers were: Waldo Frank, Harold Laski, Hanns Eisler, Harry L. Barnes, Horace Kellen, etc., all of whom have completely Communistic records.

In 1932 he was one of the signers of a letter addressed to Congress by the "Fellowship of Reconciliation", advocating the recognition of the Soviet Government. This fellowship has been cited by the House Un-American Activities Committee as a vicious Communist front.

Around 1935, one Hilda Smith, working under a W. P. A. literary project in Washington, prepared a manual in which certain reading material was recommended for workers, and teachers of workers. The list of periodicals recommended by this woman was nothing less than a library of Red aims and procedures, as almost every single one was written by a man who was an openly avowed Communist, or who was particularly active in Red-front organizations. Squarely in the middle of this activity was Professor Overstreet, along with Abraham Epstein, Harold O. Rugg, V. F. Calverton, and others of a like ilk. For a more extensive discussion of this phase of Professor Overstreet's activity, see Elizabeth Dilling's book, "The Red Network".

Around 1939, Eleanor Roosevelt organized a program called "World Peace Ways", and toured the country giving lectures entitled "Ways of Peace". The purpose of this group was to indoctrinate this country with hopeless, helpless pacifism, and they came very near to doing it. Aside from Harry Overstreet, several of its members who could very easily be identified, were: Norman Thomas, Franz Boaz, Mary Woolsy, many members of the ACLU, and other Garland fund-supported organizations.

Around 1938, he was active in several of the Communist fronts, organized for the aid to the Communist side in the Spanish Civil War. Among these were: American Friends of Spanish Democracy; Hospitalization for the Abraham Lincoln Brigade; and a leaflet entitled "For the Rescue of Refugees". Each and everyone of these were cited for Communist fronts, or publications.

Around 1939, he was an active member of the cited front organizations known as "The American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom", and of the "Citizens Rally".

Around 1940 or 1941, Professor Overstreet was one of the principal editors, and far left-wing speakers on the radio program "Town Hall Meeting of the Air". This program hardly ever used anything except Red-tinged speakers.

In the early 1940s he signed a statement entitled "For the Rescue of Refugees", cited as a front publication.

In 1943, as a member of the "National Federation for Constitutional Liberties", he addressed a letter to Congress urging the abolition of the House Un-American Activities Committee. This organization also has been cited as a Communist front.

Also in 1943, he signed the message of the "National Federation for Constitutional Liberties", twice cited as a Communist front. In this same year he joined others in signing a letter to Governor Dewey, urging the release of one Morris Schnappes, who had been convicted of Communist terroristic activities.

Professor Overstreet continually attacked Senator McCarthy throughout the Senator's efforts to expose Communism in the Federal Government. In 1952 he wrote one of the most vicious smears on Martin Dies, who was at one time Head of the House Un-American Activities Committee, which was ever printed. In both instances, the attacks were actuated because these men were trying to protect our country from a government which Professor Overstreet and his kind have been advocating over 30 years.

Professor Overstreet was at one time a member and sponsor of the "Descendants of the American Revolution", also cited as a Communist-front organization.

All told, according to the American Legion's preliminary report "United World Federutionalists, Inc.", of which he was also a member, Professor Overstreet has linked his name and exerted his efforts in no less than 10 cited Communist-front organizations.

In 1951 Professor Overstreet was one of the signers of a letter in the New York Times, defending the notorious Hollywood Ten, who had been convicted and jailed for contempt of Congress. Most of these men were either Communists or

Communist-Sympathizers, beyond any doubt.

In spite of all this record, much of which is detailed in the pages of the House Un-American Activities Committee reports, the Senate Internal Security Committee reports, the report of the New York Legislative Committee, and others, Professor Overstreet and his wife, Bonaro, now have the unmitigated gall to claim that they never knowingly entered or worked with a Communist-front organisation. It is quite apparent that he lacks the courage of Whitaker Chambers, Lewis Budenz, Frank Myer, Russel Kirk, and Elizabeth Bentley, all of whom admitted outright Communist activities or membership in Communist-fronts before changing their colors and becoming patriots. Instead, Overstreet and his wife have prepared and issued a 12-page affidavit which states that they were "cleared" by the House Un-American Activities Committee. This is a completely fallacious affidavit, inasmuch as this Committee grants no "clearances", since it was not activated for any such purpose.

I have not read Professor Overstreet's book "What We Must Know About Communism", and do not intend to, but in view of the above, I cannot believe that he either has the capability or the intent of writing a straightforward discussion on this subject and that instead, he has probably included statements in the book which would tend to infer the superiority of Communism in some phase of life, and that the acceptance of such statements would lead to still further conclusions that Communism is an ideal form of government.

To say that a man with a record like this is fit author, or even part author, of textbooks to used by children in the Jackson High Schools is a travesty on political decency.

HARRY OVERSTREET AND HIS "WHAT WE MUST KNOW ABOUT COMMUNISM"

The Atlanta Library leaflets, (reproduced on pages 58) prepared for Vera Dean's "Great Decisions," named as a popular work on Communism, Harry Overstreet's WHAT WE MUST KNOW ABOUT COMMUNISM instead of J. Edgar Hoover's MASTERS OF DECEIT. This choice moved us to investigate Overstreet's background, which we did with the following illuminating but not unanticipated results --

Harry Overstreet has been identified with a number of organizations cited as subversive by an agency of the United States Government, nine of these being listed in the record furnished by the House Committee on Un-American Activities which is reproduced on the following pages.

In 1953, Overstreet got from the Committee the list which we have reproduced and then submitted to the Committee a twelve-page "affidavit" in which he explained to his satisfaction, (but not necessarily to any one else's) how he had been gulled into forming what he described as "certain tenuous associations" with groups "tainted by Communist infiltration." This "affidavit" which is a tissue of laboriously contrived plausibilities contains not even a hint of the cocky Overstreet whose self-proclaimed deep knowledge of Communism qualified him to write what certain undiscerning critics have called a definitive work on the subject. Instead we meet an entirely different character, an "uninformed" and unwary "intellectual" who plaintively asks the Committee to understand that he was too busy and too innocent to detect the taint in the organizations to which he had lent his name. A perfect picture of a professor so absent-minded and so unworldly that he believed he was reacting to humanitarian impulses when he "unsuspectingly" endorsed Communist fronts committed to the destruction of America, long after some of those fronts had been officially declared subversive.

This same type of absent-mindedness can be noted in the interesting omission from the "affidavit" of his co-sponsorship on January 17, 1952, of a New York Times ad which defended the convicted Hollywood Ten (Communists in contempt of Congress). As this pro-Communist outfit was not on the list supplied by the Committee, Overstreet probably reasoned that he should not borrow trouble, and anyway it would have been pretty hard for even this learned Communist-fronter to explain why he had absent-mindedly tendered his "tenuous" support to ten men who had been convicted in a fair trial in an American Court.

After filing the "affidavit" Overstreet claimed the Un-American Activities Committee gave him a "clearance" which purged him of his Communist front past. The Committee did not do this as will be noted from the letter reproduced on page 71.

In the following excerpt reproduced from his "affidavit," Overstreet entreats the House Committee to understand that he endorsed this particular Communist front through lack of knowledge of "communist tactics" -- a surprising admission from this arrogant authority who had the gall a few years later to write a book telling the American people what they must know about Communism.

This excerpt reproduced from the "affidavit" Overstreet filed with the Committe. Is not this "expert's" innocence touching? Ed.

The National Federation for Constitutional Liberties:

As I recall, the January 1943 message to the House of Representatives was in the nature of a protest against the proceedings of the Dies Committee. I think it proposed the discontinuance of that Committee. I still feel that the House Committee hearings as they were being conducted at that time called for protest. With hindsight, however, I recognize that I made two mistakes when I signed that particular message. One was my failure to suspect that the Federation for Constitutional Liberties was not what I took it to be: an authentic American organization set up to defend civil liberties where these seemed threatened. All I knew about it was what I read in the materials it sent to me; and I doubt that these would have disclosed to any lay citizen not versed in communist tactics the hidden character and motives of the group. (I see by your Committee's report to me that it was already listed as subversive six months before I signed its message. But I, absorbed during those war years with a heavy schedule over the country, was not keeping posted on listings,-- and I think very few of us were, or are even today, because of the shortage of time and regular access to materials. In any event, I at that time knew the organization only as a channel through which I was given what seemed a legitimate chance to protest certain Committee methods that seemed to me unfair.)

In the above excerpt, Overstreet gives the impression that he was critical of congressional hearings "as they were being conducted at that time" (1943). Please read below what Edward Janisch had to say about this intentional deception in his article, WHAT WE MUST KNOW ABOUT OVERSTREET which appeared in the October 1959 edition of American Opinion.

"Dr. Overstreet in 1952, shortly before he filed his affidavit with the House Un-American Activities Committee, wrote one of the most vicious attacks on Congressional investigations ever printed. He pictures the Hon. Martin Dies as a malicious reactionary, who has used the cover of a feigned Communist threat to smash liberal ideas, and all ideas. Similarly, Overstreet finds 'McCarthyism' a 'ruthless' imitation of the techniques of totalitarianism. The professor charges that the House Committee, 'far from guarding our nation against subversives,' has used the trust of the American people 'to subvert certain American freedoms . . . It has been able, in an alarming degree to terrorize non-conformity into silence.' Venom-spewing Overstreet insists that the Committee's practices 'had been a favorite method of totalitarianism.' The hearings 'appear' to be imitating 'the mass trials of Communist China (where) thousands of the accused were disposed of by the roar of the 'People's' Court -- Kill - Kill - Kill!"

- - - - - - - - - - - - -

Like most of the reading matter recommended by the FPA, the Overstreet book is crammed with glib double-talk about Communism. Why John Foster Dulles in his final hours praised the work to President Eisenhower we do not know. Perhaps he was so close to death at the time as to have his critical faculties impaired. (In good health his judgment was not always perfect as was indicated by his choice of law partners and by his fierce defense of Alger Hiss at the time of his exposure.)

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We do not recommend Overstreet's WHAT WE MUST KNOW ABOUT COMMUNISM.

We do recommend that Americans read J. Edgar Hoover's MASTERS OF DECEIT.

Mr. Hoover does not join Communist fronts -- he investigates them

Note: To strengthen a statement made on page 263 of his book, Overstreet quotes from a work of "top American psychiatrist" Karl Menninger. Menninger's record of association with subversive organizations is reproduced on a later page. Ed.

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EIGHTY-SIXTH CONGRESS

FRANCIS E. WALTER, PA., CHAIRMAN

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CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES
WASHINGTON

June 10, 1960

Mr. C. Ralph Nichols
893 Beaverbrook Drive, N. W.
Atlanta 18, Georgia

Dear Mr. Nichols:

I have received your letter of May 31, 1960 in reference to Harry and Bonaro Overstreet.

In response to your request for information on these individuals, I am enclosing herewith a report of the information contained in the files of the Committee on Un-American Activities on the Overstreets.

With reference to your inquiry about a so-called "clearance" by this Committee, may I say that the Committee on Un-American Activities does not issue clearances, either of individuals or organizations, at any time.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Francis E. Walter

Francis E. Walter
Chairman

Enclosure

14

INFORMATION FROM THE FILES OF THE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES
U. S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

DATE: June 7, 1960

FOR: Honorable Francis E. Walter

SUBJECT: Harry A. Overstreat

This Committee makes NO EVALUATION in this report. The following is only a compilation of recorded public material contained in our files and should not be construed as representing the results of any investigation or finding by the Committee. The fact that the Committee has information as set forth below on the subject of this report is not per se an indication that this individual, organization, or publication is subversive, unless specifically stated.

Symbols in parentheses after the name of any organization or publication mentioned herein indicate that the organization or publication has been cited as being subversive by one or more Federal authorities. The name of each agency is denoted by a capital letter, as follows: A—Attorney General of the United States; C—Committee on Un-American Activities; I—Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee; J—Senate Judiciary Committee; and, S—Subversive Activities Control Board. The numerals after each letter represent the year in which that agency first cited the organization or publication. (For more complete information on citations, see this Committee's "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications.")

Prof. H. A. Overstreet, C.C.N.Y., was a member of the New York Committee of the American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom (C-1942) as shown on letterheads dated September 22, 1939 and December 1, 1939. Prof. Overstreet was named as a signer of a petition of the organization (mimeographed sheet attached to letterhead dated January 17, 1940) and was a sponsor of a Citizens' Rally held April 13, 1940, by the organization in New York (leaflet on the rally).

The Daily Worker of August 10, 1950, page 5, reported that Prof. Harry A. Overstreet signed a statement against denaturalization issued by the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born (A-1948:C-1942:I-1956:S-1957) and directed to the President of the United States.

A public statement of the American Committee to Save Refugees (C-1942) was signed by H.A.Overstreet, as shown by a leaflet entitled "For the Rescue of Refugees," which was published by the organization.

Prof. Overstreet was named as a member of the Committee of the American Friends of Spanish Democracy (C-1944) on a letterhead dated February 21, 1938; also in testimony of Walter S. Steele in public hearings before the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, August 17, 1938 (Volume I, page 569). He was also a Committee member of the Medical Bureau, American Friends . . . , (letterhead of November 18, 1936; and New Masses, January 5, 1937, page 31).

The Daily Worker of February 13, 1939, page 2, named Harry A Overstreet as a member of the Descendants of the American Revolution (C-1942). A pamphlet "Descendants of the American Revolution," named him as a sponsor of the organization, (SEE back page)

cont'd.

We have reproduced an excerpt from this "affidavit" on an earlier page. Ed.

A circular entitled "and tell the folks that I'll be home if . . ." revelas that Harry A. Overstreet endorsed the drive of the Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade (C-1940) to bring the wounded boys home.

H.A.Overstreet was listed as a signer of the January 1943 message of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties (A-1942:C-1942) addressed to the U.S.House of Representatives. He was identified as Professor Emeritus of Philosophy, College of the City of New York; Lecturer New York School for Social Research, New York, N.Y.

It was reported in the October 9, 1944 issue of the New York Times, page 12, that Prof. Overstreet was a signer of an open letter to Governor Thomas Dewey requesting a pardon for Morris U. Schappes. The letter was sponsored by the Schappes Defense Committee(A-1949:C-1944).

A pamphlet, "Children in Concentration Camps," (Back cover) discloses that Prof. H.A.Overstreet was one of the sponsors of the Spanish Refugee Relief Campaign (C-1940).

In connection with the above report, please note the correspondence and affidavits of Dr. and Mrs. Overstreet reproduced in the attached pages (26-39) which have been taken from a mimeographed report of information from the public records, files and publications of this committee upon another subject.

Ed.

Harry Overstreet has a socialistic-pacifist record going back to the Lusk Committee days of 1920. He belonged to the Communist John Reed Club in 1930 and signed a Fellowship of Reconciliation petition in 1932 advocating recognition of Communist Russia. The American Legion's Preliminary Report on United World Federalists, Inc. (1955) lists no less than ten Communist fronts or activities to which Overstreet lent his name. One, under the auspices of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, was an open letter to Congress opposing renewal of the Special House Committee on Un-American Activities in 1943. Overstreet's last pro-Communist gesture seems to have been the signing of an advertisement in the Jan. 17, 1951 *N.Y. Times* defending the convicted Hollywood Ten (Communists in contempt of Congress) and a general attack on loyalty oaths and the governments refusal to grant passports to Paul Robeson and other suspected subversives.

Some time in 1953 the Overstreets apparently had a profound change of heart over Communism and made contact with the House Committee on Un-American Activities. They appear to have filed an affidavit or made some sort of statement in executive session which the Committee never released. The Overstreets then claimed that they had been "cleared" by the Committee. The Committee does not issue clearances to anyone!

In 1958 the Overstreets published *What We Must Know About Communism*. It was instantly seised upon and lavishly praised by the entire liberal establishment. It soon became a best seller. Secretary Dulles on his deathbed handed it to President Eisenhower to read. The real authorities on Communism, Louis Budenz, Russell Kirk, Frank Meyers and others thought very poorly of the Overstreet effort to prove that they, too, were now solid and sound anti-Communists. Russell Kirk's analysis of the Overstreets in the May 23, 1959 National Review should be read by everyone interested in the remarkable reformation of this highly articulate couple. Kirk quotes the late Canon Bernard Iddings Bell as having once declared that Overstreet was a "fool and a malign influence." To which Kirk adds, "*That hundreds of thousands of people seem to have taken Overstreet seriously is one symptom of the shallowness of American education.*"

Reproduced from November, 1959 issue of News and Views. Ed.

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LAW OFFICES
KIT F. CLARDY
OLDS TOWER
LANSING, MICH.

Dec.16,1960

We are proud to reproduce this unsolicited letter from retired Congressman, Kit Clardy, a former fighting member of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. His deep knowledge of the subject makes this additional background information on Harry Overstreet and Russian-born Vera Dean doubly interesting. Ed.

Mr. W.J.Riordan,Chairman
Americanism Committee
Waldo M. Slaton Post.No.140
The American Legion
3905 Powers Ferry Road
Atlanta Georgia

Dear Sir:

You are to be congratulated on the splendid job you have done in your booklet,"The Foreign Policy Association." You have performed a most worth-while service in making this material available to those who care for the future of this nation.

In support of your position on the Overstreets I can add a bit of personal recollection. As a member of the 83rd. Congress and of the House Committee on Un-American Activities I participated in all committee actions. It was therefore quite surprising to learn of the Overstreet claim that my committee had "cleared" them of all taint of communist front connections and activities.

I can state without qualification that this Overstreet assertion or claim is totally without foundation. In fact we did not even have the matter brought to committee attention for action of any sort. My first knowledge of this claim was long afterwards when a friend sought information about this matter. The Overstreets were due to speak in the town where my friend lived and she had caused some of the Overstreet connections to be publicized. This had brought angry replies and the claim about "clearance".

My friend Tad Walter, now Chairman of the Committee is correct in saying that committee policy does not permit issuance of a "clearance" such as here claimed. But policy aside I can assure you that the Overstreets never obtained any sort of clearance. Why they have chosen to assert a claim they must know is not only false but easily disproved is something for them to explain. It would be interesting indeed to hear their response to a suggestion that they produce the document.

With the knowledge I have of their past affiliations I was also amazed at their publishing their book on communism. As you have undoubtedly discovered the book hardly lives up to its press notices or its title.

I have long been troubled over the subtle inroads the Foreign Policy Association has undoubtedly made in influencing the public mind. My concern first grew out of the fact that Vera Dean(a Russian) was helping mould its policies. I have read much she has written. While expertly done, the slant she takes and the way she undercuts America disturbs me because I know that people generally do not have time to analyse and check published material of this kind.

I was particularly shocked at an article she wrote for the March 1951 issue of a magazine called "Tomorrow". It was entitled,"What does Asia Want." It sums up as support for the communist cause and a denunciation of America.

In another of her writings she says that:

> "I believe that,in spite of setbacks and mistakes, Russia is traveling in a direction that will eventually bring her out on the high road of spiritual and political, as well as material, progress."

She was a delegate to the Oct.1950 Lucknow,India conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations - an organization so thoroughly exposed by the Senate Committee headed by Senator McCarran as an adjunct of the whole communist movement.

I hope you continue to alert the nation to the sort of misleading information being put out by the Foreign Policy Association. They have deluded so many good people into supporting them It is time some organized effort be made to undo the terrible mistakes their efforts have surely contributed to in a large way.

Sincerely

Kit Clardy

Emphasis added.
Ed.

FACTS ON "MENTAL HEALTH" MOVEMENT

Do you know that a "Master Scheme" was developed on a national scale to trick Americans into demanding legislation that would ultimately destroy this country via a "Charitable" organization?

Do you know when you ring the door bell of your neighbor in the name of "Charity for the Mentally Ill" you may be performing an act that would incarcerate you and your loved ones in concentration camps for slave laborers?

Do you know that Lenin insisted the proper way to take over any nation was to get control of their medical profession, and that this has very nearly been completed?

Do you know that he also said "America Will Drop Like A Rotten Apple," and that this "drop" is now inevitable and only a great miracle can stop it?

These are not opinions expressed by individuals opposing the "Scheme" but material which has been hidden from you. This will show you beyond a shadow of a doubt that your interests and those of our beloved nation, were meant to be subverted in the name of "Mental Health".

If nothing else, you owe it to your country to assist in rectifying this horrible crime. Only you can prevent this "Take Over" by immediately bringing these facts to the attention of your neighbor, your organizations, your Church, and above all, your legislator.

TRAINING OF LEADERS FOR THE MENTAL HEALTH MOVEMENT

The following are a few excerpts from an address Beria made to TWO HUNDRED AND TWELVE American School teachers who went to Moscow for this training.

This speech was taken from the recent committee reports from the hearings on Tax Exempt Foundations.

"American students at the Lenin University, I welcome your attendance at these classes on psychopolitics. Psychopolitics is an important if less known division of geopolitics. It is less known because it must necessarily deal with highly educated personnel, the very top strata of mental healing.

"By psychopolitics our chief goals are effectively carried forward. To produce a maximum of chaos in the culture of the enemy is our first most important step. Our fruits are grown in chaos, distrust, economic depression, and scientific turmoil. At last a weary populace can seek peace only in our offered Communist state,

at last only communism can resolve the problem of the masses.

"A psychopolitician must work hard to produce the maximum chaos in the fields of mental healing. He must recruit and use all the agencies and facilities of mental healing. He must labor to increase the personnel and facilities of mental healing until at last the entire field of mental science is entirely dominated by Communist principles and desires.

"To achieve these goals the psychopolitician must crush every homegrown variety of mental healing in America. Actual teachings of Freud, James, Eddy, and others amongst your misguided peoples must be swept away. They must be swept away. They must be discredited, defamed, arrested, stamped upon by their own government until there is no credit in them and only communist-oriented healing remains. You must work until every teacher of psychology unknowingly or knowingly teaches only Communist doctrine under the guise of 'psychology'. You must labor until every doctor and psychiatrist is either a psychopolitician or an unwitting assistant to our aims.

"You must labor until we have dominion over the minds and bodies of every important person in your nation."

"With the institutions for the insane you have in your country prisons which can hold a million persons and can hold them without civil rights or any hope of freedom. And upon these people can be practiced shock and surgery so that never again will they draw a sane breath. You must make these treatments common and accepted. And you must sweep aside any treatment or any group of persons seeking to treat by effective means.

"You must dominate as respected men the fields of psychiatry and psychology. You must dominate the hospitals and universities. You must carry forward the myth that only a European doctor is competent in the field of insanity and thus excuse amongst you the high incidence of foreign birth and training.

"Phychopolitics is a solemn charge. With it you can erase our enemies as insects. You can cripple the efficiency of leaders by striking instantly into their families through the use of drugs. You can wipe them away with testimony as to their insanity. By our technologies you can even bring about insanity itself when they seem too restive.

"You can change their loyalties by psychopolitics.

"In a capitalist state you are aided on all sides by the corruption of the philosophy of man and the times. You will discover that everything will aid you in your campaign to seize, control, and use all 'mental healing' to spread our doctrine and rid us of our enemies within their own borders.

"Use the courts, use the judges, use the constitution of the country, use its medical societies and its laws to further our ends. Do not stint in your labor in this direction. And when you have succeeded you will discover that you can now effect your own legislation at will and you can, by careful organization of healing societies, by constant campaign against the terrors of society, by a pretense as to your effectiveness make your capitalist himself, by his own appropriations, finance a large portion of the quiet conquest of the nation.

"By psychopolitics create chaos. Leave a nation leaderless. Kill our enemies and bring to earth, through communism, the greatest peace man has ever known. Thank you."

A thorough knowledge of what has taken place in the "scheme" on mental health would prove that most of the speech given by Beria in 1934 has already come to pass beyond their wildest dreams. All communications have been heavy with propaganda concerning this scheme until our people have come to consider it a smart thing to do to consult a psychiatrist on the slightest matter. Children are taken to them practically from baby-hood, and medical testimony as to the treatment prescribed is frightening to read.

COMMIES AND INTEGRATION—

Little Rock's Luster Is Much Dimmer Now...

WASHINGTON — The luster is wearing thin at Little Rock, Ark., where bayonets were used last Fall to enforce integration in a public school. Some of the trail-blazers appear to have washed their hands of the cause of Negro "rights." Others have been seen in roles considerably less flattering than those they played last Fall.

Ernest Green's observation, "I'm glad that's all over," is perhaps not untypical. Ernest, 18, was one of the nine Negro youths admitted to Little Rock's Central High School under the guns of federalized National Guardsmen and U. S. paratroopers.

Last month Ernest was graduated. One of the nine was expelled; the other seven may never return to Central.

If the experiment continues at Central, it will have to do so without the assistance of many persons who were instrumental in launching it.

Mayor Woodrow Wilson Mann of Little Rock, who made the daily telephone calls to the White House that led to Federal intervention, has left town.

He is now a resident of Denver, Colo., working in an investment banking firm.

Max Rabb, the presidential assistant who was at the White House end of the Mayor Mann calls and was a key man in the decision to send Federal troops, has left Washington.

He is now a partner in a big New York law firm.

Despite apparent "success" in its part in obtaining the Little Rock test, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has experienced a "sharp drop" in membership.

Federal Judge Ronald Davies, whose ruling that integration must begin "forthwith" in Little Rock was the foundation for what followed, has long since left Little Rock.

He is now back in his court in North Dakota, where there are but 257 Negroes in the entire state. Arkansas has 462,000.

Harry Ashmore, the Little Rock editor whose editorials in behalf of integration stirred the controversy and brought him a Pulitzer prize, has conceded he will not employ a Negro on his newspaper.

The Post-Herald today prints the first of five articles from the New Bedford (Mass.) Standard-Times showing the Communist campaign to promote racial unrest in the South. The first story, concerns the Little Rock school situation. Others will show other angles of the story.

Following is the statement which The Standard-Times printed with its series:

* * *

No domestic problem is more important to the people of this country than relations between white and Negro Americans.

An issue in which the extremist views are so widely separated is a natural for exploitation by the Communist Party.

In this series of articles, The Standard-Times documents and reviews the Communist campaign to promote racial unrest in the South and the influence of that campaign in the origin of, and the aftermath to, the impasse at Little Rock.

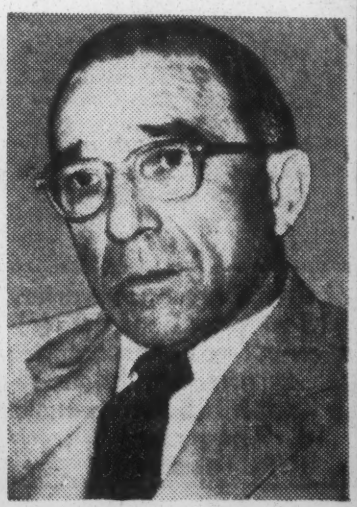
This series was written by Edward B. Simmons of The Standard-Times staff. Mr. Simmons received the award of Sigma Delta Chi, national professional journalism fraternity, in 1951 for outstanding general reporting.

He gathered material for these articles in trips along the Eastern Seaboard, to the Midwest, in discussions with members of Congress and from study of U. S. Senate and House committee files.

Based on experience in New Bedford, where diversity lives in the highest harmony, the Editors believe that the material in these articles will make for better understanding of a most difficult and trying issue.

The Editors
New Bedford, Mass.
Standard-Times

LEAVES CABINET — Herbert Brownell.



BACK IN NORTH DAKOTA — Judge Ronald Davies.

to break up its Summer vacation for a special sitting.

The court, in effect, passed the buck to a lower court with an admonition to act fast.

Little Rock, the morning after, appears to have been a venture that has not served racial harmony or promoted integration. As such, its origin, its leaders and its original objectives invited inquiry.

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Mrs. Grace Lorch, the Little Rock "housewife" who attracted national attention by "befriending" one of the nine students, has since refused to declare whether she is a Communist.

Herbert Brownell, whose U. S. Justice Dept. gave the orders for dispatch of troops, is no longer attorney general.

He has taken up the more lucrative private practice of law.

The Justice Dept., itself, has had a change of heart. Under its new chief, William P. Rogers, the word is "never again" on the use of Federal troops to enforce integration.

The Little Rock School Board, which had worked out a gradual integration program that Judge Davies' ruling nullified, has thrown in the sponge on any integration in the near future.

Central High School has claimed that the educational program for its 2000 students was so badly dislocated by the one-year experiment the school could not survive another year without complete disintegration of morale.

This was a major consideration in Federal Judge Harry J. Lemley's approval of a 2½-year stay of integration for the Little Rock high school, a decision that may have made the best of a very unfortunate situation.

Judge Lemley, while acknowledging the interest of Negroes in obtaining equal rights, said the "public interest" of the majority rated consideration, too. The burden placed on other Central High students and the "racial tension and unrest" created in Little Rock itself demanded a delay in integration, he said.

The ruling led to another example of apparent change in viewpoint among those who had been insistent on an immediate end of segregation.

When Judge Lemley's decision was taken to the U. S. Supreme Court, whose 1954 "sociological" and subsequent decrees had started the ferment in the South, that body declined to break up its Summer vacation for a special sitting.

The court, in effect, passed the buck to a lower court with an admonition to act fast.

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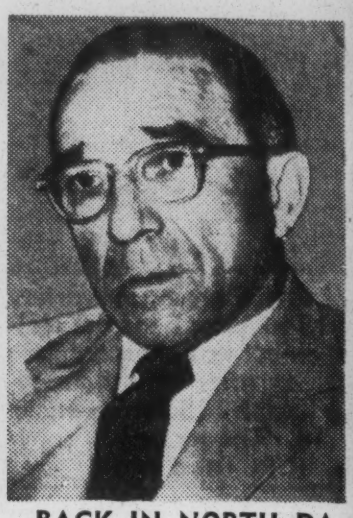
Standard-Times

LEAVES CABINET — Herbert Brownell.



BACK IN NORTH DAKOTA — Judge Ronald Davies.

Commies And Integration . . . No. 2—

Inciting Racial Strife Is Basic Communist Goal

This is the second of five articles on the Communist influence on racial strife in the South, reprinted from The Standard-Times of New Bedford, Mass. These articles were prepared after an extensive investigation.

* * *

WASHINGTON — To incite racial strife is one of the oldest objectives in the Communist program for getting world domination. "We must realize that our party's most powerful weapon is racial tension," states a Communist Party handbook of 1912, well before a few hundred Bolsheviks seized control of Russia.

"By propounding into the consciousness of the dark races that for centuries they have been oppressed by the whites, we can mold them to the program of the Communist Party," the handbook continues.

"In America, we will aim for subtle victory. While inflaming the Negro minority against the whites, we will endeavor to instill in the whites a guilt complex for their exploitation of the Negroes. Thus will begin a process which will deliver America to our cause."

Is it coincidence or the result of strategy that, some 45 years later, racial unrest in Little Rock, Ark., has increased so sharply that a Federal judge called for a 2½-year delay in any integration?

Again, is it coincidence or the result of Communist strategy that one of the most influential of all Southern Negro leaders, the Rev. Martin Luther King, exhorts his followers with these words:

"It (the Montgomery, Ala., bus boycott) is a part of something that is happening all over the world. The oppressed people are rising up. They are revolting against colonialism and imperialism and all other systems of oppression."

When King draws a parallel between the situation of the American Negro and "oppressed peoples" rising against "colonialism" and "imperialism," he is following exactly the Communist line.

At first, the Communist drive for creation of racial strife called for a direct approach to Negroes, using labor unions and Communist fronts like the American Negro Labor Congress and the League for Struggle for Negro Rights.

This approach was brazenly direct, and it failed. Former Communist Joseph Kornfelder, one of the party founders in the United States and its first director of Southern operations, has described what happened:

"The South to the Communists was always one of the most vexing problems," Kornfelder told a joint legislative committee of the State of Louisiana in March 1957. "Moscow could never understand it . . . According to Marx' theory, the South should be leading the United States in Communist development.

"It just didn't work out that way.

"It was just to the contrary. The South proved to be a hard nut and it didn't conform to the doctrine.

"They decided that the big block against penetration of the South is religion. The Negroes believed in religion; the hillbillies believed in religion; nearly everybody is religious. The South is more religious than the North.

Kornfelder and two Negro former Communist leaders, Manning Johnson and Leonard Patterson, told the Louisiana committee that the new tactics included, besides use of the church, penetration of reputable Negro organizations and the founding, but not obvious control, of others.

World War II, with its migrations and general dislocation of living habits, produced what Kornfelder described as a "sort of honeymoon situation" between the Communist organizers and Negro organizations.

"It seems the intellectuals during that time had shown a remarkable weakness," he testified. "They were bigger suckers for the Communist propaganda than many others were, apparently because they sort of led a life apart from the daily troubles and toil of the population."

The results of this "honeymoon" were vital Communist infiltration of the most important agencies in the South dealing in Negro issues. The Communists infiltrated four of these organizations and actually helped found three of them.

They are the Southern Conference Educational Fund, the Southern Regional Council, the Highlander Folk School in Tennessee and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

The Regional Council and the Educational Fund were both offshoots of the old Southern Conference for Human Welfare, which was dissolved in 1948 after twice being described by the Federal Government as "a Communist front serving the Soviet Union and its subservient Communist Party."

Former directors and officers of the Conference for Human Welfare became directors and officers of the Regional Council and the Educational Fund and of the Highlander School.

Although the Regional Council is not widely known in the North, its influence in the South is attested by its receiving a $497,000 grant from the Ford Foundation's Fund for the Republic.

Likewise, the Highlander School plays an important role in Southern civil rights developments, although it is scarcely known in the North. The school, according to testimony before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, was co-founded by a Communist and by a man who refused to testify on his beliefs.

By 1954 and the crucial Supreme Court decision, the Communist Party was so confident it had set the stage for developments in its favor that the party's national convention in the Winter of 1953 declared, "The next period ahead will witness momentous struggles of the Negroes . . . given the vanguard leadership of the Communist Party, we may be confident that the Negro liberation movement will ally itself more fully with the camp of peace and democracy."

The Communist Party was in a position to follow its long-proved doctrine.

To get a "sociological" or pro-Communist book on the reading list of influential persons, like a Supreme Court justice;

To persuade a Negro to violate a civil rights statute, in the cause of "civil disobedience;"

To inject a fellow-traveler in the forefront of a civil rights dispute;

To support the program of the NAACP.

These objectives were attained in the year to come.

New Bedford
sugar
file

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The Commies and Integration . . . No. 3 B'ham Post-Herald 8-2-58

Reds Goad NAACP To End Moderation

This is the third of five articles on the part played by Communists in bringing about racial troubles in the South. It is reprinted from The Standard-Times of New Bedford, Mass.

WASHINGTON—The success of Communist efforts to exploit the Southern Negro under the guise of "democratization" became fully evident in 1954 and the three subsequent years. The Supreme Court's historic 1954 ruling on school segregation was in judgement on four cases brought before it by the National Association of Advancement for Colored People, which for years had been a priority objective of Communist infiltration.

The NAACP charged that Negro children in Delaware, Kansas, South Carolina and Virginia were being denied their rights under the 14th Amendment.

The court did not rule on this aspect. Instead, Chief Justice Earl Warren in the written opinion, declared that the court found for the NAACP because segregated schools induced a feeling of inferiority among Negro children.

THIS SOCIOLOGICAL view, the justice stated, is "amply supported by modern authority." He cited six books by such "modern authorities."

Two of the six authorities were Theodore Brameld and E. Franklin Frazier. Between them, they have been members of or identified with 28 organizations listed as Communist, Communist-fronts or Communist dominated.

A third "authority" was K.B. Clark. While arguments were being heard by the court on the four cases, Clark was on the payroll of the NAACP as a "social science expert."

A fourth authority cited by Justice Warren was the book, "An American Dilemma," edited by Gunnar Myrdal, a Swedish socialist. The chief justice emphasized the importance of this book in the court's deliberations by saying it was depended on "generally," that is from cover to cover.

Sixteen of the contributors to Myrdal's book have long records of pro-Communist affiliation and activity. One, W. E. B. Dubois, identified by the Communist Party as the "honorary chairman" of the NAACP, had a hand in 82 parts of the book. Dubois has been identified with 80 Communist fronts, reportedly more than any other American citizen.

Dubois intervened in behalf of executed Communist spies Julius and Ethel Rosenberg and sent the Kremlin a message of condolence on the death of Stalin.

Myrdal, himself, has written that the U. S. Constitution is "impractical and unsuited to modern conditions." Its adoption was "nearly a plot against the common people." said this foreign authority on American Negro problems.

* * *

THE COURT'S decision gave new influence to the NAACP. Its officers hailed the decision but indicated that it would not change the organization's plan for calm and orderly progress in race relations.

"We accept the decision quietly, unless there is deliberately-fomented trouble," said the late Walter White, then executive secretary of NAACP.

Thurgood Marshall, chief NAACP counsel, who had argued the school cases before the court, said, "The people will get together and work this thing out."

The Communist Party, however, wanted no part of moderation. It wanted the "big sharp struggles" its leaders had forecast, and racial unrest.

* * *

THE RECORD from the Supreme Court decision until the climax at Little Rock makes it plain which philosophy was the dominant one.

Moderation was forgotten.

The next three years brought unprecedented civil disobedience and violence in the South's racial affairs. There were all-out "incidents" of long duration in Tuskegee, Ala., Charleston, S. C., Tallahassee, Fla., Montgomery, Ala., Americus, Ga., and Clinton, Tenn., to name only the major ones.

GAVE RULING—Chief Justice Warren.

The NAACP played a prominent role in each, but the atmosphere was not the moderate one ostensibly espoused by the NAACP.

"IN MY OPINION, every major racial disturbance in the South since 1954 has been incited and directed by the Communist Party," Mrs. Paul Crouch, widow of a former Communist leader, told The Standard-Times. Her husband was a top Communist functionary in the South for 13 years, and she was his aid throughout the period.

Communist exploitation of the Negro through the NAACP is attested by the proceedings of the 1957 national convention of the Communist Party. That convention adopted as its main resolution, "the question of Negro freedom . . . the crucial domestic issue of the day . . . requiring support of the program of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People."

Communist penetration of the NAACP in these important years is conceded by the NAACP itself.

On Feb. 14, 1956, Leroy Watkins, who succeeded White as NAACP executive secretary, warned all chapters to guard against the "intensive efforts" of Communists to infiltrate.

At that very time, however, the NAACP's official publication, "The Crisis," was recommending as MUST background reading for Negroes, books by Claude Lightfoot, chairman of the Illinois Communist Party, and Doxey E. Wilkerson, member of the party's National Committee.

Communist dominance of Negro civil rights developments after the Supreme Court decision is illustrated, also, in the activities of the Highlander School, influential "sociological" workshop in the South.

Highlander, according to testimony before a Congressional committee, was founded by a Communist and by a man who refused to state his beliefs.

Since 1954, Highlander has held a series of "workshops to develop plans for an orderly transition from segregated to intergrated schools."

At the last workshop, held over the Labor Day weekend just before the trouble at Little Rock, the leaders of every important racial strife incident in the South since 1954 were present.

Among those attending the important Highlander workshop was the Rev. Martin Luther King, leader of the Montgomery, Ala., bus boycott.

King was to be at Little Rock, and, in 1958, at the White House, protesting integration delay.

By the time Central High School in Little Rock was to open for its 1957-58 school year, the Communist Party was marching step by step with the NAACP, whether the good element in the NAACP liked it or not.

B'ham Post-Her.
8-4-58

Commies And Intervention...

Daily Worker Led Intervention Cry

This is the fourth of five articles prepared by the Standard-Times of New Bedford, Mass., on the Communist part in promoting racial troubles in the South.

WASHINGTON — "The honor of our country requires Federal intervention now, to end the organized defiance of decency and justice in the South." These words were not spoken by Mayor Mann of Little Rock. Nor by Maxwell Rabb, White House assistant to whom the mayor talked daily by telephone in the hectic days preceding intervention by the National Guard and Paratroopers.

They were not spoken by an official of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

The words were an official pronouncement of the Communist Party of the United States, issued two years before Little Rock, and printed in the party's official political guide, Political Affairs, issue of October 1955.

"The Federal Government has the power and the duty to use troops and whatever other constitutional means are available to enforce the law of the land."

Use of the word "constitutional" in the above might lead someone to think a good American had said those words.

They were uttered 18 months before Little Rock's Federal troop intervention by Benjamin J. Davis, chairman of the Negro Commission of the U. S. Communist Party.

"The Federal Government hasn't hesitated to use the force of jail and seizures in trying to destroy the Communists and other foes of Jim Crow," said Davis, who, like other Communists, has been able to predict the future in civil rights matters.

"It should not hesitate to use whatever force—troops if necessary—to put down violent defiance of the law of the land, and murderous terror against peaceful citizens seeking to exercise their constitutional rights."

From the very beginning of the Little Rock incident, the Communists pressed for "dispatch of Federal troops to keep order in the South."

The Communist Daily Worker shrilled a demand for "action," on Sept. 5, the day after Governor Faubus stationed National Guardsman around Central High School.

"The insurrection in Arkansas" must be put down, stormed the Worker the next day.

"Every prerogative" must be used by the President, as another phrase of the daily demands for use of the military.

"Threats of blood running in the streets" were cited by the Worker, without identifying the source.

"Why wait?" asked one Worker editorial.

"Patience!" scoffed another.

"Nothing is to be gained by handling Faubus with kid gloves," states another diatribe.

"Shilly-shallying" was laid to the President.

And so it came to pass. On Sept. 24, Paratroopers were airborne to Little Rock. Exactly the methods advocated by the Communist ace-agitators—speed and force—were used in a civil rights dispute.

"A tremendous victory for the American people," rejoined the next day's Daily Worker.

Use of armed troops climaxed years of incitement by violence and distortion of truth by the Communists and their sympathizers. Again a helping hand came from the Supreme Court that had "opened the way to Negro freedom," as the Communist Party observed, and from the misled NAACP.

Mrs. Daisy Bates, president of the Arkansas Conference of NAACP branches, had a key role at Little Rock.

In an adulatory interview with Mrs. Bates, the New York Post's reporter Ted Poston stated "both sides in this embattled Southern town agreed on one thing: "If there had been no Daisy Bates, there would have been no 101st Airborne Division patrolling the halls of Central High School.

"And no nine Negro children in the once all-white high school."

Mrs. Bates' husband, Lucious C. Bates, is a director of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, which former Communists have indicted as a "Communist transmission agency, for inculcating and carrying out Communist doctrine.

Bates was a member of the organization known as Negroes for Wallace, a Communist rallying-point. He was a sponsor of the Bill of Rights Congress, a Communist Party front.

Also influential at Little Rock was Mrs. Grace Lorch, white woman who "befriended" one of the Negro students refused admission to Central High.

Widely-published press dispatches described Mrs. Lorch as "a white housewife who protected a Negro girl before a jeering mob," and as "having defied an angry crowd of whites to offer sympathy."

It was not reported, however, that Mrs. Lorch, according to Senate Internal Security Sub-committee records, has a thorough Communist Party background.

She has been identified as a one-time Communist Party organizer in Boston, as having attended a Communist Party convention, as a member of the New England District of the Communist Party, as former vice president of the Teachers Union, and as a director of the Samuel Adams School for Social Studies, both Communist fronts.

At the time Mrs. Lorch was active in Little Rock, her husband, Lee Lorch, was under Federal indictment on eight counts of refusing to answer questions on his alleged Communist background put to him by the House un-American Activities Committee.

Here, too, the Supreme Court rendered an assist. The charges against Lorch later were dismissed by a Federal judge on the basis of the Supreme Court's freeing of John T. Watkins, United Auto Workers official who refused to name Communists he knew while he was one himself.

Little Rock found the U. S. Supreme Court, the NAACP and the Communist Party teammates.

It was a dazzling demonstration of what can happen, to quote former Communist Joseph Kornfelder, when "the ivory tower boys picked up the theories of the Communists, not looking at what is behind the theories."

Commies And Integration—

B'ham Post Herald, Aug 5, 58

Senators See South As Target Of Reds

This is the last of five articles, reprinted from The Standard-Times of New Bedford, Mass., and telling of the part played by the Communists in bringing about racial strife in the South.

* * *

WASHINGTON — What lies ahead for race relations in the South and, indirectly, for the nation? If the pattern of the last three years is followed in the future, the outlook is not favorabale. Some may want to ignore the record, but they cannot hide it. Racial disturbances since the Supreme Court decision of 1954, culminating in the use of armed force at Little Rock, have made two areas of opinion where there were three.

The middle-ground on Southern civil rights issues, the ground on which progress had been steady if slow, is virtually deserted. Sides have been chosen, of necessity.

Without this conciliatory middle area, there are two extremist camps.

One is headed by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The Communist Party officially has planted its standard in this camp, its purpose to promote racial tension behind the NAACP program.

The other camp includes various white citizen organizations, established authorities of many Southern municipalities and states and, as time passes, more and more of the "moderates."

The no man's land between these two camps is widened in an election year, like the present, and with the 1960 presidential campaign drawing closer. Neither major political party, nor, apparently, the Federal Government, wishes to intervene.

The handsoff attitude in Washington was evident during Senate Judiciary Committee examination of incoming U. S. Attorney General William P. Rogers. The prospective head of the Federal agency that sent troops to Little Rock was not asked about his views on civil rights not even by Southern senators.

Absence of leadership from Washington has increased the importance of the role played by the NAACP. Its leaders apparently plan no change in policy.

Reviewing events through Little Rock, Dr. Channing Tobias, board chairman of the NAACP, declared.

"But this record of advance is only a beginning. Unjust practices are still commonplace in many parts of the nation. The people have a continuing responsibility to take the lead, to assure the winning of equality in all communities, large and small, North and South.

"The pattern is set; it's up to us to fill in the details of the picture. Only then will we have achieved our goal of a democratic America living up to its ideals."

These words from an influential Negro leader describe an objective which the majority of Americans would be happy to work toward.

But there it little reason to suppose that the good intentions of the NAACP will not capitulate, as they have before, to the driving, inflammatory race-tension strategy of the Communist Party.

After the 1954 court decision, the leadership of the NAACP promised moderation, a "quiet" "talking over" of issues among all segments.

Instead what transpired was a series of "big, sharp struggles" in civil disobedience and violence, exactly as forecast by Benjamin J. Davis, chairman of the Negro Commission of the Communist Party.

Today, Davis and his co-worker, James E. Jackson, Communist chief for Southern affairs, are using phraseology much like Dr. Tobias' in predicting the future.

"The people must take the lead," says Davis. "Negro liberation is now the property of the whole American people."

Jackson's view: "The response to Little Rock has signalized that ours is the time ripe with opportunity to secure major victories in the cause of Negro freedom."

These words have a ring like Dr. Tobias', but an utterly different intent.

"You are aware, of course," FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover commented for The Standard-Times, "the Communists have no sincere interest in promoting racial harmony, but are ever alert to exploit any issue to further their nefarious aims."

This observation may be obvious to many Americans.

•

But is it obvious to Dr. Tobias, who has been associated with 40 Communist fronts, board chairman of NAACP, or to W. E. B. DuBois, "honorary chairman" of NAACP, who has been identified with 82 Communist fronts, more than any other American citizen?

Apparently it is not.

As recently as March 1958, the NAACP leadership brought a court action in Florida seeking to halt an investigation by the Florida Legislature of Communist activity in that state.

Besides the NAACP, leadership in the integrationist camp will come from the Rev. Martin Luther King, leader of the Montgomery, Ala. bus boycott. Mr. King also seems hazy in distinguishing between the Communist way and the American way.

At its 1957 national convention, the U. S. Communist Party selected a man identified by the Communist Daily Worker as Mr. King's "secreary," Bayard Rustin, to be an official "observer." Rustin praised the "democratic" proceedings of the convention in a report later denounced by FBI Director Hoover.

Mr. King was quoted as telling a Chicago assembly last year, "it (the Montgomery boycott, in which there was much violence) is a part of something that is happening all over the world. The oppressed people are rising up. They are revolting against colonialism and imperialism and all other systems of oppression."

This explanation is exactly that of the Communist Party, the depiction of the American Negro as a kicked-around colonial, oppressed by imperialists.

Yet the same Rev. Martin Luther King was one of four Negro "leaders" who called on President Eisenhower in June 1958 to try and set the pattern for racial progress.

A former Negro Communist official, who later worked for the U. S. Department of Justice, sees the future in these words:

"In my opinion, the Negro leadership should realize that they have responsibility," a Louisiana legislative committee was told by Manning Johnson, "a responsiblity to guide and spirit their people along the right paths, help to pull themselves up by their own bootstraps, and to work together as a group for co-operation, mutual co-operation between races, to the end result that they can keep what they have, strengthen their economic and political position and move on to higher things.

"Men of King's type will not give that kind of leadership. The only thing they know is the threat and a sword.

"I know the NAACP can't do that. They have called the leaders of Southern life every conceivable type of name. They have labeled them everything they can, and there is no basis for them to negotiate with them because they have already built up a wall that cannot be gotten over, gotten under, or gone around."

Former Communist Johnson's judgment may be harsh. But the future will make him an accurate prophet unless there is wider understanding of the Communist background to "immediate" integration, to be accomplished by "force" if necessary.

In a little-publicized report of last November, the U. S. Senate Internal Security Subcommittee declared: "There is a present-day pattern of Communist activity in the mid-South area. The Communist participants . . . make up the basic framework of a Communist operation that is directed against all generations of people in the South."

To that could be added, "and in the nation."

Richmond Times-Dispatch

DAVID TENNANT BRYAN, *President and Publisher*

VIRGINIUS DABNEY, *Editor* JOHN H. COLBURN, *Managing Editor*

Thursday, August 21, 1958

The Middle Eastern Volcano

The wholly unexpected, but bloody revolt in Iraq, and the seething situation in Jordan and Lebanon should make us realize that there may be another explosion in the Middle East at almost any time.

Diplomats are trying hard in the United Nations to win approval this week for the Norwegian resolution to seek stabilization of the Middle East, but one wonders whether seriously unsettling upheavals won't break out shortly in one or more countries, thus making such efforts all the more difficult.

Apparently things have calmed down in Iraq, since the *coup* in which the King and Prime Minister were assassinated, but the fact that this stroke was not anticipated by either United States or British intelligence makes one wonder what to expect next.

We should consider, for example, whether Iraq isn't going to line up definitely with COL. NASSER'S United Arab Republic. That seems to be the strong inclination of vast numbers of Arabs today.

Or is something similar brewing in Saudi Arabia, the huge peninsula between the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf. PRINCE FAISAL, now regarded as the ruler of Saudi Arabia, rather than KING SAUD, just concluded three days of conferences with NASSER. It could mean that the oil of that country ultimately will come under the dominion of the UAR.

On the fringes of Saudi Arabia, at the head of the Persian Gulf, sits little Kuwait, richest in oil of any comparable area in the world, and often claimed in the past by Iraq, which adjoins it. Will Kuwait, heretofore aligned with Britain, be able to resist the pull of Arab nationalism?

Also on the fringe of that peninsula is the British protectorate of Aden, with a vital British naval base. Radio Cairo is concentrating on Aden.

What of Iran (once known as Persia)? This is not an Arab country, and it is a member of the Baghdad defensive pact, aimed at the Soviet Union. Yet Iran is said to be causing worry in Washington and other Western captials. "The coup in Iraq has strengthened the sub-surface demand for land reform", HANSON BALDWIN writes in the New York *Times*, "and there is some concern both about the Kurdish tribes, who have long been wooed by communism, and about the army."

MR. BALDWIN, no alarmist, but a "cold turkey" commentator on the world scene, also sees signs of danger in Tunisia and Morocco on the Mediterranean and Atlantic coasts of North Africa.

The position of PRES. BOURGUIBA of Tunisia "has been weakened by his agreement to allow the French to build an oil pipe line across the country, and by his endorsement of the U. S. landing in Lebanon", says this observer. In other words, the Arabs don't like his collaboration with the West. Tunisia is not yet a member of the Arab League, much less of NASSER'S UAR.

Disturbing news from Morocco also is set forth by MR. BALDWIN, as follows:

> Pan-Arab and nationalist agitation has become so strong that it has prevented the unloading of U. S. munitions ships with cargoes for the American bases in Morocco. The future of the bases is clouded by doubt.

All of which reinforces our hope that the United Nations will speedily adopt the pending Norwegian resolution, and will send SECRETARY GENERAL HAMMERSKJOLD to the Middle East before serious trouble can break out there. No time is to be lost.

A Race Agency and the Facts

Inaccurate statements as to its origins of the Southern Regional Council of Atlanta appeared recently in THE TIMES-

Conference for Human Welfare.

As to the allegation of the Communist *Daily Worker* that JAMES E. JACKSON, chief of the

All Set for the Count-Down

Voice of the People

Mid-East Crisis Discussed by Readers

Denies That the U. S. Has Favored Israel

Reading Mr. E. T. Ryland's letter in the VOP August 16, "Says U. S. Has Favored Israel Over the Arab Nations," I would like to ask the writer why he wrote this bristling anti-Israel article basing it, according to his quotes, only on information obtained from Arabian sources.

To inform him and others who are misinformed, Israel did not take this part of Palestine from the present Arabian nations. Every acre of land was purchased from the owner, who at that time were Turkish citizens, and at premium prices.

Re the religious question: I refer the writer and others to the Bible. The Jews certainly have preferred rights

and sent Robert D. Murphy to that country to persuade Chamoun not to run for a second term and to get Chamoun, the Christian leaders and the Moslem revolutionists to agree on a non-Communist candidate.

Murphy, who followed the marines into Lebanon, got the factions to compromise, but, as the August 7 edition of the Reporter magazine stated in an editorial: "Compromise seems to have been the overriding aim of the Lebanese civil warriors."

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timely. Much speculation has been created by the landing of American troops in Lebanon; however, one aspect of the troop landing has been overlooked.

There are some nations in the Middle Eastern area not belonging to the strife-torn Arab bloc—Turkey, Iran, Pakistan, Israel and Ethiopia. These nations have become concerned and alarmed at the steady growth of Communist, subverted Arab nationalism. The landing of troops in Lebanon, and Jordan too, must have been a source of comfort to these allies and proof that the United States and Britain will use force if necessary to prevent aggression and subversion. Too, that our devotion to peace cannot be interpreted as defeatism and weakness.

Our consistent support of

Charles McDowell Jr.

Running the Carolina Line—II

FOR MORE THAN TWO WEEKS in the spring of 1728 William Byrd of Westover, chief of the Virginia commission to settle the great boundary dispute with North Carolina, had little to do but gaze about him, brood, and write in his journal. He and his fellow commissioners from the two colonies were fretting away the days on a plantation in North Carolina near the edge of the Dismal Swamp.

Their joint surveying party was slogging slowly through the swamp itself, running the line. But the commissioners, none of them eager for slogging, had detoured around the swamp, and now they were waiting for the surveyors to emerge. Byrd—a wit, a power in Virginia, and the same "Father Byrd" who laid out the city of Richmond nine years later—took the opportunity to set down in his journal some of his impressions of North Carolina and its inhabitants.

* * *

PUBLISHED IN 1841 under the title "History of the Dividing Line betwixt Virginia and North Carolina," the journal contains the following passage:

"Surely there is no place in the world where the inhabitants live with less labour than in N. Carolina. It approaches nearer to the description of Lubberland than any other, by the great felicity of the climate, the easiness of raising provisions, and the slothfulness of the people.

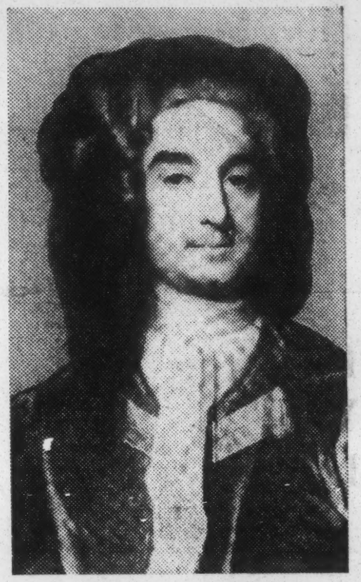
"Indian corn is of so great increase, that a little pains will subsist a very large family with bread, and then they may have meat without any pains at all, by the help of the low grounds, and the great variety of mast that grows on the highland. The men, for their parts, just like the Indians, impose all the work upon the poor women. They make their wives rise out of their beds early in the morning, at the same time that they lye and snore, till the sun has run one third of its course, and disperst all the unwholesome damps. Then, after stretching and yawning for half an hour, they light their pipes, and, under the protection of a cloud of smoak, venture out into the open air; tho', if it happens to be never so little cold, they quickly return shivering into the chimney corner. When the weather is mild, they stand leaning with both their arms upon the cornfield fence, and gravely consider whether they had best go and take a small heat at the hough: but generally find reasons to put it off till another time.

"Thus they loiter away their lives . . . To speak the truth, tis a thorough aversion to labor that makes people file off to N. Carolina, where plenty and a warm sun confirm them in their disposition to laziness for their whole lives."

* * *

BYRD'S NEXT ENTRY in his journal was this: "Since we were like to be confin'd to this place, till the people returned out of the Dismal, twas agreed that our chaplain might safely take a turn to Edenton, to preach the Gospel to the infidels there, and christen their children. He was accompany'd thither by Mr. Little, one of the Carolina commissioners, who, to shew his regard for the church, offer'd to treat him on the road with a fricassee of rum. They fry'd half a dozen rashers of very fat bacon in a pint of rum, both which being disht up together, serv'd the company at once for meat and drink.

"Most of the rum they get in this country comes from New England, and is so bad and unwholesome, that it is not improperly call'd 'Kill-Devil' . . . When they entertain their friends bountifully, they fail not to set before them a capacious bowl of Bombo, so call'd for the admiral of



Col. William Byrd

that name. This is a compound of rum and water in equal parts, made palatable with (molasses). As good humor begins to flow, and the bowl to ebb, they take care to replinish it with shear rum, of which there is always a reserve under the table. But such generous doings happen only when that balsam of life is plenty; for they have often such melancholy times, that neither land-graves nor Cassicks can procure one drop for their wives, when they ly in, or are troubled with the colick or vapours. Very few in this country have the industry to plant orchards, which, in a dearth of rum, might supply them with much better liquor."

* * *

IT SHOULD BE SAID in fairness that there is a scholarly, latter-day theory that Byrd wasn't really serious about these things he wrote about North Carolina, that he was only having a little sport. The theory was put forward by scholars in North Carolina.

Ray Tucker

clination of vast numbers of Arabs today.

Or is something similar brewing in Saudi Arabia, the huge peninsula between the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf. PRINCE FAISAL, now regarded as the ruler of Saudi Arabia, rather than KING SAUD, just concluded three days of conferences with NASSER. It could mean that the oil of that country ultimately will come under the dominion of the UAR.

On the fringes of Saudi Arabia, at the head of the Persian Gulf, sits little Kuwait, richest in oil of any comparable area in the world, and often claimed in the past by Iraq, which adjoins it. Will Kuwait, heretofore aligned with Britain, be able to resist the pull of Arab nationalism?

Also on the fringe of that

landing in Lebanon", says this observer. In other words, the Arabs don't like his collaboration with the West. Tunisia is not yet a member of the Arab League, much less of NASSER'S UAR.

Disturbing news from Morocco also is set forth by MR. BALDWIN, as follows:

> Pan-Arab and nationalist agitation has become so strong that it has prevented the unloading of U. S. munitions ships with cargoes for the American bases in Morocco. The future of the bases is clouded by doubt.

All of which reinforces our hope that the United Nations will speedily adopt the pending Norwegian resolution, and will send SECRETARY GENERAL HAMMERSKJOLD to the Middle East before serious trouble can break out there. No time is to be lost.

A Race Agency and the Facts

Inaccurate statements as to its origins of the Southern Regional Council of Atlanta appeared recently in THE TIMES-DISPATCH, and should be corrected. They appeared—inadvertently, we are sure—in one of the series of articles by EDWARD B. SIMMONS of the New Bedford, Mass., *Standard-Times* concerning Communist efforts to incite racial strife in the United States.

MR. SIMMONS stated in the article appearing in our paper on August 5 that the Southern Regional Council, established in Atlanta in 1944, was an "offshoot of the old Southern Conference for Human Welfare, which was dissolved in 1948 after twice being described by the Federal Government as 'Communist front.'" He also said: "'The Communist *Daily Worker* openly boasted that JAMES E. JACKSON, chief of the Southern branch of the U. S. Communist party, was a co-founder of the Regional Council."

Taking these two charges in order, the Southern Regional Council was not an offshoot of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. It was established in response to an appeal from respected Southern Negro leaders, who met at Durham, N. C., in October, 1942, on the call of DR. GORDON B. HANCOCK, of the Virginia Union faculty here, and DR. P. B. YOUNG, of Norfolk, publisher of the Norfolk *Journal and Guide*. These Negro leaders did not ask for the elimination of segregation in the schools or anywhere else; they asked that "separate but equal" be made a reality.

Responding to their appeal, a group of white leaders met in Atlanta in the spring of 1943, and expressed a desire to cooperate. Out of this grew the Southern Regional Council. The Council was the successor to the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, founded in 1919 by leading churchmen. To repeat, it not only was no "offshoot" of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare; it was criticized in some quarters because it was more conservative than that organization and suspected of being in competition with it.

We must remember, too, that when the Southern Conference for Human Welfare was established in 1938, it was not suspected of having any Communist connections, and many well-intentioned and patriotic Southerners participated in its early meetings. A number of these later joined the Southern Regional Council when they discovered the true purposes of the

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The late DR. HOWARD W. ODUM, noted and respected member of the University of North Carolina faculty, was the first president of the Council. He was succeeded in 1945 by PAUL D. WILLIAMS, prominent Catholic layman of Richmond and co-founder of the Catholic Committee of the South, who served until 1951. MR. WILLIAMS was succeeded in that year by MARION A. WRIGHT, South Carolina attorney, former chairman of the South Carolina Library Board and past president of the University of South Carolina Alumni Association.

It should be emphasized that SRC worked within the framework of "separate but equal" for seven years, and did not announce for integration until 1951.

While we disagree strongly and completely with its present position on this issue, we feel obligated to point out, in fairness, that it was in no sense Communist in its origins. The Southern Regional Council was established because of a sincere desire on the part of white and Negro leaders in the South to eliminate many of the disabilities and discriminations from which Negroes were suffering.

It was hoped that if these could be substantially lessened, the colored South would not look to the colored North for leadership. Insufficient progress was made, unfortunately, and the NAACP moved in and launched its drive for the complete elimination of segregation—sooner than it probably would have done if SRC's accomplishments had been larger.

That is where we stand today.

Voice of the People

Mid-East Crisis Discussed by Readers

Denies That the U. S. Has Favored Israel

Reading Mr. E. T. Ryland's letter in the VOP August 16, "Says U. S. Has Favored Israel Over the Arab Nations," I would like to ask the writer why he wrote this bristling anti-Israel article basing it, according to his quotes, only on information obtained from Arabian sources.

To inform him and others who are misinformed, Israel did not take this part of Palestine from the present Arabian nations. Every acre of land was purchased from the owner, who at that time were Turkish citizens, and at premium prices.

Re the religious question: I refer the writer and others to the Bible. The Jews certainly have preferred rights even to all Palestine, as none of the former residents or nations exist.

The United States did not favor Israel—in fact, less than the other small Middle Eastern governments. Especially with arms. Israel resisted the Arabian attacks not with arms but by God's help and their love for their homeland. Whatever arms or planes available to them were purchased not from the USA nor on the cuff from France.

Re the refugees: I want to clarify this matter to all uninformed. Israel did not drive them out. They ran out, and on advice from Arabian leaders. They were told to evacuate for they would soon return and enjoy as in ancient times war spoils. Israel has since permitted thousands and thousands to return and rejoin their families. Israel has offered to compensate the refugees for their properties, but Nasser and others not only do not permit them to accept compensation or resettle them in the vast empty spaces. They want the poor people to remain refugees for political reasons, for anti-Israel propaganda sake.

There are many villages consisting of Arabs. I visited some. These Arabs enjoy full rights as Israelites. Their rights are not like in our USA on the statute books for the Negroes. They enjoy equal schooling opportunities, recreation, pay and working rights, and every Israelite Arab is 10 times better off than any Arab in Iraq, Lebanon, Jordan, etc. Their standard of living is as that of the Israelites.

Israel was the saving of all the Jews that the inhuman Germans did not exterminate brutally. If there wasn't an Israel the world would have had a million more dead Jews on their conscience.

JOSEPH JOEL.

Richmond.

Says Lebanon Didn't Face Danger From Communism

When Eisenhower sent troops to Lebanon the chorus of news commentators, correspondents and editorial writers hailed the action as a United States stand against Soviet aggression, etc.

The revolution in Lebanon broke out when Moslem leaders found out that President Chamoun was trying to get the Lebanese Assembly to change the country's constitution (which limits a president to one term) so he could be eligible for another term of office. No matter what excuses the press and the State Department give for the revolution in Lebanon, President Eisenhower knows the real reason for the revolution, and sent Robert D. Murphy to that country to persuade Chamoun not to run for a second term and to get Chamoun, the Christian leaders and the Moslem revolutionists to agree on a non-Communist candidate.

Murphy, who followed the marines into Lebanon, got the factions to compromise, but, as the August 7 edition of the Reporter magazine stated in an editorial, "Compromise seems to have been the overriding aim of the Lebanese civil warriors."

To anyone who is capable of reading the newspapers and has done so for the past three or four years, it is clear that the United States is not going to do anything to halt Soviet aggression anywhere. After Ike has spent his whole time in the White House letting the Communists win victories in the

"No, this is my Lebanon ribbon. The other one is for Little Rock."

diplomatic and military fields it is little wonder that the present White House administration would like for the American people to think that the Moslem revolutionists of Lebanon are Communists being armed by Moscow and that marines were sent in to stop Moscow's hand from seizing the government.

The Eisenhower administration did not defeat the Communists in Korea, but surrendered to Soviet wishes at Panmunjom. The Eisenhower administration didn't stop Communist aggression in Indochina, and northern Viet Nam was thrown to the Russians at Geneva. In 1955 the Eisenhower administration didn't defeat communism, but surrendered the Tachen Islands to Red China when Peiping announced she would take them. The Eisenhower administration did not come to the defense of the free world when rebels in Indonesia revolted against the "Guided Democracy" plan of Sukarno to lead that country into Moscow's camp. Neither did the Eisenhower administration come to the defense of the brave Hungarian patriots who knocked over that country's Russian stooge army with their bare hands.

After one backdown from communism after another the Eisenhower administration would like for the American people to believe that America has taken a stand against Russia in a country which is under no danger whatever from any kind of Communist aggression, revolution, or infiltration.

MICKEY COLBERT.

High Point, N. C.

Says Israel Not to Blame For the Mid-East 'Mess'

Your excellent editorials, beginning with "How Did We Get Ourselves into This Mid-East Mess?" [July 20] were very timely. Much speculation has been created by the landing of American troops in Lebanon; however, one aspect of the troop landing has been overlooked.

There are some nations in the Middle Eastern area not belonging to the strife-torn Arab bloc—Turkey, Iran, Pakistan, Israel and Ethiopia. These nations have become concerned and alarmed at the steady growth of Communist, subverted Arab nationalism. The landing of troops in Lebanon, and Jordan too, must have been a source of comfort to these allies and proof that the United States and Britain will use force if necessary to prevent aggression and subversion. Too, that our devotion to peace cannot be interpreted as defeatism and weakness.

Our consistent support of Arab nationalism is well established, and there is no reason for any guilt complex we may have assumed regarding the Arabs. Our record in the Middle East is a clean and honest one. Of all people, Nasser is the least entitled to criticize, for it was the United States that saved his skin in 1956.

Our record has been to support the self-determination of all peoples, including Israel.

It is important to see the facts clearly through the heavy haze of propaganda. Israel was created by the United Nations and not the United States. Russia also voted on our side, yet there is no Arab criticism of the Soviet Union. On the other hand, Britain has gone on record many times in opposition to the establishment of Israel, yet this has not endeared her to the Arabs.

While Israel may be a factor in the complex Middle East problem she is not a major one. Nasser, aided by the greatest threat to world peace today, Communist Russia, has made it quite obvious that he is to rule and dominate the entire Middle East, Africa and Asia.

The Arab refugees represent one of the greatest of human tragedies. This problem was created by the Arabs declaring war on tiny Israel 10 years ago, and to this date they have kept it alive as a political pawn.

The 200,000 Arabs who chose to remain in Israel, enjoy the highest standard of living in the Middle East and dispel the "myth" of Israel driving the Arabs out. There have been many refugee problems in the world and they have been solved by resettlement. This one, too, could be settled if the Arabs would sit down with the Israelis and "talk it over."

In the meantime, let us keep the facts clear, and not make Israel the scapegoat for the Middle Eastern mess.

WILL SHOCKET.

Richmond.

20 Years Ago Today

RICHMOND Typographical Union No. 90 voted to sever its connections with the Virginia Federation of Labor.

TWO TEXAS gunmen, hunted for four months by State and federal officers, were captured without a show of resistance in Dallas, Tex. They were accused of robberies and other crimes.

THREE VIRGINIANS were killed and 30 other persons injured in four auto-truck accidents.

grounds, and the great variety of mast that grows on the highland. The men, for their parts, just like the Indians, impose all the work upon the poor women. They make their wives rise out of their beds early in the morning, at the same time that they lye and snore, till the sun has run one third of its course, and disperst all the unwholesome damps. Then, after stretching and yawning for half an hour, they light their pipes, and, under the protection of a cloud of smoak, venture out into the open air; tho', if it happens to be never so little cold, they quickly return shivering into the chimney corner. When the weather is mild, they stand leaning with both their arms upon the cornfield fence, and gravely consider whether they had best go and take a small heat at the hough: but generally find reasons to put it off till another time.

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Ray Tucker

Political Spotlight on N. Y.

WASHINGTON—New York's forthcoming conventions and elections present a fascinating panorama and a prophetic picture of immediate American politics. They may throw sharp footlights on the 1960 presidential stage.

It is doubtful if the Empire State, which has fathered so many bizarre and brilliant men—Alexander Hamilton, Martin Van Buren, Grover Cleveland, Theodore Roosevelt, Charles Evans Hughes, Alfred E. Smith, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Fiorello Henry La Guardia—has ever put on such a quaint show as it does today. It has the makings of a Broadway drama or a best-seller novel, or at least a television scenario.

Two multimillionaires oppose each other for Governor—Averell Harriman and Nelson Rockefeller—in what Henry A. Wallace said would be "the century of the common man."

Leonard W. Hall, former Republican National Chairman, has bowed out of the race. His father was Theodore Roosevelt's coachman at Oyster Bay. For all his valiant work on behalf of President Eisenhower and the GOP, Hall has not had much help from Washington.

* * *

TO EMPHASIZE FURTHER the importance of New York's gubernatorial drama, it is possible that the winner may emerge from the political ice cap as a presidential nominee in 1960.

Should Harriman, who won by only 11,000 four years ago, sweep this electorally influential state by 500,000 or by 750,000, as FDR did in 1930, he will be a strong contender, despite his 68 years.

But should Rockefeller spring a surprise, he might sweep Vice President Richard Milhouse Nixon off the political board. That would be quite possible, if the Democrats carry California against the Knowland-Knight combination.

Although this is supposed to be a Democratic year, despite signs of Republican recovery from last winter's low, Harriman may have a difficult time in a contest against Nelson Rockefeller, who has given good but not spectacular service at Washington under Democratic and Republican regimes.

Harriman has not been an exceptionally fine Governor. He has done merely a routine job, and, according to his critics, he has not starred in the field of finance.

His antagonism toward James A. Farley's bid for the U.S. Senate nomination may hurt him, in view of "Big Jim's" popularity inside and outside New York State. It will cost Harriman many delegates at the 1960 convention, a national political fact he does not seem to appreciate. Harriman is not a smart politico.

* * *

OPPOSING FARLEY, Harriman must back a Catholic for the Senate nomination as against the Eleanor Roosevelt-Herbert Lehman favorite, Thomas K. Finletter, who is an Episcopalian and an ardent New-Fair Dealer.

But the two other Catholics in the race have no statewide following or popularity or recognition. They are Thomas E. Murray, former controversial member of the Atomic Energy Commission, and District Attorney Frank S. Hogan, a protege of Thomas E. Dewey, whom Farley dubs as a "Dewey Democrat."

Depending upon a Harriman victory, which seems likely at the moment, ultraliberal Democrats envisage a Harriman-Williams ticket in 1960, Williams being, of course, the Governor of Michigan.

Or, if Williams wins big next November, it might be Williams-Harriman. Such a slate, naturally, would be a defiance of Southern Democrats, and possibly lead to a political revolt below the Mason and Dixon Line.

Senator Soaper Says:

"Running isn't fun any more," says the holder of the world's half-mile record. Which is exactly the reason so many of us decide to wait for the next bus.

Food buried at the South Pole for 50 years is still edible. So why this rush to use up all the leftovers in the refrigerator before Saturday?

About all we can figure that the Paris designers are up to is a desperate attempt to make last year's dresses look good.

We have 35,000,000 fishemen in America. Russia prefers to channel its liars into more important pursuits.

It's getting so major league baseball is about the only occupation where a man over 40 can get a job.

Per capita, Washington has more people in Who's Who than any other city. It is not clear, however, whether this means that people who are who naturally move to Washington, or whether the fact that just being in Washington makes them more who than if they had stayed home.

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CHATTANOOGA TIMES AUG 27 1958

A Race Agency and the Facts; The Southern Region Council

An Editorial in the Richmond Times-Dispatch

Inaccurate statements as to the origins of the Southern Regional Council of Atlanta appeared recently in The Times-Dispatch, and should be corrected. They appeared —inadvertently, we are sure—in one of the series of articles by Edward B. Simmons of the New Bedford, Mass., Standard-Times, concerning Communist efforts to incite racial strife in the United States.

Mr. Simmons stated in the article appearing in our paper on Aug. 5 that the Southern Regional Council, established in Atlanta in 1944, was an "offshoot of the old Southern Conference for Human Welfare, which was dissolved in 1948 after twice being described by the federal government as 'Communist front.'" He also said: "The Communist Daily Worker openly boasted that James E. Jackson, chief of the southern branch of the U.S. Communist party, was a co-founder of the Regional Council."

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Responding to their appeal, a group of white leaders met in Atlanta in the spring of 1943, and expressed a desire to cooperate. Out of this grew the Southern Regional Council. The Council was the successor to the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, founded in 1919 by leading churchmen. To repeat, it not only was no "offshoot" of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare; it was criticized in some quarters because it was more conservative than that organization and suspected of being in competition with it.

We must remember, too, that when the Southern Conference for Human Welfare was established in 1938, it was not suspected of having any Communist connections, and many well-intentioned and patriotic southerners participated in its early meetings. A number of these later joined the Southern Regional Council when they discovered the true purposes of the Conference for Human Welfare.

As to the allegation of the Communist Daily Worker that James E. Jackson, chief of the southern branch of the U.S. Communist party, was a "co-founder of the Southern Regional Council," there is nothing to support this.

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The late Dr. Howard W. Odum, noted and respected member of the University of North Carolina faculty, was the first president of the Council. He was succeeded in 1945 by Paul D. Williams, prominent Catholic layman of Richmond and co-founder of the Catholic Committee of the South, who served until 1951. Mr. Williams was succeeded in that year by Marion A. Wright, South Carolina attorney, former chairman of the South Carolina Library Board and past president of the University of South Carolina Alumni Association.

It should be emphasized that SRC worked within the framework of "separate but equal" for seven years, and did not announce for integration until 1951.

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While we disagree strongly and completely with its present position on this issue, we feel obligated to point out, in fairness, that it was in no sense Communist in its origins. The Southern Regional Council was established because of a sincere desire on the part of white and Negro leaders in the South to eliminate many of the disabilities and discriminations from which Negroes were suffering.

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That is where we stand today.

Richmond Times-Dispatch

DAVID TENNANT BRYAN, *President and Publisher*

VIRGINIUS DABNEY, *Editor* JOHN H. COLBURN, *Managing Editor*

Wednesday, September 3, 1958

State Justices' Historic Blast

One of the most significant documents of our time is published, in part, across the bottom of this page today. We refer to the report containing unprecedented criticism of the United States Supreme Court by a committee of 10 states' chief justices, most of them from the North and West. The report was subsequently approved, 36 to 8, by the Conference of Chief Justices.

In order to appreciate fully what these presiding jurists in the various states have done, it is necessary to realize that they did not have to say anything at all about the Supreme Court. They could have taken the position that it was not for them to publicize the shortcomings of that tribunal, as at present constituted.

But instead of adopting that expedient course, the committee chose to formulate an astonishing 31-page report, bristling with criticism.

The chief justices of the states say that the nation's top tribunal has raised doubt in the minds of many as to whether "we have a government of laws and not of men." It has rendered numerous 5-to-4 rulings on constitutional questions, without even as many as five justices standing behind any single opinion. The court has overturned its own constitutional rulings so often as to raise doubt as to the authenticity of its findings. It has tended too often to "adopt the role of policy maker without proper judicial restraint," and has assumed what are "primarily legislative powers."

Whereas the Supreme Court in 1868 said that "the Constitution, in all its provisions, looks to an indestructible Union of indestructible states," the Conference of Chief Justices feels that the sitting supreme bench has been steadily weakening state and local governments, and concentrating power at Washington.

The court's dismal record includes decisions having to do not only with segregation in the schools, but also with respect to the release of Communists, and criminals, opening the files of the FBI, and denying the right of a citizen to dispose of his own property in his will. No wonder the states' chief justices felt in honor bound to speak out, so that the people of the United States might know what devastating things are happening to them and their institutions.

The above-mentioned findings of respected and experienced jurists in all sections of the country, with no axs to grind and no personal motives to serve, have come at a historic moment in the nation's history. The United States Supreme Court can hardly fail to have been jolted to its toes by this resounding rebuke.

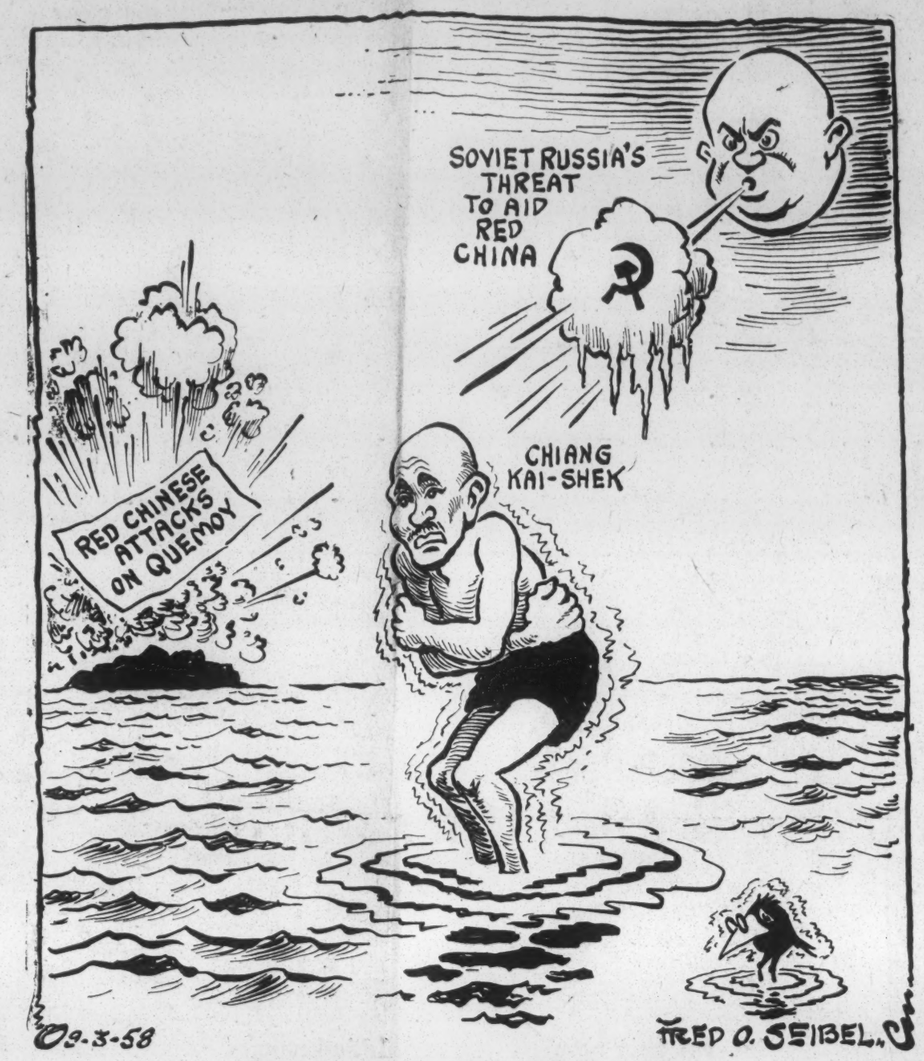
The Skids for Claude Pepper

In a world wherein good news is none too plentiful, we rejoice over the tidings that the HON. CLAUDE PEPPER of Florida is almost certain to take a shellacking next week in his effort to stage a comeback to the United States Senate.

Described as "probably the most liberal liberal who ever came out of the Southland," ex-SENATOR PEPPER is said to be fighting an uphill battle against SEN. SPESSARD L. HOLLAND. PEPPER was separated from the public trough in 1950 by GEORGE SMATHERS, still the junior Senator on his belief that nobody can predict what several hundred thousand new voters in Florida are going to do. They have been in the state only a few years, he points out, and a large percentage of them live in Miami and surrounding Dade county.

Well, despite this line of reasoning, it will be a surprise, and also a shock, if rabble-rousing, demagogic CLAUDE PEPPER somehow wangles his way back into the Senate. The type of campaign he waged eight years ago against REP. SMATHERS is not reassuring. At that time he

September Morn



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In Henrico county, 36 new cases were found last year and 23 citizens of the county are now in sanatoriums.

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Research for the Department of Justice in Washington." Asked about this, Warren Olney III, Assistant U.S. Attorney General, stated: "Manning Johnson is not employed by the Department of Justice as Director of Research or in any other capacity . . . He has no authority to speak for or on behalf of the Department of Justice."

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Ross Valentine

A Hurricane Warning Ignored

THEY DIDN'T GIVE FLIP NAMES to a hurricane in Columbus' day, nor did they have barometers, to warn of its approach.

The barometer wasn't invented until 1643, by Toricelli. He was the first to measure the weight of the air we breathe (the average at sea level being 14.7 pounds per square inch, equivalent to the weight of a column of mercury not quite 30 inches in height).

During the hurricane season this may be of educational value to the young whose interest in matters scientific we have been trying to arouse ever since the Russkis stole a march with you-know-what.

It may be of historical interest to recall that five-six hundred years ago in Italian port cities, Spain and Portugal men of the Mediterranean breed were far ahead in recognizing the importance of "science," especially in the field of navigation, which opened new doors to gold, gems, rare spices and slaves.

"Hurricane Ella" has been gallivanting through the scene of Columbus' prime discoveries, Hispaniola, Jamaica and Cuba, where the Great Navigator operated largely by dint of dead reckoning, weather-wisdom and a sublime faith in God, as the sponsor of those daring excursions.

In the course of these westward wanderings he encountered three hurricanes, with winds in excess of 100 miles per hour.

★ ★ ★

THE WONDER IS that Columbus' tiny cockle shells (the largest of 70 tons) were able to ride out these tremendous convulsions of sea-and-air, and return to Spain across 3,000 miles of ocean.

That the art of Latin shipbuilding should have produced such seaworthiness, so long ago, will always be a source of admiration to seafaring men.

During his fourth voyage to the West Indies Columbus was wracked by arthritis, threatened with mutiny by a crew kept at the pumps 24 hours a day, aboard small, leaky vessels honey-combed by sea worms, living on tard-tack swarming with weavils (the men waited until dark to eat it), the water casks foul, and on top of it all the ruthless ferocity of winds seldom if ever encountered off the familiar coasts of the Old World.

On April 3, 1502, he sailed on his fourth and last voyage (to what he then still believed to be islands off the South China coast).

He dropped anchor off Santo Domingo on June 29. Although he still held the title of "viceroy" over his discoveries, it was an empty title. In fact, he had strict orders not to land at Santo Domingo, ruled by Ovando.. Ovando, like most Spaniards in high positions, resented and hated "the Genoese."

Columbus decided to disobey—one reason being that he sensed a hurricane on the way. He sent word ashore warning Ovando not to dispatch his "grand fleet" back to Spain, because of a hurricane due to strike within 48 hours.

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AS I NOTED AT THE BEGINNING of these ramblings, the mercury barometer was still to be invented.

Why was Columbus certain a hurricane was coming?

His "barometer" was built-in.

Painful twinges in his arthritis-ridden joints warned him that air pressure was falling alarmingly.

He saw high altitude clouds scudding by at great speed; saw the ominous groundswell's glassy surface shivering now and then as with a fever chill. Saw seals and manatees excitedly breaking and leaping clear of the water. His seaman's memory reminded him that he had seen some or all of these symptoms in 1494 and 1495 a day or two before hurricanes struck. And so he warned Ovando. But this proud Spaniard jeered at the despised Italian's claim to "prophecy." Even as the Trojans ridiculed Cassandra.

The big fleet put out to sea. The ships entered Mona Passage, and ran smack into the full force of the hurricane out of the northeast.

Some of them swamped and sank, others were pounded to splinters on the lee shore. The flagship, under de Porres, sank with more than a million dollars in gold for the Spanish sovereigns. Four managed to return to Santo Domingo before they sank.

Ironically, the only one that escaped destruction and reached Spain was the Aguia, which carried Columbus' personal share of gold.

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An Editorial in the New Haven (Conn.) Register

THERE IS LITTLE TO CHEER in the new ruling of the Eighth Circuit Court of Appeals which orders renewal of the Little Rock integration program.

The ruling simply imposes new judicial burdens upon a situation in which legalistic theory can contribute very little toward a real solution of deeply-felt, emotion-charged human confusions.

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the ultimate interpreter of United States law cannot change the fact that this is an issue in which attitudes and emotions have an importance at least equal to that of judicial theory—particularly since what is here being labeled as "law" is a matter of constitutional interpretation and not of direct legislation by Congress.

★ ★ ★

AND REJECTION of Orval Faubus and his tactics cannot change the

minds of many as to whether "we have a government of laws and not of men." It has rendered numerous 5-to-4 rulings on constitutional questions, without even as many as five justices standing behind any single opinion. The court has overturned its own constitutional rulings so often as to raise doubt as to the authenticity of its findings. It

The above-mentioned findings of respected and experienced jurists in all sections of the country, with no axs to grind and no personal motives to serve, have come at a historic moment in the nation's history. The United States Supreme Court can hardly fail to have been jolted to its toes by this resounding rebuke.

The Skids for Claude Pepper

In a world wherein good news is none too plentiful, we rejoice over the tidings that the HON. CLAUDE PEPPER of Florida is almost certain to take a shellacking next week in his effort to stage a comeback to the United States Senate.

Described as "probably the most liberal liberal who ever came out of the Southland," ex-SENATOR PEPPER is said to be fighting an uphill battle against SEN. SPESSARD L. HOLLAND. PEPPER was separated from the public trough in 1950 by GEORGE SMATHERS, still the junior Senator from Florida.

A poll of 34 newspaper editors in all parts of Florida taken in early August produced the unanimous verdict that "RED PEPPER"—as he has often been known—is going to get licked in the primary on Sept. 9. Those who voted that way included two who favor his candidacy and six others who thought he was gaining.

Apparently the only exception to this—and it appears that he didn't participate in the poll, conducted by the Miami *Herald*—is EDITOR BILL BAGGS of the Miami *News*, who says that "no one can tell you today with any measure of confidence if SPESSARD HOLLAND or CLAUDE PEPPER is going to win the Democratic primary." He bases this largely on his belief that nobody can predict what several hundred thousand new voters in Florida are going to do. They have been in the state only a few years, he points out, and a large percentage of them live in Miami and surrounding Dade county.

Well, despite this line of reasoning, it will be a surprise, and also a shock, if rabble-rousing, demagogic CLAUDE PEPPER somehow wangles his way back into the Senate. The type of campaign he waged eight years ago against REP. SMATHERS is not reassuring. At that time he promised $100-a-month pensions to the old folks who swarm over Florida; held out to localities the hope of some 2.5 billions in federal loans and grants, so that every city and town could hope to get a water works, a sewer system, a school or a dock; endorsed socialized medicine and bigger farm subsidies; urged repeal of the TAFT-HARTLEY law as "unfair" to organized labor; posed as the only true advocate of the "little man" as opposed to "the DUPONTS," and, in general, appealed to the "gimme" instincts of nearly every segment of society.

For these and other reasons, CLAUDE PEPPER is one individual whose services in Washington we are more than ordinarily happy to forego.

02-3-58

FRED O. SEIBEL, Cr

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We hope to intensify the fight against TB in Henrico and in Charles City and New Kent counties by merging the Tuberculosis Associations of those three counties. A membership meeting of the Henrico TB Association will be held at 12:30 p.m. Thursday, Sept. 4, at 311 South Boulevard to act on the proposed consolidation. Any resident of Henrico who contributed $2 or more during the last Christmas seal sale is a member of the association and is eligible to attend the meeting. Reservations for the $1 box lunch may be made by calling the Henrico County Tuberculosis Association office.

JOHN HANCOCK
President, Henrico TB Assn.
Richmond.

Southern Regional Council And Manning Johnson

Regarding your editorial of August 21, A Race Agency and the Facts, I rather expect Edward B. Simmons accumulated his information on the Southern Regional Council from the sworn testimony of Manning Johnson which was taken under oath by the Louisiana State Legislature last year, and also from the American Legion's "Firing Line."

The information from these two sources is thoroughly documented even though Senator Paul Douglas tried to disprove it a year ago on the Senate floor by quoting from an article published by the Atlanta Constitution. Naturally the Atlanta Constitution would want to whitewash the Southern Regional Council because of the part played in this organization by Ralph McGill of the Atlanta Constitution.

While the U. S. Department of Justice and the Subversive Activities Control Board may have repudiated testimony of Manning Johnson many Americans still believe Johnson was telling the truth as he spoke under oath and so far as I know, he has not been punished for having lied.

I think that the main point is, though, that we in the South should not argue when respected Northern newspapers print articles trying to awaken Northerners as to some subversive influences behind the racial issue. If we think there are errors in such articles, then let us take it up directly with the newspaper in question rather than writing editorials which allow readers to believe we are not behind our Governor and our General Assembly. After all, our State stands for Constitution Government and States Rights. We are run by laws and not by men or by the NAACP, Southern Regional Council, or any other such organization.

(Mrs.) ELIZABETH H. OSTH

Berryville.

[*Editor's Note: Manning Johnson was quoted in newspaper accounts on March 9, 1957, as having testified before a legislative committee of the State of Louisiana that he is "now employed as Director of Research for the Department of Justice in Washington." Asked about this, Warren Olney III, Assistant U.S. Attorney General, stated: "Manning Johnson is not employed by the Department of Justice as Director of Research or in any other capacity . . . He has no authority to speak for or on behalf of the Department of Justice."*

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We are unable to follow Mrs. Osth's reasoning that there is a relationship between our pointing out erroneous statements concerning the origin of the Southern Regional Council in 1944 and our support of Gov. Almond's "massive resistance" in 1958. As far as we can see, there is no connection whatever. We are, of course, supporting Gov. Almond.]

20 Years Ago

PRES. ROOSEVELT was informed officially that his oft-mentioned "ill-housed, ill-fed and ill-clothed" one-third of the nation averages a family income of about $471 a year.

RED-HAIRED Jacqueline Cochran not only won the eighth Bendix Trophy to triumph over 10 male pilots, but set a record transcontinental air record for women.

A HIGH SCHOOL STUDENT dragged an unconscious airplane pilot from the controls of his falling plane near Greensburg, Pa., and at 12,000 feet, took over and landed the machine.

air, and return to Spain across 3,000 miles of ocean.

That the art of Latin shipbuilding should have produced such seaworthiness, so long ago, will always be a source of admiration to seafaring men.

During his fourth voyage to the West Indies Columbus was wracked by arthritis, threatened with mutiny by a crew kept at the pumps 24 hours a day, aboard small, leaky vessels honey-combed by sea worms, living on tard-tack swarming with weavils (the men waited until dark to eat it), the water casks foul, and on top of it all the ruthless ferocity of winds seldom if ever encountered "prophecy." Even as the Trojans ridiculed Cassandra.

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The ruling simply imposes new judicial burdens upon a situation in which legalistic theory can contribute very little toward a real solution of deeply-felt, emotion-charged human confusions.

We can see little constructive in the majority rejection of the conclusions by which Federal District Judge Harry J. Lemley—a resident of Arkansas—had deferred school integration in Little Rock until 1961.

The Court of Appeals admitted that last year's ructions at Little Rock High School "produced a situation which adversely affected normal educational processes." But it concluded that "such incidents are insufficient to constitute a legal basis for suspension of the plan to integrate the public schools in Little Rock.

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THIS VIEW SEEMS TO SACRIFICE the individual educational interests of the thousand-odd students of Little Rock High School, and of many thousands of other Southern schoolchildren—white and black, to the abstract legal theories and the political pressures which have been built up nationally on the segregation issue.

Support for the Supreme Court as the ultimate interpreter of United States law cannot change the fact that this is an issue in which attitudes and emotions have an importance at least equal to that of judicial theory—particularly since what is here being labeled as "law" is a matter of constitutional interpretation and not of direct legislation by Congress.

★ ★ ★

AND REJECTION of Orval Faubus and his tactics cannot change the fact that he has now been emphatically backed at the polls by most of the people of Arkansas in an election campaign in which all of the pros and cons of desegregation were pretty exhaustively argued.

Courts which interpret the law without regard for the public's own understanding and willingness to accept the law can render grave injustice to both sides in this serious situation.

Richmond Times-Dispatch

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States' Supreme Court Chief Justices Strongly Criticize U. S. Supreme Court

The following is a portion of the report critical of the United States Supreme Court that was adopted by a vote of 36-8 by state supreme court chief justices meeting in Pasadena, Calif., recently.

THE OUTSTANDING development in federal-state relations since the adoption of the national Constitution has been the expansion of the power of the national government and the consequent contraction of the powers of the state governments. To a large extent this is wholly unavoidable and indeed is a necessity, primarily because of improved transportation and communication of all kinds and because of mass production. On the other hand, our Constitution does envision federalism. The very name of our nation indicates that it is to be composed of states. The Supreme Court of a bygone day said in Texas vs. White (1868): "The Constitution, in all its provisions, looks to an indestructible Union of indestructible states."

Second only to the increasing dominance of the national government has been the development of the immense power of the Supreme Court in both state and national affairs. It is not merely the final arbiter of the law; it is the maker of policy in many major social and economic fields. It is not subject to the restraints to which a legislative body is subject. There are points at which it is difficult to delineate precisely the line which should circumscribe the judicial function and separate it from that of policy-making. Thus, usually within narrow limits, a court may be called upon in the ordinary course of its duties to make what is actually a policy decision by choosing between two rules, either of which might be deemed applicable to the situation presented in a pending case.

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BUT IF AND WHEN a court in construing and applying a constitutional provision or a statute becomes a policy maker, it may leave construction behind and exercise functions which are essentially legislative in character, whether they serve in practical effect as a constitutional amendment or as an amendment of a statute. It is here that we feel the greatest concern, and it is here that we think the greatest restraint is called for. There is nothing new in urging judicial self-restraint, though there may be, and we think there is, new need to urge it.

It would be useless to attempt to review all of the decisions of the Supreme Court which have had a profound effect upon the course of our history. It has been said that the Dred Scott decision made the Civil War inevitable. Whether this is really true or not, we need not attempt to determine. Even if it is discounted as a serious overstatement, it remains a dramatic reminder of the great influence which Supreme Court decisions have had and can have.

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WE BELIEVE that strong state and local governments are essential to the effective functioning of the American system of federal government; that they should not be sacrificed needlessly to leveling, and sometimes deadening, uniformity; and that in the interest of active citizen participation in self-government—the foundation of our democracy—they should be sustained and strengthened.

We are now concerned specifically with the effect of judicial decisions upon the relations between the federal government and the state governments. Here we think that the over-all tendency of decisions of the Supreme Court over the last 25 years or more has been to press the extension of federal power and to press it rapidly. There have been, of course, and still are, very considerable differences within the court on these matters, and there has been quite recently a growing recognition of the fact that our government is still a federal government and that the historic line which experience seems to justify between matters primarily of national concern should not be hastily or lightly obliterated. A number of justices have repeatedly demonstrated their awareness of problems of federalism and their recognition that federalism is still a living part of our system of government.

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THE EXTENT to which the Supreme Court assumes the function of policy-maker is also of concern to us in the conduct of our judicial business. We realize that in the course of American history the Supreme Court has frequently—one might, indeed, say customarily—exercised policy-making powers going far beyond those involved, say, in making a selection between competing rules of law.

We believe that in the fields with which we are concerned, and as to which we feel entitled to speak, the Supreme Court too often has tended to adopt the role of policy-maker without proper judicial restraint. We feel this is particularly the case in both of the great fields we have discussed—namely, the extent and extension of the federal power, and the supervision of state action by the Supreme Court by virtue of the Fourteenth Amendment. In the light of the immense power of the Supreme Court and its practical non-review-ability in most instances, no more important obligation rests upon it, in our view, than that of careful moderation in the exercise of its policy-making role.

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WE ARE NOT ALONE in our view that the court, in many cases arising under the Fourteenth Amendment, has assumed what seem to us primarily legislative powers. We do not believe that either the framers of the original Constitution or the possibly somewhat less gifted draftsmen of the Fourteenth Amendment ever contemplated that the Supreme Court would, or should, have the almost unlimited policy-making powers which it now exercises. It is strange, indeed, to reflect that under a Constitution which provides for a system of checks and balances and of distribution of power between national and state governments, one branch of one government—the Supreme Court—should attain the immense, and in many respects, dominant, power which it now wields.

We believe that the great principle of distribution of powers among the various branches of government and between levels of government has vitality today and is the crucial base of our democracy. We further believe that in construing and applying the Constitution and laws made in pursuance thereof, this principle of the division of power based upon whether a matter is primarily of national or of local concern should not be lost sight of or ignored, especially in fields which bear upon the meaning of a constitutional or statutory provision, or the validity of state action presented for review. For, with due allowance for the changed conditions under which it may or must operate, the principle is as worthy of our consideration today as it was of the consideration of the great men who met in 1787 to establish our nation as a nation.

IT HAS LONG BEEN an American boast that we have a government of laws and not of men. We believe that any study of recent decisions of the Supreme Court will raise at least considerable doubt as to the validity of that boast.

We find first that in constitutional cases unanimous decisions are comparative rarities and that multiple opinions, concurring or dissenting, are common occurrences. We find next that divisions in result on a five to four basis are quite frequent. We find further that on some occasions a majority of the court cannot be mustered in support of any one opinion and that the result of a given case may come from the divergent views of individual justices who happen to unite on one outcome or the other of the case before the court.

We further find that the court does not accord finality to its own determinations of constitutional questions, or for that matter of others. We concede that a slavish adherence to stare decisis (the policy of following principles laid down in previous judicial decisions) could at times have unfortunate consequences; but it seems strange that under a constitutional doctrine which requires all others to recognize the Supreme Court's rulings on constitutional questions as binding adjudications of the meaning and application of the Constitution, the court itself has so frequently overturned its own decisions thereon, after the lapse of periods varying from one year to 75, or even 95 years. The Constitution expressly sets up its own procedures for amendment, slow or cumbersome though they may be.

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THESE FREQUENT differences and occasional overrulings of prior decisions in constitutional cases cause us grave concern as to whether individual views of the members of the court as from time to time constituted, or of a majority thereof, as to what is wise or desirable do not unconsciously override a more dispassionate consideration of what is or is not constitutionally warranted.

We believe that the latter is the correct approach, and we have no doubt that every member of the Supreme Court intends to adhere to that approach, and believes that he does so. It is our earnest hope, which we respectfully express, that the great court exercise to the full its power of judicial self-restraint by adhering firmly to its tremendous, strictly judicial powers and by eschewing, as far as possible, the exercise of essentially legislative powers when it is called upon to decide questions involving the validity of state action, whether it deems such action wise or unwise. The value of our system of federalism, and of local self-government in local matters which it embodies, should be kept firmly in mind, as we believe it was done by those who framed our Constitution.

At times the Supreme Court manifests, or seems to manifest, an impatience with the slow workings of our federal system. That impatience may extend to an unwillingness to wait for Congress to make clear its intention to exercise the powers conferred upon it under the Constitution, or the extent to which it undertakes to exercise them, and it may extend to the slow processes of amending the Constitution which that instrument provides.

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THE WORDS of Elihu Root on the opposite side of the problem asserted at a time when demands were current for recall of judges and judicial decisions bear repeating: "If the people of our country yield to impatience which would destroy the system that alone makes effective these great impersonal rules and preserves our constitutional government, rather than endure the temporary inconvenience of pursuing regulated methods of changing the law, we shall not be reforming. We shall not be making progress, but shall be exhibiting lack of that self-control which enables great bodies of men to abide the slow process of orderly government rather than to break down the barriers of order when they are struck by the impulse of the moment."

We believe that what Mr. Root said is sound doctrine to be followed towards the Constitution, the Supreme Court, and its interpretation of the Constitution. Surely, it is no less incumbent upon the Supreme Court, on its part, to be equally restrained and to be as sure as is humanly possible, that it is adhering to the fundamentals of the Constitution with regard to the distribution of powers and the separation of powers, and with regard to the limitations of judicial power which are implicit in such separation and distribution, and that it is not merely giving effect to what it may deem desirable.

Richmond Times-Dispatch

Southern Regional Counci Is Not a Communist Front

Inaccurate statements as to the origins of the Southern Regional Council of Atlanta appeared recently in the Times-Dispatch and should be corrected.

They appeared — inadvertently we are sure—in one of the series of articles by Edward B. Simmons of the New Bedford, Mass., Standard-Times concerning Communist efforts to incite racial strife in the United States.

Mr. Simmons stated in the article appearing in our paper on Aug. 5 that the Southern Regional Council, established in Atlanta in 1944, was an "offshoot of the old Southern Conference for Human Welfare, which was dissolved in 1948 after twice being described by the federal government as 'Communist front.'" He also said: "The Communist Daily Worker openly boasted that James E. Jackson, chief of the Southern branch of the U.S. Communist Party, was a cofounder of the Regional Council."

Taking these two charges in order, the Southern Regional Council was not an offshoot of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. It was established in response to an appeal from respected Southern Negro leaders who met at Durham, N.C., in October, 1942, on the call of Dr. Gordon B. Hancock, of the Virginia Union faculty here, and Dr. P. B. Young, of Norfolk, publisher of the Norfolk Journal and Guide. These Negro leaders did not ask for the elimination of segregation in the schools or anywhere else; they asked that "separate but equal" be made a reality.

Responding to their appeal, a group of white leaders met in Atlanta in the spring of 1943 and expressed a desire to cooperate. Out of this grew the Southern Regional Council. The Council was the successor to the Commission on Interracial Cooperation founded in 1919 by leading churchmen. To repeat, it not only was no "offshoot" of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare; it was criticized in some quarters because it was more conservative than that organization and suspected of being in competition with it.

We must remember, too, that when the Southern Conference for Human Welfare was established in 1938 it was not suspected of having any Communist connections and many well-intentioned and patriotic Southerners participated in its early meetings. A number of these later joined the Southern Regional Council when they discovered the true purposes of the Conference for Human Welfare.

As to the allegation of the Communist Daily Worker that James E. Jackson, chief of the Southern branch of the U.S. Communist Party, was a "cofounder of the Southern Regional Council," there is nothing to support this. . . .

It should be emphasized that SRC worked within the framework of "separate but equal" for seven years and did not announce for integration until 1951.

While we disagree strongly and completely with its present position on this issue, we feel obligated to point out, in fairness, that it was in no sense Communist in its origins. The Southern Regional Council was established because of a sincere desire on the part of white and Negro leaders in the South to eliminate many of the disabilities and discriminations from which Negroes were suffering.

It was hoped that if these could be substantially lessened, the colored South would not look to the colored North for leadership. Insufficient progress was made, unfortunately, and the NAACP moved in and launched its drive for the complete elimination of segregation—sooner than it probably would have done if SRC's accomplishments had been larger.

That is where we stand today.

THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION Sept. 5, 1958

—Letter To The Editor—

Mr. Virginius Dabney, Editor
The Richmond Times Dispatch
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Mr. Dabney:

For convenience, there is attached an editorial from a recent issue of the Times Dispatch, said to be by you, which was reprinted in the Sumter Daily Item September 24th.

The stated purpose of this editorial is to correct two alledged errors with respect to the origin and founders of the Southern Regional Council, which appeared in a recent series of articles reprinted in the Times Dispatch, namely (1) the Southern Regional Council is an off-shoot of the now defunct Southern Conference for Human Welfare and, (2) one of the founders was a James E. Jackson cited as a communist.

I fear that by the omission of some pertinent facts in your commendable effort to be fair to the Southern Regional Council that you have inadvertently attributed to that organization respectability to a degree to which it is not entitled.

The facts, as I understand them to be, are as follows:

The effectiveness of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare was practicaly at an end — due to exposures being made by the House Un-American Activities Committee — when the meeting to which you refer was held in Durham, N. C. during October 1942. The Southern Regional Council was born at that meeting because of what its founders conceived to be the necessity for an organization to continue striving to attain the purposes and goals of the then discredited Southern Conference for Human Welfare but which would avoid its publicly exposed excesses. This problem was solved by the new organization by consolidating with the Commission on Interracial Relations, not then exposed or cited as a Communist front, [illegible] adopting its purposes [illegible]

Anyone who studies the pattern of subversive organizations in this nation over the past three decades will find that our nation is afflicted with more than its fair share of easily duped "do-gooders" whose favorite habitat is radical organizations with noble sounding names and purposes until exposure begins when they begin to flee to the protection of some newly formed organization usually in the same field. This is exactly the pattern followed by the workers in the Southern Conference for Human Welfare when they fled to the newly formed Southern Regional Council. Some are generous enough to credit these easily duped "do-gooders" with a degree of patriotism and good intentions. Frankly, I possess no such generosity.

Today, about the only difference between the now defunct Southern Conference for Human Welfare and the present Southern Regional Conference is that the former was financed by the Robert Marshall Foundation, a principal source of Communist front funds in the nation, while the present Southern Regional Council is financed by the almost equally pinkish Fund for the Republic.

This brief summary, I believe, represents the understanding generally of the people in the South with respect to the origin and connections of the Southern Regional Council. If incorrect, it should be corrected from some authentic and reliable source. We, of course, do not wish to be unfair to the Southern Regional Council or to any other organization. However, we should be very careful, in the present state of our affairs, not to add in any degree respectability to any organization that is a canker in the bowels not only of the South but of the nation as well.

Sincerely yours,
S. L. GENTRY

The bowhead whale has a mouth big enough to hold a cow. But its throat can swallow nothing larger than a small herring.

Sumter (S.C.) Item
10/3/58

DRAFT - TO BE ON SRC STATIONERY

November 26, 1958

Mr. Bill Cleghorn, Editor
Montgomery Home News
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Mr. Cleghorn:

Our attention has been called to your issue of November 20 featuring an article headed "White Women, Negro Women Hold Meeting at St. Jude's." There are many misstatements in the article which reflect damagingly on the nature and purpose of the meeting and on the character of the thoroughly reputable participants.

I am writing specifically, however, to correct the inaccurate statements made about literature published by the Southern Regional Council. New South is the Council's monthly publication; it was begun in 1946 and has enjoyed a reputation for accuracy and responsibility from the beginning. Not only was Paul Crouch never the editor of SRC's New South, but he never had any connection with it or with the Southern Regional Council. I can only conclude that your reference is to some other publication of the same or a similar name issued by some other group in a different period.

Another statement in the same paragraph might lead your readers to conclude that some of the literature distributed promoted the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. This, of course, was not the case.

Since these inaccuracies cast an unfair reflection on a reputable group of Montgomerians, I trust you will make suitable correction in your columns.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming

HCF/mf
Encl. (Richmond Times Dispatch Editorial)

MF

December 2, 1958

Mr. Bill Cleghorn, Editor
Montgomery Home News
Montgomery, Alabama

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Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1 (Richmond Times Dispatch Editorial)

December 5, 1958

Mr. Bill Claghorn, Editor
Montgomery Home News
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Mr. Claghorn:

The November 20th issue of your newspaper carried an account of a recent meeting of the Fellowship of the Concerned that was full of inaccuracies. Since neither you nor your anonymous informer bothered to contact any of the people named in this article, it is no wonder that your story is distorted. Since it contains so many insinuations, I ask you to print this correction in full, and giving the paper containing it the same wide circulation given to your November 20th issue.

Not anytime during that day was "integration" mentioned. It was a day of seeking wisdom and strength "for the living of these days." The entire meeting was on that high spiritual level, and in that spirit I address you.

I wonder if you realized how much you and the two men who sat outside really trampled on the basic rights guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States to all of us, including these church women of Montgomery:

1. Freedom of Worship. These women, Protestants, Jews, and Catholics, met in a building dedicated to the healing of the souls, minds and bodies of men. They met to find God's will and God's way for them. The theme for the day was "Woman's Role In World Affairs." They studied Ruth and Naomi, Deborah, Esther, Hannah of the Apocrypha, Mary, the mother of Jesus, Lydia, weaver of fine purple - and women of today. They sang, "Where Cross the Crowded Ways of Life." I quote one of their affirmations, "I shall take my soul and stand by Him, and will walk and talk with Him forever." (Why didn't your reporter include this in her report?)

Since Thanksgiving Day just passed, perhaps you remember how that our country was founded on the basis of "Freedom to worship." This your paper and the men outside in the car would destroy by means of intimidation and reprisal.

2. Freedom of Assembly is guaranteed to citizens of our country. This, too, you would destroy.

3. Freedom of Speech is guaranteed, and this freedom we grant to visitors from other countries to speak of Nandi if they wish.

If we are ever to solve the problems between races and nations the lines of communication must be kept open. This fact is becoming more and more realized. I quote from action taken by the Southern Baptist Convention held in Houston, Texas, May 22, "Southern Baptists call for restoration of communication and fellowship of every race and nationality."

Paul Crouch has never had any connection whatsoever with the Southern Regional Council and most certainly he has not been editor of the New South, published by the Southern Regional Council.

The Fellowship of the Concerned is not a new venture. Even before World War II South-wide and State Church women leaders of the three faiths and both races have come together almost annually to study and pray together. These women are selected by their own denominational boards. Often times this is followed by state meetings. Publicity is not usually given because it is not an action group and no pronouncements are made and newspapers are not interested in a story of a meeting of this kind.

Your article speaks of "two rather mysterious women." I can assure you the only mysterious woman present was the uninvited guest who was rather "mysterious" in trying to explain her appearance.

Miss Violaine Junod is a well known professor and lecturer visiting in this country. She will lecture sometime soon at Harvard and be the house guest of Dean Griswold of Harvard Law School. She has no connection with the Southern Regional Council, but as a courtesy to her, because she's traveling over the country, the Council allowed her to use its address as an accommodation.

I did not know that you wanted ~~by bibliography~~ biography or I would have sent it to you.

I understand you are a Methodist and so am I. I am a child of the Methodist parsonage. The Methodist Church has given me almost every honor it could bestow on a woman. I have been a delegate to general conference three times - one before Unification, the Uniting Conference, and Atlantic City. I have served on conference, Jurisdiction and General Boards.

I was one of the first three women elected as trustees of Wesleyan College, the oldest woman's college in the world.

In January of this year, the Woman's Division of Christian Service - our National Woman's Society - gave me a citation, the first ever given by this organization.

In October, at its Sixth Assembly, the United Church Women of the United States also presented me with a citation and elected me to the National Board.

In the last few days I have been elected on the Planning Board of the Japan International Christian University Foundation, Inc., New York.

In my home city, the Atlanta Constitution and Junior Chamber of Commerce presented me with a chest of silver for work in social welfare.

Nationally, I have served on the Commission of Children and Youth of the Children's Bureau.

I also served with fourteen others, selected from over the nation, on President Truman's Committee on Civil Rights.

In all justice and fairness to yourself, your paper and the woman you named in your article please publish this in toto.

Sincerely,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:ls

3236 Bankhead Avenue
Montgomery, Alabama
Dec. 5, 1958

Dear Mrs. Tilley:

Thank you for your letter. I sent you today one original copy of the Nov. 20th Montgomery Home News. Mrs. McLeod has also sent you two copies of that issue and two of the issue of Nov. 27th. If you do not receive them, please let me know and I will try to locate some more. In spite of the wide distribution, with free copies being sent to almost everyone, they are hard for us to obtain.

I have talked with several people about your proposed letter to the Home News. They all seem to feel that the reply of the Southern Regional Council is enough. You can't answer these people, because they can always have the last word in their own paper, and their thinking is so distorted. We are going to try to make certain that the Southern Regional Council letter is published. It should be in the issue out today, which I have not yet seen.

You asked me to keep you informed of incidents that occur. I have tried to keep a written account and think you might perhaps like a little background and a few highlights, though they are not new.

After McCall's published "The South Nobody Tells You", a group was formed in Montgomery called the Baptist Laymen. Mr. William Mahoney wrote about them in his column in the Alabama Journal, praising their objective, which is to ferret out these hidden groups working for integration and drive them from the community. Their center of activity is the Highland Baptist Church, whose pastor, Henry Lyons, is a rabid segregation leader. The spy at our meeting, a Mrs. Ramsay, is a member of his church. The Baptist Laymen have since changed their name to Christian Laymen. They were recently addressed by Judge Walter B. Jones, the judge who fined the NAACP $100,000. How they tie into the Citizen's Council, and why there are these two groups, I do not know. We do know that the Citizen's Council was interested in our meeting. About a week afterward, George Prentice, a reporter for the Montgomery Advertiser, called both me and Mrs. Weisenburgh. He told each of us that the Citizen's Council had designated him to find out about the meeting, and particularly about Miss

Junod. I told him where she could be reached. He called and asked for an interview which she refused on the ground that she intended to publish her research and could not release her findings prior to publication. Mr. Prentice talked again with Mrs. Weisenburgh, and she offered him the notes she had taken of the meeting. He said that he did not think it newsworthy. Mrs. Weisenburgh thinks that the Citizen's Council tried to peddle this story first to the local dailies, but that they were afraid of it. We do not feel that Mr. Cleghorn of the Home News is a person of influence. Until this episode, most of us had not heard of him or of his paper. We think he is a tool of the Citizen's Council, the whole episode is their plot and backed by their money. Thousands of copies of the paper are distributed free each week, and that is expensive for someone!

Another indication of Citizen's Council involvement is that Mrs. L. R. Grimes, wife of one of the three members of the County Board of Revenue, came to Mrs. Weisenburgh as a personal friend and begged her to clear her name of this scandal. She advised her to hire John Kohn as her lawyer. He has a political tie with city and county government, and also with our next governor, Patterson. Mrs. Grimes slipped and said "we" in telling of information that some group had gathered about us, but she refused to identify the "we" when pressed.

I am sure you know that all of our city commissioners are members of the Citizen's Council. We have no police protection. You probably remember that our bombers were acquitted. I have been told that one of them, Jimmy D. York, holds a city job. A day or two after our meeting, he and William C. Horton went to the chairman of the board of stewards of St. Luke's Methodist Church and threatened him for having had an integrated meeting. They had confused "St. Luke" with "St. Jude". Mrs. McLeod is familiar with the details of this episode, as she is in close touch with all of the Methodist officials in the area. She also can tell you about Miss Mary Cameron, worker at Nellie Burge Community Center, and the pressure put on the minister of that church to fire her. Mrs. McLeod talked with the district superintendent, Mr. Carlyle Miller, and eased that situation.

I believe that the most persecuted people in the community have been Mr. and Mrs. Victor Kerns. He is a public school teacher. Just before school opened in September, a man appeared at his door and began to question him on his views on integration. Mrs. Kerns heard a noise in the yard and found a man with a pistol hiding in the bushes. When he saw her, the two men jumped over the fence and drove off. Mrs. Kerns is sure that the one in the bushes was William C. Horton. Since our meeting there has been a concerted effort to have the school board fire Mr. Kerns. On Saturday night, Nov. 22nd, the Kerns had several friends to dinner. As they were leaving, Mr. Kerns noticed four men in a car parked across the street. He went up to them and saw that they were prepared to take flash pictures. He went in to call the police, and the men drove off. When the police came, as Mr. Kerns was describing the car, they drove by again. The police chased and caught them. They then returned to the Kerns home and admitted to Mr. Kerns that the men were all set to take pictures, but they said that they could do nothing because the men had said they were in the neighborhood to visit friends. They also admitted that one of them was William C. Horton and that he had a pistol, but they said he also had a pistol permit. Mr. Andrews knows him and says he drinks heavily and is dangerous.

I am enclosing a thermofax copy of the newspaper account of a resolution passed by the local ministerial association. The Rev. Stanford Persons, Jr., assistant at the Church of the Ascension, was responsible for getting this through, a major feat! The resolution made no reference to the article in the Home News or to the meeting it described, so it is unfortunate that the Advertiser did. The president of the ministerial association, Rev. Merle Patterson, told Mrs. Durr that the statement was made solely because of the concern of the ministers for us as individuals, but not in any way to endorse the organization holding the meeting. I have just been told that the latest Home News is devoted to a denunciation of the ministerial association because of the resolution.

I have gone over very carefully the list of people who attended the meeting and have checked each name with Olive Andrews and several others. Olive says that you have a copy of the list. There is no one on

it whose name should be deleted. You might want to add Mrs. Kalman Shwarts, Jr., 3111 Wilmington Road, and Mrs. Ella K. Shwarts, 1507 E. Fairview Avenue. They are connected with Klein and Son, Jewelers, which Mrs. Grimes told Mrs. Weisenburgh would be boycotted. Some of us are suspicious of some of the workers at the post office, particularly the Carolyn Station where Mrs. Andrews mailed her notices. We have absolutely no proof of anything, only a hunch. Still, I am careful where I mail my letters to you, and I think that, since many of us are served by that station, it might be well for you to mail your letter in a plain envelope.

I think your proposed letter is very fine. It contains real positive help. If you could mention one other problem facing us, and suggest positive measures we could take, I think it would be perfect. I am thinking of the silent disapproval of our close associates and friends. We face the danger of becoming pariahs in our own community. Nothing is said to us. There is just a barrier there, and communication has broken down.

I went to see Olive today. Your letter, so full of love and understanding, has cheered her immensely. I have never seen anyone more crushed. She will need our continuing encouragement and prayers during this difficult time.

I hope that my letter doesn't sound completely gloomy. I have tried merely to be factual. Though these weeks have been hard, they have been full of opportunity for Christian growth. We can't be backsliders when such problems confront us. As my mother often says, "Trials are proofs of God's care." We <u>have</u> to pray and live close to God, because we have to face the world with a serenity and a real faith that shows.

Sincerely,

Marjorie Smith

MF = Criticisms.
HCF

"See, there is Jackson, standing like a stone wall."—Bee

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

MONTGOMERY Home News

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

Independent Weekly

Advertising Representative
ALABAMA NEWSPAPER ADVERTISING SERVICE
P.O. Box 2008 - University, Ala.

TWENTY-SEVENTH YEAR — NO. 50 | MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA, THURSDAY, DECEMBER 11, 1958 | FIVE CENTS A COPY | PAGE 1

Southern Regional Council Busy With "The Problem"

Wherever there is talk of integration or mixing of the races, you can find traces of an outside organization. Such a group is the Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Ga., self-styled as "A Council to attain through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples of the South."

An unusual and "much mixed" collection of names is listed on its letterhead, that include persons that have been active "do-gooders" for at least two generations, and some that have been investigated a number of times by U. S. Congressional Committees and state legislative committees.

The Home News has received two letters from persons that state they are asociated with this "outfit". One is from a Harold Fleming, Executive Director, who claims there were many misstatements in the article on the meeting of the "Fellowship of the Concerned" at St. Jude's. He did not list them, so we are still in the dark as to what they were.

He did try to disassociate his organization with the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, although many of the people that were associated with that outfit are still with him and according to testimony given in committee hearings to the Joint Legislative Committee, Louisiana, the Southern Regional Council is a transmission belt, or front for fellow travellers. This testimony was given by Manning Johnson, Negro, self-styled former Communist, who made his remarks March 8, 1957, in Louisiana Hearings.

(This newspaper is now checking all available facts on the Southern Regional Council and the members listed on the letterhead. The State of Georgia has been requested to supply pertinent data.)

One name listed on the letterhead received from the Southern Regional Council lists a John Hope II, chief consultant. According to a report on the Highlander Folk School, termed a Communist Training School, at Monteagle, Tenn., a group of people assembled at the school, over Labor Day Weekend, to "discuss the issues." Among the group were leaders of the Montgomery bus boycott. John Hope II, Industrial Relations Consultant, Fisk University, Nashville, is listed as one of the Highlander Executives. This report may be obtained from the Georgia Commission on Education, 220 Agriculture Building.

We are also in receipt of a letter from a Mrs. M. E. Tilly, which is entirely too long to take up this week. We will present this note from the nation's own "Aunt Tilly" whose record goes back to Harry Truman's infamous Civil Rights Committee of 1946 which was a dilly which included such people as Dr. Channing Tobias (the Negro front man), and others, which will be discussed in length as soon as we can get the Congressional Records. The Committee on Un-American Activities, House of Representatives, can furnish additional information on these.

As Mrs. Tilly's letter was received just at deadline, we will have to hold it for further publication in our next issue.

Mrs. M. E. Tilly of the Southern Regional Council has written the Home News a "severe letter" of admonishment which was received too late to publish this week. We will be glad to consider it next week.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

Public Praises Daily Press

The public of Montgomery and surrounding area owe a real debt of appreciation to our daily newspapers, television, radio stations and wire services for the "complete and impartial job of reporting demonstrated during this week's now famous Civil Rights Commission Hearings, here.

Practically everyone this writer has talked to commented on the most fair and interesting record of the hearing reported daily by the news media.

Especially singled out for the painstaking efforts made to cover each and every detail of the hearings were our two daily newspapers, The Montgomery Advertiser and the Alabama Journal.

Definitely and seriously, the staffs of these two newspapers carried out missions of reporting the facts in finest traditions of the journalism profession. We salute you.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

Goodwyn High Sets Concert For Sunday

The Goodwyn Junior High School Glee Club, under the direction of Miss Jacqueline Jones, will present a "Christmas Journey" in song, Sunday, Dec. 14, in the school auditorium.

The program will start promptly at 4:00 p. m. All parents and friends of the school are cordially invited to attend. This is the first concert at the school.

Safety Council '58 Conference Set Saturday

Final plans have been completed for the annual conference of the Montgomery Safety Council at the Whitely Hotel, Saturday.

Alex Garrett, executive secretary of the council, said an interesting and most informative program has been lined up. Luncheon will be served the members attending. Annual membership dues are only $1.00.

Several pieces of important business face the members at the meeting. One is the report on the adoption of the new uniform traffic code of the city of Montgomery. This code was adopted by the city Dec. 1.

Other business includes reports on the president's committee on traffic safety; better records system, and the project to place driver training units in the city high schools.

Inside

Civil Rights Photo — Page Three

Montgomery's Own Comic Book! — Page Two

Briar Patch Problems — Page Two

It is a great day in Dixie. Robert E. Lee's rampaging Generals receive double awards during a special assembly at Lee High School Wednesday. They received both the Birmingham News Trophy as the state high school football championship team and the Paterson trophy named for Uncle Will Paterson, given for sportsmanship following the annual Lee-Lanier game. In the group are kneeling, Jerry Bryan, assistant sports editor, Birmingham News, Bart Kennedy, Lee's ace signal caller; Leon Darby, end Earl Brophy, guard; Pop Paterson, who presented the trophy; back row, Mr. Tim Carlonton, principal of Lee High; Tom Jones, head coach; Leon Ford, assistant coach; and on end Jim Chapin.
(Home News Photo by Laurens Pierce)

Christmas Shopping Rush Now At Full Speed

Please Wrap Packages Tight, Post Office Urges Patrons

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

To Subscribe

Town Hall Meeting Rally

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(Home News Photo by Laurens Pierce)

Christmas Shopping Rush Now At Full Speed

"Hey Ma, how many more days?

That's right, son, tell her to get busy and finish that Christmas shopping now. With the downtown area in its Christmas decor and with neighborhood merchants having their shelves stocked with items to please the shoppers, Montgomery business-wide is set for the Yule season. Christmas lights and decorations are up.

Stores have added to the holiday atmosphere by their own window and interior decorations.

Many shoppers have commented that stores here have the most complete stocks they have ever had. Some who have looked elsewhere have returned home to shop because of the convenience involved as well as the savings effected.

Now that Thanksgiving is over and shopping days before Christmas so few, increased crowds are in town each day to avoid the last minute rush.

Please Wrap Packages Tight, Post Office Urges Patrons

With the expectation that the Christmas mail load will hit its peak within the next few days, Postmaster Charles D. Moore expressed his appreciation today for your cooperation thus far on his annual "Mail Early For Christmas" Campaign.

The Postmaster said, "It's too late to talk about early mailing of Christmas gifts and cards, because time means everything now—even a few hours delay in getting your cards and gifts mailed may mean disappointment to your friends and loved ones on Christmas Day."

He suggests that last minute mailers use Air Mail for their Christmas cards or gifts that are going out of town. There's still time for local deliveries, but all Christmas cards should be sent by First Class mail. Be sure to include your return address on all Christmas card envelopes and package labels.

Postal employees are digging in for the final drive to get everything delivered by Christmas Eve. The Main Post Office and Classified Civilian Stations will remain open from 7:30 a. m. to 5:00 p. m., beginning Saturday, December 13, 1958.

The Postmaster said that he would like to express his thanks for the fine cooperation from everyone. "The 1958 'Mail Early For Christmas' Campaign will be a rousing success if everyone will just keep up the good work. This year, on Christmas Eve, I'd like to see every mail bag empty and every Post Office employee relaxing at home."

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

To Subscribe To The Home News Call AM 2-6783 Or Write P.O. 2231 Montgomery

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Town Hall Meeting Rally Keynotes South's Crisis

A ringing call for solid South-wide support of public officials who are willing to stand up and be counted in the mounting United States Constitutional crisis was the theme of an address by an outstanding advocate of complete segregation of the races, Wednesday night in the first Town Hall Meeting program of a planned series.

Despite a wet, cold and dreary night, a spirited group of citizens from Montgomery and surrounding counties turned out to hear state Sen. Albert Davis, Aliceville (Pickens County) urge the people of the South to rise and demand their rights of local government as guaranteed by "our founding fathers."

Davis was introduced by T. R. Miller, businessman of Prattville, as a statesman who "was not running for anything or from anything." Jack Shea was master of ceremonies.

Hugh Ashurst, chairman of the meeting, which he said was intended to be the first of many "Town Hall Meetings" to focus the attention of the public on the "dangers from within" and the urgent need for "unity of action and purpose to preserve our Way of Life."

Following Senator Davis's talk, Ashurst made a surprise presentation to William E. Cleghorn, Editor of the Montgomery Home News. Ashurst recognized the weekly newspaper man as one who dared to seek out and print the truth.

Pointing out that when this group of Montgomery citizens "found out what was happening in Montgomery" through a news story printed in a recent issue of the weekly, they decided to make an award, but could not find any award, citation or other form of recognition for editors with a "Southern point-of-view."

So, after consulting with Southern historians they founded the General James H. Clanton Award as an annual award to be made to a "Southern Newspaperman who believes that only an informed people can be a free people."

James H. Clanton was a Confederate Brigadier General in the War Between the States. After a distinguished military career he followed the law practice. He was shot and killed on the streets of Knoxville, Tenn., in 1869 by Col. David Nelson, a former Union Army officer, and reported carpet bagger.

Following the award, Jack Shea asked for comments on any issue or subject from the public.

Admiral John Crommelin, a retired Naval hero, and recent candidate for governor, was recognized from the floor. He asked to make a few remarks on "the invisible empire" that is running our government.

Crommelin placed the blame for most of Montgomery's racial tensions and troubles in the South to this "conspiracy" to eliminate the white race and create a "copper-colored" mongrel group.

"There is no way to win a defensive war," Crommelin said. He urged the South to take the offensive through legal means now available.

He introduced a resolution that called for an impartial body to investigate and report the facts on what is now happening in Montgomery.

GRAND JURY

"When the Civil Rights group returns to Montgomery, let us be ready for them with our own county Grand Jury checking into facts on the subservive elements that can be supplied," the outspoken former regular Naval officer said.

Emphasizing that the ultimate weapon is the truth, Crommelin reminded the group that "Ye shall know the truth and the truth shall make you free."

He urged the members of the Town Hall Meeting to contact their Circuit Solicitors and present a resolution to them calling for an investigation into these people who are "a hidden force" operating within our midst.

The resolution says,

"WHEREAS, We the People of Alabama wish to know the REAL REASON WHY Montogmery, Alabama, was selected by the Federal Civil Rights Commission for their first attempted invasion of States' Rights;

NOW THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, That we the undersigned citizens have reached the limits of our patience with existing procedures, controlled-propaganda, and quasi-legal double-talk, and WE DEMAND that our County Grand Juries, (being investigative bodies closest to the people) in each county of Alabama investigate and take evidence from informed witnesses, and receive and study vital documents which will be made available to them, and report to our citizenry their true findings, AND TRUE PRESENTMENT MAKE, regarding the existence of a secretly "hidden-force" operating within our midst as "a state within the state", yet separate and apart from us, which conspiratorial force has fathered, fostered and fomented communism and racial-strife within this State and throughout our Beloved Christian Nation, and must be exposed to public view, vigorously, relentlessly, "without fear or favor", and in every lawful manner, as provided by our system of Christian Good Government, so ordained and established by the Founding Fathers of America as aforesaid, to the end that the public may be fully informed and awakened as to WHAT THIS "HIDDEN-FORCE" REALLY IS, WHAT ARE ITS CRIMINAL OBJECTIVES, AND WHO DIRECTS IT!

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That copies of these Resolutions be printed, published and circulated, and that our fellow Christian Citizens be encouraged to sign the same, and when signed to forward them to Circuit Solicitors for presentation to the Grand Juries of the County in which the signer resides.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That a Special Grand Jury for Montgomery County be called into session as soon as possible to carry out these Resolutions, for action is possible until the people believe that no real corrective-ple understand WHAT THE "HIDDEN-FORCE" REALLY IS, WHAT ARE ITS CRIMINAL OBJECTIVES, AND WHO DIRECTS IT!"

"Can't you just picture it, Nick? . . . it's Christmas Eve . . . you land . . . pull the little lever and gently swivel out on the roof."

THE HARVEST IS IN—And the horn of plenty is evidence of that as Blond Martha Dunaway, Gadsden, dons her traditional collar for a harvest observance at Auburn. She is the Sweetheart of Sigma Pi and is a Glomerata beauty.

CHARLES MERIWETHER

Chas. Meriwether Named Director Of State Finance

Charles M. Meriwether of Birmingham has been named by Governor-elect John Patterson to serve on his cabinet as state finance director.

Mr. Meriwether, who managed Mr. Patterson's gubernatorial campaign last spring, pledged "competent and economical management of state finances." He will take over this key cabinet post with the governor's inauguration next January 19.

"Knowing first hand of Mr. Meriwether's ability and his diligence, I am proud to announce his appointment," Mr. Patterson said. "His addition to my cabinet is added assurance that Alabama will enjoy reliable and efficient state government during the next four years."

A 47-year-old businessman with legal training, Mr. Meriwether has long been active in city and state civic affairs For the last 13 years, he has served as executive sales director for Dewberry Drug Co., of Birmingham, engaging in sales promotion and public relations work.

"People all over Alabama are certainly aware of the need for sound direction of state finances," Mr. Meriwether said on the occasion of his appointment.

200 MILLION DOLLARS

Over 200 million dollars are spent yearly for records by the American consumer. In order to get their share of this business the Hideaway Record Nook, 2748 Boultier St. (around the corner from the Clover Theater) has put in the best selection of quality records (long playing albums only) to appeal to the discriminating listener. (adv.)

The Standard-Times

NEW BEDFORD, MASS.
Standard Founded 1879 Times Founded 1891
Consolidated 1936

MONDAY, DECEMBER 16, 1963

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AN UN-AMERICAN WEAPON

When U. S. Attorney General William P. Rogers assumed office, it was reliably reported that he vowed the Justice Department would "never again" be involved in the use of bayonet-force to bring about integration in the South.

This temperate attitude of the incoming attorney general was well received, and he was confirmed in office without hostile questioning from senators representing the South.

But Mr. Rogers appears to have bent under pressures. He has told a New York audience the Federal Government "will have to give consideration to the availability of public schools and other public conveniences" [illegible] expanding plants and facilities in the South.

"Community tensions resulting from racial prejudice are not without their economic implications," he said.

The attorney general's words amount to plain threat of economic boycott against the South. In view of the South's continued and extensive industrial growth, the only possible "economic implications" he could have in mind are those within the power of the Federal Government.

The implications of this threat are far more than economic. It is a matter of general concern that the Administration should even contemplate setting one part of the country against another, in economic warfare, using powers and spending granted by all the nation.

Once used in such discriminatory fashion, economic boycott would be available to the Federal Government to force compliance and bring about conformity on any matter, involving any number of persons. What Mr. Rogers is saying is, in effect, "Get into line or I'll deny you a job and livelihood."

It is regrettable, too, that this un-American concept of justice should have been voiced by the member of the Executive Branch whose bailiwick is the courts and their formidable and legal avenues for putting their decrees into effect.

Attorney General Rogers did not [illegible] the bayonet. But he has raised another and only slightly less repugnant specter in the threat to use economic blackmail to solve a problem which requires patience and understanding.

"See, there is Jackson, standing like a stone wall."—Bee

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

MONTGOMERY Home News

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

Independent Weekly

also see p 4

TWENTY-EIGHTH YEAR—NO. 1 MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA, THURSDAY, JANUARY 1, 1959 TEN CENTS A COPY

Let's Get Down To:

BRASS TACKS

By BILL CLEGHORN

Sam Is The Man To Head State Democratic Executive Committee

Of all the fantastic fog-shapes that have risen off the swamp of confusion since the November general election, the most futile and at the same time most scurrilous is the shallow-pated, long-gaited, hair-trigger newspaper writers and editors, who have surged to the surface of the news scene to snatch at the "let us smear Patterson" bait offered in the contest for State Democratic Executive Committee chairmanship to be filled Jan. 19.

Being a newspaper reader as well as a weekly newsman, I have been reading the "great jourals of the state" trying to pierce the verbose haze of anti-Patterson ramblings of the thunderbolt candidates" who apparently think they can reopen the June runoff and disqualify our man. We challenge their foolish stand and suggest they spend their time helping in the fight against the race mixers at home and the forces that seek to undermine us from within.

Let us consider three factors in the upcoming election of the chairman of the committee: (1) the 72 committeemen, (2) the so-called caucus and the supposed pledge and (3) the election of the chairman.

(1) The committeemen who were elected to the post owe their allegiance only to the people and each himself knows whether he is committed in advance to support any one person on the committee. Apparently, only the loyalty-oath members of the committee would make life-time pledges in advance to support any one person. Let us wait and see how each committeeman votes for chairman. We know they are honorable men and will be fair in their selection.

(2) The caucus was the first in the history of the state, at which time, to have lined up for Frank Mizzell as chairman. Remember the election is Jan. 19. Mr. Mizzell is an able and skillful politican who was a member of the committee even back in the days when Gov. James Folsom demanded that the State Committee give A. W. Todd the Commissioner of Agriculture post following the death of the recently elected candidate. The committee spun their hoops to the tune of the Folsom music, and gave Todd the nod—much to the voter's disgust. We are sure Col. Mizzel had no part in that caucus. (?)

As for the supposed pledge of support to any one committeeman, we are sure that if any pledge was made, it was to support an anti-oath man as the 39 ran on the platform.

Thus ran one political ad in the heat of the May primary campaign: "To the voters of the Second Congressional District. Elect Us and UNSHACKLE Alabama voters from the "pig-in-a-poke pledge." This ad was signed by Frank Mizell and seven others who apparently at that time didn't believe in party pledges.

How could the men who signed that ad turn and pledge themselves to anyone? They ran on a platform attacking these oaths and beforehand pledges. The fight made by both Mr. Mizzell's friends and Mr. Sam Engelhardt's friends has been against the so-called oath, yet the daily newspaper supporters of Mr. Mizzell would gain him support by coercion in that they are arguing that one should not go back on one's oath. This oath business is the same thing the committee has been fighting. We are sure that both candidates for the chairmanship want this race to be fought out on the merits of the respective men and not on any pressure or coercion from either side. All on the committee must be free to vote on their convictions.

Mixed Race Parley Tops '58 Stories

The people of Montgomery showed the most interest in the following 10 "top-rated stories" that had a bearing on their life as reported in the Montgomery Home News in 1958:

1. MIXED MEETING. Naturally, the biggest story was one that went unreported for seven weeks this Fall and was at the end of 1958 still considered "as most significant" to the people. When 30 white women of three faiths and 30 Negro women met at St. Jude's Hospital Sept. 27 to discuss "the issue", the word put out by the "guiding hand" from the Southern Regional Council (a race-mixing outfit from Atlanta) was "no publicity." The Home News was most pleased to have served the reading public of Montgomery their "number one news interest story" in 1958.

2. PATTERSON'S ELECTION AND VICTORY FOR STATES RIGHTS: Montgomery was the only city in the state that had any story that nosed out John Patterson's smashing win at the polls. His "nobody but the people" campaign gave the state a clean new "party-free and politicics clean" administration and helped put the States Rights or Alabama Democrats back in party business. This was the number one story over the state.

3. EMBATTLED SOUTH. The story of the South's fight for State's Right and self-preservation was number three here because the first on-the-gound conflict was staged here. The Civil Rights Commission hearing climaxed a year of harrassment of our way of life by the NAACP, the Southern Regional Council and

COURT ACTION FOR INTEGRATION BRINGS CITY PARKS SHUT-DOWN

It's Later Than You Think!

The above cartoon, reprinted from "THE CITIZENS' COUNCIL," official organ of the Citizens' Councils of America, is a very able ilustration of the constant complaint of those who are trying to rally support for racial integrity and States' Rights.

Montgomery's City Commission ordered all public parks closed effective today, Jan. 1. This action followed on heels of the efforts of eight would be race-mixers to "integrate" the public parks of the state capitol.

A resolution ordering the closing of all white and negro parks was passed unanimously by members of the City Commission, in Tuesday's meeting. It will remain in effect "until further notice." Signs are now being placed at each park.

The action by the city commission was hailed widely throughout the city as "drastic but much needed" and "this should show the rabid race-mixers our city means business." Generally, all comment from Southern white people was favorable.

Most Negroes reserved comment. The eight were unavailable for comment.

WHEREAS, eight negroes, namely, Georgia Theresa Gilmore, Gussie Carlton, Sylvia Johnson, J. C. Smith, Mattie Cargill, Fred Harris, George Stephens, and Elizabeth Brown, have attempted to compel the integration of Oak Park and other public parks in the City of Montgomery hereinafter designated by suit filed in the Federal District Court; and

WHEREAS, this attempt poses grave problems involving the welfare and public safety of all of the citizens of the City of Montgomery; and

WHEREAS, the members of the Commission are of the opinion

GROUP TO SEEK SCHOOL MIXING

A "massive attempt" to integrate Montgomery schools will be made early in the new year, it was announced here Tuesday by Rev. Martin Luther King, radical Montgomery Negro leader. The program will be under the sponsorship of the Montgomery Improvement Asociation, King said.

Preacher King said the matter will first be presented to the Board of Education and, if this fails, "we'll go into the courts."

The integration attempt will undoubtedly attack the validity of Alabama's pupil placement law, which was recently upheld by the U. S. Supreme Court.

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In line with the above, we believe a statement from Col. Mizzell that he relieves anyone from any pledge in connection with the post would help clear the air. Frankly, Col. Mizzell could not hurt himself by doing this and then whoever wins the committee chairmanship would do so on his merit and with the real, earnest endorsement of the majority. We believe Mr. Mizzell is getting unfair criticism from certain "anti-South" circles because certain people are charging him with bludgeoning his supporters with coercion.

Col. Mizzell did devote some efforts to the Spring campaign even though he had to take considerable time off for military reserve officers duty during the heat of the battle. That is when the champion of the anti-oath brigade, Lawrence "Snag" Andrews, of Bullock County, moved in and stumped the state. "Snag", who has been elected State Senator, should be given principal credit for the election of the anti-oath slate.

As for Sam Engelhardt, a tried and true Southerner who has been unjustly abused by former friends in the daily newspaper world, we believe he or any other committeeman has a right to seek this chairmanship. Afer all the "supposed" nomination was unofficial, represented some of the anti-oath crew only, and since the committee does not take office until Jan. 19 no official chariman can be named until then. Sam told the Home News Tuesday that since the abuse and verbal attack on him he feels even more determined to seek this post.

Thus the chairmanship hinges on the Jan. 19 election. It was decided at the caucus and will be decided by the full 72-man committee. Gov. John Patterson needs to have a friendly chairman, one who he has worked with and sought counsel with in his tough, daily, four-year grind against the NAACP and the real enemies of our land. Sam Engelhardt is such a man. Mizzell is able and capable. We know both men well and sincerely hope this rift will not be a rupture. The state needs such fighters.

In 1959, when the new and highly-intelligent incoming four genuine Southern governors meet to plan the battle in the Democratic convention, we want our governor to hold a full hand. Alabama, South Carolina, Georgia and Virginia are the four states that will be meeting the issue in 1960.

Patterson deserves and needs his chairman on the State Committee.

Outlay Of $80 Billion For Roads Expected In U. S. In Next Decade

An estimated $80 billion will be spent on America's inter-state, primary and secondary roads during the 1959-69 period, Sam Houston of Washington, D. C., president of the American Right-of-Way Association, told The Birmingham News last week.

Houston will participate in a two-day right-of-way conference at the University of Alabama starting Jan. 15 under auspices of the Alabama chapter of the ARWA, the Alabama Highway Department and the University.

He said the proposed federal interstate roadway system will see 41,000 miles of highways constructed under the federal aid bill. These will provide for four east-west routes and nine north-south routes.

"When this system is completed along about 1969," Houston said, "you will be able to travel from the Canadian border to the Gulf of Mexico, and from the Atlantic to the Pacific Coast, without stopping for a traffic light or making a lefthand turn."

He estimated the interstate program would cost $40 billion by 1969, but he predicted it would not halt at that time but would be continued to take care of the transportation needs of the nation's rapidly growing population.

He said this program entails more spending than any construction project ever conceived by Congress.

The discussion led to speculation that cost of the program would result in higher gasoline taxes nationally, and that utilities would see their rates raised to pay costs of the tremendous moving program connected with the new roadways.

Also sitting in on the conference was Harry Lackey, assistant vice president of Southern Bell Telephone Co. here.

this Fall and was at the end of 1958 still considered "as most significant" to the people. When 30 white women of three faiths and 30 Negro women met at St. Jude's Hospital Sept. 27 to discuss "the issue", the word put out by the "guiding hand" from the Southern Regional Council (a race-mixing outfit from Atlanta) was "no publicity." The Home News was most pleased to have served the reading public of Montgomery their "number one news interest story" in 1958.

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4. YOUTH ACHIEVEMENT. In Montgomery as elsewhere over the state the youth set a blistering pace of achievement. Robert E. Lee High School won plaudits with its state football champions, undefeated, and the right to The

(Continued on Page 4)

Angus Show And Sale To Be Held Here Jan. 5-6

The twenty-first annual Southern Regional Angus Show and Sale will be held in Montgomery at the State Coliseum Jan. 5 and 6. Eighty three bulls and thirty females will be sold at this event. Nineteen breeders from six Southern states have consignments in the sale.

Judging of the animals will be held at 1 p. m. on Jan. 5 with Dr. R. A. Long, head of the Animal Husbandry Department, University of Georgia, as judge. The sale will begin at 10:30 a. m. Jan. 6, with George Kurtz and Scott Wilson as auctioneers.

A record crowd is expected to attend this annual sale as the best group of cattle ever consigned to this event will be offered for sale.

On the evening of Jan. 5 the Alabama Angus Association will entertain with a hospitality hour and banquet at the Whitley Hotel. All Angus breeders and persons interested in Angus cattle are invited to attend these events.

A prize Angus heifer will be presented as a door prize during the meeting by Mr. and Mrs. J. Harry Edwards, Brierfield Angus Farm, Brierfield.

The Show and Sale is sponsored by the Montgomery Chamber of Commerce, the Alabama Angus Association and the American Angus Association and is one of the top Angus sales held each year in the South.

ALERT ALABAMIANS

often want extra copies of the Home News for home or office in order that friends and clients may also become better informed.

If you wish quantities of Home News, so that you may give your callers a copy, order now at special bulk rates of five cents a copy.

The above cartoon, reprinted from "THE CITIZENS' COUNCIL," official organ of the Citizens' Councils of America, is a very able Hustration of the constant complaint of those who are trying to rally support for racial integrity and States' Rights.

City Politics Feverish

BY BILL CLEGHORN

Get out the tub, get out the pail,
Roll out the votes and sound the wail—

The city election qualifying date draws near. Right after the State Democratic Executive Committee meets in January, the local candidates who believe they are the men for the job will be out after YOUR vote.

Interest in the city election has been keen for more than a year. Curbstone comment indicates all three of the incumbents will be in there making a pitch for re-election. All will be definitely formidable and hard to unseat opponents for the challengers, but the voters will have to make the choice, not me.

The mayor's race glowed red hot this week wth the word, or you might say whirlwind of words, that swept Montgomery.

"Earl James is in the race," is all you hear all over town. So, the one-time city commissioner will be out after his former associate's seat.

Mayor William A. Gayle has not indicated his stand or intentions publicly, but it is a well known fact he is running to return.

James' supporters are cropping up all over. How strong and hard he will run is yet to be seen, but it will be fun to watch. That is for those who are not committed.

Also in the race and already reporting, polling up his snipe gun for some heating on the wing" is Montgomery's veteran close-in political fighter, Dave Birmingham.

Dave says he has the key that will unlock the secrets at City Hall and in his words, "my, oh my, how the gang will scurry for cover when I come after them."

Wilbur Nolen, once rumored as a candidate for mayor, is out. Usually, Earl James and Wilbur Nolen see eye to eye and with Earl in, Wilbur will be out.

Other possibilities are Gordon Meriwether, Jr., real estate man, Bill Brewbaker, the Buick dealer, and Ralph "Shorty" Price.

Gordon is "feeling out" his support. Brewbaker is unreported.

"Shorty" Price, world's champion hitchhiker, who has parlayed a "phonograph mouth" and one-track brain into more miles by thumb than any other candidate, says he wants to run in one place for a while.

Shorty denies that he is in the race to needle "Mr. Birmingham".

"Why, I will be slipping the needle to all of them," Shorty says.

Gayle knows he is off base when he arrests juveniles after midnight—just because they are under 21. The mayor must have been born under 21, himself," Shorty reveals.

"Earl James is one man I could eliminate in a hurry, if I decide to qualify," Price added.

"We could take James to the cleaners," the four-foot-12-inch candidate affirmed.

In the other ace, L. B. Sullivan is already working hard in his race against Clyde Sellers, Police Commissioner.

For Public Works, Frank Parks will probably face George Rivers, who is running on a platform to do away with mixed-race seating on the city buses; Walter Darby, dry cleaner; D. H. "Sarge" Caraker, former caretaker of Crampton Bowl; John Weaver, real estate man, and possibly Joe M. Dawkins, tire recapper and loan company executive.

George Cleere, former commissioner, will not seek a seat. He is setting an outstanding record as executive secretary of the Alabama-Coosa River Development Association.

Officers Elected By Montgomery Exchange Clubs

Two Montgomery Exchange Clubs have released names of newly elected officers for the next six months. The slate from East Montgomery Exchange includes:

Rex McKissick, president; T. W. Dendy, vice president; Clarence Sharits, secretary; Edmond Dowe, treasurer.

Board of Control: Dr. Zack Traywich, Mureal Crump and Billy Parker. Juius Turner will be ex-officio member of the board. Hold-over members are E. T. Enslen, Foster Goodwin and Bill Simpler.

For the downtown Montgomery club, the new officers are Jessee M. Hodges, president; Curtis H. Springer, vice president; Phil Richardson, vice president; Oscar Bentley, secretary-treasurer.

Board of Control members are Frank Chapman, Lehman Ivey, William C. Moore, William Ottis Powell, Zack Azar, L. N. Calhoun, Frank Morrow; Robet Ryne, Gil K. Moody is immediate past president.

DIXIE'S OWN LITTLE DARLINGS—Some of the talent and beauty that Montgomery displayed to the world at the annual Blue and Gray Football Day last Saturday. Shown are representatives of the art of dip and twirl from Capitol Heights Junior High School. They are (front row) Judy Lacy, Donna Parsons. Back: Ann Gardner, Joanne Knutson. They performed at halftime of the Little League Blue and Gray Game Saturday at Paterson Field.

the state capitol.

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The action by the city commission was hailed widely throughout the city as "drastic but much needed" and "this should show the rabid race-mixers our city means business." Generally, all comment from Southern white people was favorable.

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WHEREAS, this attempt poses grave problems involving the welfare and public safety of all of the citizens of the City of Montgomery; and

WHEREAS, the members of the Commission are of the opinion that it is to the best interest of the citizens of Montgomery that said parks be closed:

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED by the Board of Commissioners of the City of Montgomery, Alabama, that the folowing public parks in the City of Montgomery, to-wit,

Bear park, Bruce park, Civic park, Day Street, Diffly park, Hamner Hall, King's Hill, Kiwanis, Mobile Heights, Oak Park, Perry Street, Ridgecrest, Washington Park be closed beginning Jan. 1, 1959, to all persons, regardless of color, until further action of the Parks and Recreation Board and the Mayor and Commissioners of the City of Montgomery.

Woods Is Named New President Of Guaranty Savings

Ernest H. Woods, Birmingham business executive, becomes president of Guaranty Savings Life Insurance Company on Jan. 1. He succeeds Lee Roy Ussery, who

(Pictures on Page 4)

founded the company in 1948 and has served as president since that time.

Woods purchased the stock of Ussery, which is considered "working control" of the company. Consisting of approximately one-third of the outstanding shares, the stock, including estate holdings of other persons involved, amounted to more than $1 million.

The board of directors of Guaranty, meeting in Montgomery on Monday, Dec. 22, elected Woods to fill a vacancy on the board. He

(Continued on Page 4)

Town Hall Session Scheduled For Jan. 8

Another Town Hall Meeting will be held Jan. 8, Hugh Ashurst chairman of the Town Hall Meetings, told the Home News this week. The open public session is devoted to presenting one current topic on local affairs and inviting discussion from the floor.

"We model our sessions from the old New England town hall, the earliest form of democratic public action in our country," the chairman added.

"No special group, clique or faction sponsors these meetings. They are for white people who wish to preserve our way of life. All are invited." he added.

SCHOOL MIXING

A "massive attempt" to integrate Montgomery schools will be made early in the new year, it was announced here Tuesday by Rev. Martin Luther King, radical Montgomery Negro leader. The program will be under the sponsorship of the Montgomery Improvement Asociation, King said.

Preacher King said the matter will first be presented to the Board of Education and, if this fails, "we'll go into the courts."

The integration attempt will undoubtedly attack the validity of Alabama's pupil placement law, which was recently upheld by the U. S. Supreme Court.

Business Outlook Promising During 12 Months Ahead

The outlook for continuing gains in business activity in 1959 is generally promising. The rise may not be as spectacular as in the 1955 recovery, but this could prove a blessing, since the 1955 superboom produced troublesome distortons. By the end of 1959 Gross National Product (GNP) could easily be running at $475-480 billion, 5 or 6 per cent above the present rate.

As 1958 drew to a close, the recovery movement seemed to be maintaining its momentum very well. High-level automobile production was imparting new stimulous to the economy, and holiday sales seemed to be measuring up to retailers' hopeful anticipations.

Although official figures are not yet available, indications are that gross national product ran at an annual rate of $452-453 billion in the final quarter of the year., $13-14 billion above the rate in

(Continued on Page 4)

Home News Raises Subscription Rate

With this issue, the MONTGOMERY HOME NEWS, the state capitol's independent weekly newspaper announces a slight increase in the annual subscription rate.

New subscribers will pay $3.00 for a one-year subscription, $5.00 for a two-year subscription and $7.50 for a three-year subscription. A special five-months trial subscription is available for $1.50.

NEWS STAND single copy price is hiked to ten cents.

Old subscribrs who are renewing during December and January can renew at the old rate of $2.50 per year.

The increase in subscription rate results from a three-fold increase cost of producing the Home News. First, news gathering and administrative expenses have increased with the new and increased editorial responsibility of the paper. Secondly, printing, addressing and circulation expenses have soared up. And lastly, the post office has slapped a rate increase on second class postage.

Effective January 1, and for the next three years, the cost of mailing newspapers (Second Class) will go up each year.

This increase puts us in line with other city weeklies in the South.

200 MILLION DOLLARS

Over 200 million dollars are spent yearly for records by the American consumer. In order to get their share of this business the Hideaway Record Nook, 2748 Boultier St. (around the corner from the Clover Theater) has put in the best selection of quality records (long playing albums only) to appeal to the discriminating listener. (adv.)

---MORE ABOUT---

Top 10 Stories

(Continued from Page 1)

Birmingham News trophy, and its outstanding nationally noted Marching Band. Catholic High went undefeated to win the CAC conference and a bid to the Peanut Bowl. The young people of Sidney Lanier, Robert E. Lee, Catholic and Montgomery County High continued to win honors and achievement in scholarship and good citizenship. A Lee senior was elected governor of the Youth Legislature at Boys State.

5. STATE FOOTBALL. Auburn fourth in naton. Alabama's amazingly brilliant comeback as a conference power under Paul "Bear" Bryant.

6. TRAFFIC SAFETY. City earned award as the outstanding city in its population class for traffic record achievement. One way streets and driver training in schools emphasized in 1958.

7. CIVIC PROGRESS. New buildings started and/or dedicated. Seven million dollar airport facilities at Dannelly Field, termed one of nation's best and finest in its class, Branch YMCA buildings. New Court House dedicated. Four community centers completed, one more on the way. National Guard Armory dedicated and Reserve Armory started to give city three military garrisons. Open House at Sewerage Disposal Plant. West Side sewerage outfall planned. Houston Hill Development, Truly a city on the go.

8. PRIVATE ENTERPRISE. New buildings and continuing residential projects keynote of construction with plant of new office space in new and remodeled buildings, apartments and new insurance and construction company headquarters buildings. Down Town Montgomery strides away with face lifting.

9. CITIZENS ACHIEVEMENTS. Dr. J. S. Jenson, of U. S. Virus Laboratory, voted one of nation's top 10 young men by U. S. Junior Chamber of Commerce, Col. Price McLemore honored by Franklin Institute for flame thrower. Dr. Henry S. Lyon, nationally recognized leading minister in movement to speak out for the South in efforts to withstand Anti-Christ movement of race mixers. Jack Lovett repeats as state skeet champion.

10. FEBRUARY COLD SNAP. And did it snap. Remember, this was one of state's coldest recorded periods. Brought about gas shortage and crop damage but helped peach crop.

Other stories that caught the reader's eye:

Life and times of the Reverends Martin L. King, Ralph Abernathy, Daisy Bates speech in King's church, uncovering the plot of the Southern Regional Council to mix school children in Montgomery; Oak Park's on-again-off again segregation attack by the Negro citizens, Loss

ROBERT E. IGLEHEART PROMOTED—Robert E. "Bob" Igleheart (left) has been promoted to general manager of the Guaranty Savings Life Insurance Company, Montgomery. He continues as executive vice-president, an office which he has held during the past two years. In the picture he receives the congratulations of Ernest Woods, who becomes president of the Guaranty, today, Jan. 1. Igleheart is governor-elect of the Alabama-West Florida District of Civitan International and will become governor July 1. Long active in Civitan work, he has held every office in the Montgomery Civitan Club.

LEE ROY USSERY

---MORE ABOUT---

Guaranty Savings

(Continued from page 1)

served in this capacity until Jan. 1st, when he becomes president. Mr. Ussery tendered his

---MORE ABOUT---

Business Outlook

(Continued from Page 1)

the third quarter. All major components of GNP, except business investment in fixed assets, appear to have made some significant contribution to the rise.

The outlook for further gains in the new year is good, as is indicated by the following review of conditions of major segments of the economy:

CONSUMER SPENDING: Much of the credit for the brevity of the 1957-58 recession must go to the strength of consumer spending. Except in the hard-goods area consumption was well maintained. This was true even last Winter, when business news was at its worst. And after the first quarter of 1958, rising outlays for both non-durable goods and services

ery. Guaranty operates in seven Southern states, and has approximately $80 million of insurance in force. Assets of the company are in excess of $5 million. Fifty-

contributed to the recovery movement.

GOVERNMENT OUTLAYS: Spending by state and local governments in 1958 persisted in the uptrend that has characterized the entire postwar period. This advance was an important counter-recession influence in the early months of the year and helped to speed the recovery. There is every reason to believe that the rise will continue during the coming year, and that by the final quarter of 1959 the annual rate of expenditures could very well be running some $3 billion higher than at present.

RESIDENTIAL CONTRUCTION: Expansion in home building has been an important factor in the recovery movement to date, partly because of government stimulation and partly because conditions in capital markets were more favorable to home financing during much of 1958 than in the preceding year. On the whole, it looks as if 1959 should be a generally active year for the industry in view of the substantial volume of work now in progress and the large amount of forward financing commitments. If general business continues to improve during the year, however, capital—market conditions could very well become less favorable to home financing. The new Congress may conceiveably provide stimulants which would negate this natural tendency, but for the time being, the most reasonable assumption to make is that a leveling out will occur in residential construction rather early in 1959.

CAPITAL SPENDING: Weakness in spending investment accounted for a substantial part of the recent recession, but from all appearances the decline in this area is now over.

Although McGraw-Hill's survey of preliminary investment plans for 1959 conducted during October, does not point to any appreciable rise in capital outlays by business in the coming year, this may not be very significant. Since October there has been further confirmation that the recovery movement is solidly grounded, and this fact—together with the brightening profits situation—has probably already produced some upgrading of investment plans. Moreover, the experience of past years suggests that additional upgrading will take place during the course of 1959 if the general up-

trend in business is sustained.

OVER-ALL GNP: It is clear from the foregoing that expansive tendencies predominate in the economy at present. Nothing like a runaway boom seems in early prospect, but the outlook is good for steady progress during the year ahead. A GNP rate of $475-480 billion seems easily possible by the end of 1959. This range actually allows for a considerable slowdown from the rate of gain in the latter half of 1958, and it implies a slower advance than occurred in 1955. It would, however, be sufficient to produce a steady increase in the demand for labor.

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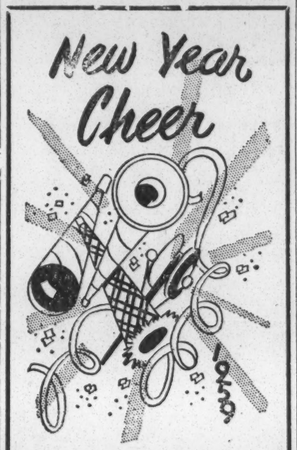

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HAPPY

Four community centers completed, one more on the way. National Guard Armory dedicated and Reserve Armory started to give city three military garrisons. Open House at Sewerage Disposal

King's church, uncovering the plot of the Southern Regional Council to mix school children in Montgomery; Oak Park's on-again-off again segregation attack by the Negro citizens, Loss

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---MORE ABOUT---

Guaranty Savings

(Continued from page 1)

served in this capacity until Jan. 1st, when he becomes president. Mr. Ussery tendered his resignation to the board effective Dec. 31.

Mr. Woods is currently president and chairman of the board of Skyland Life Insurance Company, Charlotte, N. C. He indicated that plans would be considered soon to effect a merger between the two insurance companies.

The home office of Guaranty Savings Life is in Montgomery, where it was moved in 1951 from Gadsden. The company occupies three floors of the Guaranty Savings Life Building, an eight-story building in downtown Montgomery. Guaranty operates in seven Southern states, and has approximately $80 million of insurance in force. Assets of the company are in excess of $5 million. Fifty-five persons are employed in the Home Office, and there are 150 agents in the seven state area.

Mr. Ussery, who has also served as president of Mid-South Life Insurance Company, plans to continue in that capacity for an indefinite period. He plans principally to devote his time to pursuing his interest in his extensive real estate holdings. He owns considerable properties in Melbourne, Florida, and expects to develop these in the near future.

Robert E. Igleheart, executive vice president of Guaranty, has also been named general manager, and assumes his new duties on Jan. 1.

In addition to Woods and Igleheart, members of the board of directors are J. D. Baggett, Birmingham; Fuller Kimbrell, Fayette; Bedford F. Seale, Birmingham; Clarence R. Hill, Gadsden; M. E. Ward, Birmingham; Van B. Taunton, Dadeville; James A. Jay, Alexandria; Melvin E. Dobbs, Montgomery; Howard Berg, Melbourne; Melvin Baldwin, Birmingham; Grady Webb, Langdale; and Robert Turner, Huntsville.

of Sears Roebuck store to Montgomery business due to rezoning problem, branch YMCA's, Hank Williams, Jr., to play in movie father's life, Shriner's Sports-O-Rama, plans for Chisholm Shopping Center,

Most overquoted story, the youth problem. Here, a mess of souped up tales was fed to the public in an effort to discredit a section of a city and a senior high school. This effort has backfired along with the newspaper's efforts to try certain young people in the "guilt of association" technique.

Practically all of Montgomery's top stories have the underlining story of the right of a state to govern itself.

LEGAL NOTICE

IN THE MATTER OF THE CASE NO. 26561 OF
ADA GIBSON, N. C. M.
IN THE CIRCUIT COURT OF MONTGOMERY COUNTY, ALABAMA, IN EQUITY

TO: The Department of Public Welfare of the State of Illinois, 311 E. Monroe Street, Springfield, Illinois,
and
TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN:

Pursuant to an order of the Circuit Court of Montgomery County, Ala., In Equity, entered in the above entitled cause on the 5th day of December, 1958, you are hereby notified that Ethel Barry, as Guardian for Ada Gibson, a non compos mentis, on the 3rd day of December, 1958, filed her account and vouchers for a final settlement of said estate, and that January 9, 1959, at 10:00 o'clock, A. M., has been set by the Court to hear and pass upon said account and vouchers.

Witness my hand this the 10th day of December, 1958.

Geo. H. Jones, Jr.
As Register of the Circuit Court of Montgomery County, Alabama,
In Equity

Dec. 11-18-25, Jan. 1

---MORE ABOUT---

Business Outlook

(Continued from Page 1)

the third quarter. All major components of GNP, except business investment in fixed assets, appear to have made some significant contribution to the rise.

The outlook for further gains in the new year is good, as is indicated by the following review of conditions of major segments of the economy:

CONSUMER SPENDING: Much of the credit for the brevity of the 1957-58 recession must go to the strength of consumer spending. Except in the hard-goods area consumption was well maintained. This was true even last Winter, when business news was at its worst. And after the first quarter of 1958, rising outlays for both non-durable goods and services

ably provide stimulants which would negate this natural tendency, but for the time being, the most reasonable assumption to make is that a leveling out will occur in residential construction rather early in 1959.

CAPITAL SPENDING: Weakness in spending investment accounted for a substantial part of the recent recession, but from all appearances the decline in this area is now over.

Although McGraw-Hill's survey of preliminary investment plans for 1959 conducted during October, does not point to any appreciable rise in capital outlays by business in the coming year, this may not be very significant. Since October there has been further confirmation that the recovery movement is solidly grounded, and this fact—together with the brightening profits situation—has probably already produced some upgrading of investment plans. Moreover, the experience of past years suggests that additional upgrading will take place during the course of 1959 if the general up-

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MONTGOMERY Home News

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Indepe Weekly

TWENTY-EIGHTH YEAR—NO. 6 MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA, THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 5, 1959 TEN CENTS A COPY

MF - file

Andrews Bill Would Provide Funds For Removal Of Dissatisfied Negroes

WASHINGTON, D. C. — Rep. George Andrews, of Alabama's Third District, has introduced a bill in Congress which would finance with federal funds the removal from the South of Negroes who are unhappy with conditions here.

His bill would authorize relocation loans to any Negro living in a state which practices racial segregation to enable him and his family to move to any state without such segregation.

It would set up a three-member human resettlement commission appointed by the president and authorize transportation and relocation loans up to $1000, repayable within 10-20 years at 2½ per cent interest.

Sens. John Sparkman and Lister Hill Alabama Democrats, said they like his measure.

"I have supported legislation of this character in the past and I shall continue to support it," Hill said.

Sparkman said he strongly favors Andrews' bill.

"Some have charged that bills of this type would force Negroes now living in the South man said. "This is not true. Rather, assistance would be claimed on a wholly voluntary basis by anyone in need of financial assistance who desires to move to another state and can show that migration would be for his economic betterment.

"If, as is often claimed, Negroes now living in the South could do better in the North and they wish to migrate, such a law would make it possible for them to do so.

"Rep. Andrews' bill makes sense. I hope it will receive the careful consideration which it deserves."

Andrews has introduced the bill in the last two Congresses. It has never reached the House for a vote.

Tempo Speeded In City Politics As Candidates Launch Drive For Votes

One dozen candidates of assorted political backgrounds have tossed hats into the ring for the three commission position in Montgomery's city government.

Wtih the March 16 Democratic primary only six weeks away, intense activity and heavy political salvos are expected to tag this race as one of the hardest fought in Montgomery history.

The deadline for qualifying was last Saturday.

Now qualified with their names on the ballot are:

For Mayor: Dave Birmingham, John G. Crommelin, W. A. (Tackey) Gayle Earl D. James.

For Associate Commissioner No.1: Walter J. Bamberg, Richard H. Burwell, D. H. (Sarge) Caraker, Allan B. Jones, Frank Parks, George Rivers.

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There are only two contests in the races for eight seats on the city committee.

Qualified for the City Democratic Executive Committee are: Ward one, Rufus Marvin Taylor and J. J. O'Connor; Ward Two, Stuart May Jr.; Ward Three, Linis J. Moeller; Ward Four, John Dowe; Ward Fiv, C. L. (Cad) Beale; Ward Six, George L. Wise; Ward Seven, B. Theron Bradley and T. A. Hardy, and Ward 23, Herbert R. Nation.

Methodist Paper Asks Donations To Negro Schools

Sunday, Feb. 8, is Race Relations Day, according to a report from the Methodist Christian Advocate. The Advocate says of all the Negroes in private colleges, one out of five is in a Methodist college.

"To keep standards high at a crucial moment in the history of a race, a million dollars is needed in the 1959 Race Relations Day offering.. Each dollar given will bring three to five dollars in matching money." (ed. note—from whom?).

The Methodist Church is asking its members to raise one million dollars for Negroes in Methodist Colleges.

No one knows what the NAACP or the Southern Regional Council nor the Communist Party will give the colleges.

After all, the NAACP has its own creed, "One Million Dollars for Racial Agitation—not one cent for education."

The Advocate story written by a Dr. John O. Gross, of the Commission on Higher Education, says the goal can be realized if every Methodist Church will take an offering for these schools on Race Relations Sunday.

"Through the years these schools have furnished Methodist-ism best known Negro leadership". Martin L. King, nationally-

Unsigned Letter In Local Daily Newsaper Shields Identity Of Race Mixers

Dear Harassed:

To you and whoever else is involved in the puzzling and mysterious letter written to the editor of the Advertiser last Sunday concerning the "Women of the Fellowship of the Concerned."

First, which of the women are you—the Negro or the white or some of both?

You race mixers sure do confuse me. You get all steamed up over this social experimentation and are real pioneers and willing to go right down the line—that is except having your name printed or being publicized.

I wish you women would get together. In your letter you condemn the Home News for writing up a church meeting that was public while one of your members writes and says our reprsntative had no business at a "private" meeting.

According to Mrs. M. E. Tilly, well-known Methodist Church apostle of race mixing, who wrote from her church-located headquarters in Atlanta, my representative, who was also a church woman, had no business at your meeting.

Mrs. Tilley says, "I can assure you the only mysterious woman present was the uninvited guest who was rather "mysterious' in trying to explain her appearance."

Answer that, please, and sign it, mystery guest.

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Answer that, please, and sign it, mystery guest.

No coaching from the audience.

In the letter to the Advertiser signed by "some of the concerned" published Sunday, Feb. 1, you state the meeting was open to all interested persons and not considerd any more newsworthy, by our reputable dailies, than any other meetings of church groups.

If this is so, why did your church ask one "white lady" to leave as she was not properly oriented?

Are you women concerned over the exposure of your "pilot meeting" to plan "the first step toward racial integration" in Montgomery schools or are you just concerned over your husband's and other relatives business.

Well, get this straight, race mixers, we haven's even begun to fight. We know you even though you are too cowardly to sign your names when you write letters to the editor of the Advertiser. That is the place to send them. After all, you women asked their reporter and photographer to leave and "no publicity" and they compiled.

Do you believe as the editor of the Advertises that "integration is inevitable.?"

Is that why you write letters to the Advertiser? You are right on the target there wih old Mr. Askelon, himslf, who says yes, segregation is a sin in the South, but it is a sin in the North, also.

Write the Home News a letter and sign it, please.

Yours,
Bill Cleghorn,
a segregationist.

31,000 Veterans Pension Cases In Alabama Are Being Adjusted

Approximately 31,000 compensation and pension cases, added to the rolls of the Veterans Administration in Alabama after World War II, have required adjustment in the claims review now underway, it was reported today.

The actual number of adjustments is 1,908 and is cumulative to September 30, 1958, Neil R. Smart, Acting Manager of the Montgomery, Ala., VA Regional Office announced today. It involves 10.8 per cent of the 17,687 cases reviewed to that date.

Included in the adjustments were 93 instances of increases in monthly payments to reflect a worsening in degree of disability Improvement in the degree of disability with accompanying decresases in monthly payments occurred in 580 cases. There were 1 235 terminations of payment.

Breaking down this last figure of 1,235 terminations, 598 were ended primarily because of an improvement in disability to a level no longer justifying monetary awards. The remaining 637 were terminated after the VA found "clear and unmistakable error" in associating the disability with the period of military service.

Smart said that of the 598 veterans whose payments ceased because of an improvement in disability, service—connection was confirmed in almost all cases and these veterans may be returned to the compensation rolls if their service-connected ailments again become disabling to a compensable degree. Veterans involved in adverse changes have the right of appeal to the Board of Veterans Appeals if they believe that the changes were not justified, Smart pointed out.

Legion Chaplain Speaks At Local Kiwanis Meeting

The Right Reverend Monsignor John J. Twiss national chaplain of The American Legion addressed Montgomery Kiwanis Club Tuesday in observance of "Religious Emphasis Month."

The week of Feb. 1-7 has been proclaimd by Governor John Patterson as "Religious Emphasis Week" in Alabama. During the month of February the American Legion, as one of its major programs, has designated the week of Feb. 1-7 "Back to God Week"; Feb. 8-14, "Go to Church Week"; Feb. 15-21, "Pray For Peace Week", and Feb. 22-28, "Divine Guidance Week."

A nation-wide telecast last Sunday presented the American Legion's religious program, "For God and Country."

authorize transportation and relocation loans up to $1000, repayable within 10-20 years at 2½ per cent interest.

Sens. John Sparkman and Lister Hill Alabama Democrats, said they like his measure.

"I have supported legislation of this character in the past and I shall continue to support it," they wish to migrate, such a law would make it possible for them to do so.

"Rep. Andrews' bill makes sense, I hope it will receive the careful consideration which it deserves."

Andrews has introduced the bill in the last two Congresses. It has never reached the House for a vote.

NO BARS FOR GEORGE—George Wallace, former circuit judge from Clayton, Ala., and defeated candidate for governor, pauses outside the federal building in Montgomery after U. S. Judge Frank Johnson, Jr., dismissed a contempt of court suit against him for defying "federal snoops." Crossed steel bars of the federal building cast a patchwork shadow at his back. Home News Photo by Norman Vowell.

Integration Leader Will Be Speaker At Tuskegee "Boycotters" Meeting

Special to Home News

TUSKEGEE, Ala.— One of the leaders in the "public school integration workshops" will be featured speaker at Tuskegee Institute Sunday.

Frederick B. Routh, assistant director, Southern Regional Council, Atlanta. Ga., will be the scheduled speaker at the Tuskegee Civic Association meeting when the group observes "Race Relations Sunday."

The TCA is the sparkplug of the boycott of the merchants in Tuskegee.

Routh is known for his work in community counselling in race relations. He claims the title of race relations consultant.

The Southern Regional Council, one of the "race mixing fat cats" of the Fund for the Republic, has been slammed hard by Eugene Cook, former attorney general of Georgia, as "aiding and abetting in the NAACP fomented racial agitation."

According to Cook, the South-

(Continued on Page 3)

tions Day, according to a report from the Methodist Christian Advocate. The Advocate says of all the Negroes in private colleges, one out of five is in a Methodist college.

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"Through the years these schools have furnished Methodistism best known Negro leadership".

Martin L. King, nationally-known mulatto racial strife stirrer, is one of these leaders. At this moment, King is on his way to India to study Ghandi's philosphy for one month. Someone might ask King, "what is wrong with the teachings of Jesus Christ?"

Lanier Students Raise Hogs For Chapter Project

The vocational agriculture students at Sidney Lanier High School are raising hogs as a chapter project.

At th epresent time the chapter has 51 head of hogs which includes one registered boar and eight brood sows. All the hogs were purchased this past November. The pigs will be grown to market size before they are sold. Plans are to grow into a purebred Landrace program in the near future. The purebred stock will be shown by the Sidney Lanier FFA members in the hog shows this fall.

(Continued on Page 3)

READY FOR HER SECOND HUNDRED—Mrs. Lucy E. Garrett, Five Oak Forest Drive, Montgomery, checks her birthday cake on her first century anniversary during a tea held in the Gold Room, Montgomery Fair. The mother of Mrs. Joe B. Owens, Montgomery, Mrs. Garrett, observed her 100th birthday Jan. 19. The cheerful little ladyweighed 100 pounds on her 100th birthday. She has 11 children, nine living; 7 grand children, 84 great grandchildren, and 20 great great grandchildren. Mrs. Garrett's father fought in the Confederate Army during the War Between the States. She was born in Clarke County near Grove Hill. Home News Photo by Norman Vowell.

last Saturday.

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For Associate Commissioner No.1: Walter J. Bamberg, Richard H. Burwell, D. H. (Sarge) Caraker, Allan B. Jones, Frank Parks, George Rivers.

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NICHOLAS S. HARE

Nicholas S. Hare Joins Attorney General's Staff

A prominent attorney and former member of the House of Representatives of the State of Alabama, has ben addd to the staff of Attorney General MacDonald Gallion.

Nicholas S. Hare, of Monroeville, Monroe County, will be assigned as Chief of the Trials Division in the Attorney General's office Gallion said.

Mr. Hare was born in Monroeville, October 11 1911, son of the late Circuit Judge F. W. Hare, and grandson of Probate Judge N. F. Stallworth. He was educated in public schools in Monroe County and won a scholarship to Northwood School, Lake Placid, N. Y. He studied pre-law courses at Alabama Polytechnic Institute, Auburn, and later graduated in 1935 from the University of Alabama Law School. He was class orator for the graduating class.

Mr. Hare served in the House of Representatives from Monroe County 1954-58. He served on the Judiciary Committee, Military Affairs, and Committee on Constitutions and Elections. He was chairman of the Judiciary Advisory Council, charged with the comprehensive study of our court system. The study resulted in the introductions of bills generally known as the Court Reform Bills.

The first printing press in the New World was set up in Mexico. Craftsmen in Mexico City were printing books in 1539, less than 100 years after the press was invented.

DANCE BALLERINA, DANCE—Learning to trip the light toe fancy at Jacksonville State Teachers are (left to right); Helen Molan, ballerina captain; Barbara Cary, Gadsden, Rebecca Allison, Gadsden; and Helen Edwards, Valley Head.

49th Anniversary Will Be Observed During Boy Scouts Week Feb. 7-13

The 49th anniversary of the founding of the Boy Scouts of America will be observed nationally during Boy Scout Week Feb. 7 to 13.

Since 1910, more than 29,500,000 persons have been identified with the Boy Scouts of America. Currently 4,780 000 boys and adult leaders are enrolled.

Chartered by Congress n 1916, this movement has the responsibility to "promote the ability of boys to do things for themselves and others, to develop skills, self-reliance, initiative, physical strength, endurance, courage, patriotism, and those other qualities which contribute to the very highest type o fcitizenship."

Boy Scout Sunday will be observed in churches of all faiths Sunday Feb. 8, with Scouts attending services in uniform. Theme for the week is "Onward for God and My Country" "A Scout is friendly" will be given emphasis during 1959.

Today there are more than 4,780,000 boys and leaders playing the "game of Scouting" Although one of every four boys eight to sixteen years old is enrolled, leaders of the movement want to serve at least a majority of the boys in America.

The next five years will see a large increase in boys of those ages.

"Looking ahead for the next five years," says Dr. Arthur A. Schuck, chief Scout executive, "we must recognize that never has it been so important or imperative that the youth of our nation be trained to high idealism, acquired through unselfish service, by self-reliance, and cooperative effort."

He says that although Scouting's ideals and objectives have remained constant since 1910, "the program organization methods, and aoperating techniques have changed as the result of study and understanding of changing conditions and as necessary to meet the needs of a rapidly growing organization."

The capital city of the Aztec Indians is buried beneath the present capital of Mexico. The Aztecs built their city, called Tenochtitlan on islands which they enlarged by filling huge reed rafts.

Kimbrough New President Of AEA

Alabama teachers elected W. H. (Zeke) Kimbrough, superintendent of Piedmont schools as president of the Alabama Education Association for 1959-60, effective March 13.

The AEA elections committee announced the results of state and district elections following a total tally of 16,591 votes cast by members for Kimbrough and his opponent, Birmingham classroom teacher Miss Lillian Gatchell. Seven of the eight AEA districts filled their presidency posts uncontested. Dr. John A Scarborough, Greenville High School principal won the executive position in District II over candidates James D. Thomason, Sweet Water, and N. P. Penton, Camden. District II encompasses Perry, Dallas Marengo, Wilcox, Lowndes and Butler Counties.

Miss Annette Loftis, Selma Elementary School principal, was unopposed for AEA vice president.

Kimbrough and other state and district officials will assume office following the adjournment of the annual AEA convention, to be held in Birmingham March 12-13.

A university of Alabama graduate, Kimbrough has been superintendent of Piedmont schools for the past 16 years. During his teaching career he has served as a principal, classroom teachers and coach, and is past president of the Alabama High School Athletic Association.

The president-elect is active in teaching profession organizations on the local, district, and state levels. He has served as president of District VI, as a member of the AEA board of trustees and is currently chairman of the AEA committee on retirement. Kimbrough is also a member of the National Education Association.

Who can estimate the number of individuals who are now better citizens because of the Columbus Town Meetings? Salute to these good Yankees with courage of their convictions. Theirs is the stuff that patriots are made from . . . and we stand sorely in need of more.

* * * * *

South Magazine gives Dr. Henry Lyons a nice report in the lead editorial spot last week for his prophecy "year of decision" as reported in the Home News (only). South also agrees with the Home News that the prime 1959 target for King and his crew will be Montgomery—a "federal impact area."

* * * * *

Pat Boone continue to receive top billing over the nation for his highly outstanding and most decent book, "Twixt Twelve and Twenty," published by Prentice-Hall, at $2.95. It is one of the most sincere, informal, friendly series of talks on the subjects teen-agers face in growing up, I have ever read.

Pat approaches the whole thing of growing up in the light of his own experiences. It is most helpful and most worthwhile. If you have a young one in your family, or even if you don't, get a copy. One book shop, Capitol News, reports this as definitely a best seller. Vic Levine, the man who reads all his wares, smiles at just the mention of this book. Congratulations Vic and all book sellers for pushing this one.

Mixers' Meeting

(Continued from page 1)

ern Regional Council is dominated by individuals who, like the officials of the NAACP, have long records of affinity for and participation in Communist, Communist-front, fellow-travelling, left-wing and subversive organizations and activities.

Sworn testimony taken by both House and Senate Committees has placed known Communists in both organizations.

Mrs. M. E. Tilly was the representative of the Southern Regional Council who attended the now well-known interracial meeting at St. Jude's in Montgomery last September. Routh, as a director in the integration workshops at Monteagle, Tenn., in the Highlander Folk School, taught a special course in racial demonstrations.

According to the Georgia Education Commission, Routh's workshop at this controversial school, now under investigation by the Legislature of Tennessee as being subversive, taught a course that emphasized the use of women and children in racial demonstrations.

In at least one of his sessions, the tactics of including women and children in the demonstrations and incidents was propounded on the basis that police are reluctant to shoot women and children.

Rev. K. L. Buford, acting president of the TCA, stated that this meeting is open to all races, and it will be held at the Greenwood Missionary Baptist Church.

(The Home News will try to obtain a list of all white people who attend.)

vote for and elect

L. B. SULLIVAN

Associate Commissioner place no. 2

Will work FOR and WITH the Youth of Montgomery

Pd. Pol. Adv. by L. B. Sullivan Montgomery, Ala.

Veterans' Column

State Dept. of Veterans' Affairs

Here are authoritative answers from the Veterans Administration to questions of interest from former servicemen and their families:

Q. I told the VA to hold the dividends on my GI insurance to my credit. If I don't pay the quarterly premiums due next month, will the VA deduct it from those dividend credits?

A. No. The VA is not permitted to withdraw a quarterly preemium from your dividend credit without your written consent. The VA will withdraw monthly premiums to keep your insurance from lapsing.

Q. Last year I sold a city lot I owned and bought another, making a small profit. Must I report it, in reporting 1958 income for VA pension purposes?

A. Yes. The law says that your net profit on the transaction must be reported, which would be the profit you realized after deducting all expenses incident to the sale.

Q. When does the new law permitting Korea veterans to convert "RS" term insurance policies go into effect?

A. The law permitting holders of Korean conflict term policies to convert to one of VA's permanent plans goes into effect January 1. 1959.

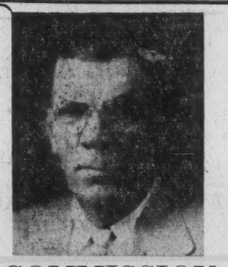
Q. The VA recently liberalized its regulations affecting veterans whose schooling had been interrupted, and permitted re-entry on training in many cases. Does anything in this liberalization apply to a studnt expelled for misconduct?

A. No. If Korean GI training is interrupted or discontinued for misconduct, and the school refuses to readmit the veteran, the law denies him all further GI training.

VOTE FOR

D. H. (Sarge) CARAKER

for



Seat No. 1, CITY COMMISSION

Public Works, Parks and Recreation

Sgt. Caraker is a veteran of both World War I and II and is a member of American Legion, Disabled American Veterans and Sons of the Confederacy and promises to serve all the people alike. Sgt. has had 38 years experience with recreation in Montgomery and feels he knows the recreation need and promises more recreation for all the people.

Sgt. will maintain segregation
Sgt. will uphold law and order.
Sgt. will recommend repell of Sewerage Tax
Sgt. will improve Sanitary Department
Sgt. will improve Engineering Department
Sgt. will work with all youth groups.
Sgt. will strive to bring more Industry
Sgt. will give you a $ worth for every $ spent.

(Paid Pol. Adv. By D. H. (Sarge) Caraker)

BOY SCOUTS OF AMERICA

49th ANNIVERSARY 1959

ONWARD FOR GOD AND MY COUNTRY

OFFICIAL BOY SCOUT WEEK POSTER

The nation's 4,780,000 Cub Scouts, Boy Scouts, Explorers, and adult leaders observe Boy Scout Week, February 7 to 13, by launching the fourth and final year of the "Onward for God and My Country" program.

The 49th anniversary emphasis is "A Scout is friendly."

Through their World Friendship Fund of voluntary contributions the Boy Scouts of America have helped Scouts in 48 other nations.

America will be represented by several hundred Scouts at the Tenth World Scout Jamboree next July 17-26 in Makiling National Park near Manila in the Philippine Islands.

During Boy Scout Week, honors will go to units that successfully carried out projects in traffic, outdoor, and home safety in last year's Safety Good Turn.

Research, Promotion On Cotton Council's Annual Meet Agenda

ATLANTA, Ga.—The spotlight of the cotton world will be focused on Atlanta Feb. 9-10 when the National Cotton Council of America holds its 21st annual meeting.

Attending the meeting will be several hundred industry leaders representing all six of the primary cotton interests which make up the Council; cotton producers, ginners, merchants, warehousemen, cottonseed crushers and cotton manufacturers.

Also present will be hundreds of representatives of private and public organizations which have a special interest in the Council's program to increase consumption of American cotton and cottonseed. Total attendance is expected to be between 1,500 and 2,000 persons.

Program for the Council's annual meetng will center on reports of progress in cotton research and promotion during 1958, plus development and approval of Council activities for the coming year.

Attention:

BICYCLE OWNERS, BOYS AND GIRLS. NOW IS THE TIME FOR YOUR SAFETY CHECK AND OIL JOB ON YOUR BICYCLES

FREE

EAST SIDE CYCLE SHOP

(Mathers Hardware)

3370 ATLANTA HIGHWAY

SPECIAL—Eagle Spread Handle Bars for only $2.45 Installed Free

You Can Even FEEL The Difference

Something new has happened to Sanitone dry cleaning. Now it not only gets clothes cleaned than ever before, but it also renews the like-new body of the cloth. Try It TODAY!

Empire Rouse

LAUNDRY CLEANING

MAIN PLANT

1038 ADAMS AVE.

WANTED TO BUY

LARGE FARM OR TIMBERLAND

Will pay top cash and take cattle and equipment at market price. Write now giving price, location an dacreage.

P. O. Box 472

Jeffersonville, Ind.

just in time to go with us to the museum on Tuesday. . . Janice Martin was so glad to see her she held her hand all day and they said a poem together in assembly.

The trip to the museum was lots of fun. All the children enjoyed the tunnel just outside Fairyland . . . Charlie Allen was got back in time to go with us. Cindy Shinkle, our new little friend, got sick the morning we started to the museum, also Karron Singleton. . . We were so sorry. . . Get well real soon girls—we miss you. . . Beth Mayers brought one of her Perry Como long playing records for us to use on a rainy day, but the day

DALRAIDA CHURCH of CHRIST

Minister D. K. Earwood

3740 Atlanta Highway
AM 54328

Sunday School 9:45
Morning Worship 11:00
Evening Worship 7:00
Wed. Bible Study 7:30

OTHER FUTURE PLANS OF MAYOR W. A. GAYLE

Gayle's Full Platform on Page 5

I will do all within my power to re-open the City Parks on a segregated basis.
Expanding the City's recreational program and facilities for Youth and adults.
Improvement and enlargement of Cramton Bowl with the cooperation of Public Athletic Board in order to attract college and professional football.
An intensified program to bring new industry and new payrolls to the City.
Continuation of the systematic reduction of the City's indebtedness according to schedule.
Construction of a new Municipal Auditorium for cultural, Civic and Convention meetings.
Continue efforts in cooperation with proper authorities to develop Coosa-Alabama Rivers in order to attract new industry, provide transportation, hydroelectric power and additional recreation.
Radio Active Fallout Shelter Survey. Federal Government appropriated for this survey $25,000 to cover the entire cost. This will mean security and safety for our citizens in the event of enemy attack with nuclear weapons.
Continue to cooperate with the SENIOR CITIZENS COMMITTEE in their plans to provide a Home for the aged in our City.
Continue to cooperate with the Montgomery Community Council and Youth Council in solving Juvenile Delinquency and providing understanding services and counseling for children in trouble.
Continued cooperation with health authorities to assure our people the best health conditions possible.
Continue to work with all groups for the betterment and progressive development of Montgomery.
Continue the cordial relationship that exists between the military personnel of Maxwell and Gunter Air Force Bases and the civilian population of Montgomery.

Paid Pol. Adv. by W. A. Gayle

just facts!

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ONLY $3.00 PER YEAR

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Three Months for $1.00

SEND YOUR SUBSCRIPTION TO:
MONTGOMERY HOME NEWS
P. O. Box 2231
Montgomery 3, Alabama

Name _____

Address _____

King Seeking Funds To Aid Drive Here

BY BILL CLEGHORN

(A word to race mixers: Give up. you will not find out where we obtained this information. Sure, he betrayed you and we know who and what white people of Montgomery are supporting King and the Southern Regional Council in this vile scheme.)

The emphasis is on you and your children.

Montgomery's school children have been selected as the next experiment station in the "international mixing conspiracy" of alein masterminds.

The information we now have proves that Martin Luther King, wealthy Negro racial agitator and part time preacher, has established national headquarters in New York City to finance his well-planned, already more-than-adequately financed, "war against the segregated school systems of Montgomery."

According to information received this week, the Home News has been able to obtain copies of the "plan, the fund raising letter and the pamphlets of instruction" that are now in the hands of the local henchmen of the integration conspiracy.

Also we are now in possession of the names of many national, regional, and local conspirators who will attempt to integrate "Montgomery by the numbers." These Quislings will be revealed to you in future issues of this newspaper.

The race-mixing guide book "A First Step Towards School Integration," is now in the hands of "favorable white and negro "community leaders of our city."

This pamphlet, with a foreword by Martin Luther King, written May, 1958, is known as the "Nashville Plan". Nashville's school desegregation represented four years of open pushing preceded by several years of careful plotting. The undercover work was to find out who "is in favor," to remove "segregationists" from key offices, and to elect "moderate" county and city officials.

"Montg 63"

FIRST CLASS
Permit No. 62695
New York, N. Y.

BUSINESS REPLY ENVELOPE
No Postage Stamp Necessary if Mailed in the United States

No Postage will be paid by:

CORE
38 PARK ROW
NEW YORK 38, NEW YORK

ATTENTION. Martin Luther King

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY

38 PARK ROW, NEW YORK 38, NEW YORK

NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE

Roger N. Baldwin
Allan Knight Chalmers
Harold Gibbons
E. Stanley Jones
Martin Luther King
Will Maslow
Dorothy Maynor
A. J. Muste
A. Philip Randolph
Ira DeA. Reid
Arnold M. Rose
George S. Schuyler
Lillian Smith
Howard Thurman
Goodwin Watson
Charles S. Zimmerman

[redacted]

FORT SILL OKLA

OUR GOAL . . .

. . happy, well educated children regardless of race or color.

I am enclosing A FIRST STEP TOWARD SCHOOL INTEGRATION. Please read it carefully, for it tells how the challenge facing those who believe in equal rights can be met as school integration moves further south.

A FIRST STEP describes the backing a small interracial group gave to Negro parents who dared -- in the face of mounting community pressures -- to claim the American heritage for their children.

The Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) has faith that in every community there are men of good will who would act as the CORE group did in Nashville. Wide distribution of this pamphlet may help us not only to bring together community workers of both races but also to give them the benefits of Nashville's experience.

To make it possible for CORE to build more interracial community groups to work peacefully but persistently for justice and to secure wide circulation of this pamphlet, we need your substantial financial assistance.

You and I may not be called upon to escort a little child through screaming mobs. But no matter where we live, we can make some sacrifice.

As you write your check, take another look at Linda Gail McKinley's picture on the cover. If a small child can face mobs to advance justice, how can you and I be less than generous in our support? To rush your contribution to CORE, I have attached the envelope above. No stamp or signature is necessary. Simply pull off the envelope, enclose your check, seal and mail today.

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The Nashville plan outlines the step-by-step procedure that has been tested and proven to their satisfaction.

You and your children are next —in the mongrel mixmaster orders for the world.

The "First Step towards School Integration" was written by one Anna Holden, a former staff member of the Southern Regional Council. This Florida-born white girl was chairman of the Nashville CORE group. Core stands for the Congress of Racial Equality.

The Southern Regional Council is the Atlanta-based race mixing, Fund for the Republic financed (almost a million dollars now) outfit of communist fellow travelers, liberals and "do-gooders" with sinister roots in all the racial disburbed areas of the South

Eugene Cook, Attorney General of Georgia said this of the Southern Regional Council: "The NAACP is being aided and abetted in its agitation by three "front" organizations on the Southern scene—the Southern Regional Conference Educational Fund; the Southern Regional Council; and the SRC's affiliate, the Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation.

"The Southern Regional Council is dominated by individuals who, like the officials of the NAACP, have long records of affinity for and participation in Communist, Communist-front, fellow-traveling, left-wing and subversive organizations and activities."

"Sworn testimony taken by both House and Senate Committees has placed known Communists in both organizations and the Southern Conference Education Fund may soon be designated a subversive organization."

Mrs. M. E. Tilly, Atlanta, Ga. long time veteran worker for racial integration, represented the Southern Regional Council at Montgomey's now famous St. Jude's meeting of Sept. 27 where white and Negro women of this city met to discuss the "problem."

In the instructional pamphlet on "mixing", the Holden girl outlines the 10 steps, and the need to form a community interracial group.

NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE

E. Stanley Jones
Martin Luther King
Will Maslow
Dorothy Maynor
A. J. Muste
George S. Schuyler
Lillian Smith
Howard Thurman
Goodwin Watson
Charles S. Zimmerman

[redacted]

FORT SILL OKLA

OUR GOAL . . .

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Sincerely yours,

Martin L. King Jr.

Martin Luther King

A National Organization with [redacted] local groups working to abolish racial discrimination by direct, nonviolent methods

[redacted]

BLOW THE WHISTLE, IT'S QUITTING TIME FOR MIXERS. Above is a letter that reveals workings of a national conspiracy to mix white and negro school children of Montgomery, sta in February. The fund-raising letter sent out of Martin L. King's New York office is to finance abortive effort at changing the Southern way of life. This letter, other information, including n of Montgomery people, ties King, the Southern Regional Council and the NAACP all together in mongrelization plot. THE WHITE PEOPLE ARE URGED TO TAKE STEPS NOW TO ROOT ALL QUISLINGS AND EXPOSE THEM—BEFORE IT IS TOO LATE.

Montgomery Home News
1/15/59

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

"See, there is Jackson, standing like a stone wall."—Bee

MONTGOMERY Home News

Independent Weekly

TWENTY-EIGHTH YEAR—NO. 20 | MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA, THURSDAY, MAY 14, 1959 | TEN CENTS A COPY

Can't People Here Decide On Fluoridation Question?

"Let her (truth) and falsehood grapple; who ever knew truth put to the worse in a free and open encounter? (Areopagita, 1644)."

The word is out all over town—fluoride-in-our-water-advocates are visiting civic groups, associations and other agencies and urging endorsement of the so-called blessing on our city fathers.

It has been suggested by several of the speakers in favor of this experiment that little city-wide publicity be given the proposal as who "knows what crank may get up and kill the whole idea by saying fluoride in the water is rat poison."

Put the editor of the Home News down as the first crank—if you are talking about putting Sodium Flouride in Montgomery's pure city water, we say it is "rat poison".

Now, we have many good friends who are on the side that wishes to put fluoride in our water. More power to you.

The Home News will print all arguments, pro and con, that come to us.

In our American way of life, before our country became infiltrated with Socialists and Communistic schemes, it was routine procedure for the judges in courtroom cases to instruct the jury that if any witness had made one false statement, his entire testimony should be ruled out.

When someone asks you to support fluoride for our water, ask these questions.

(1) what kind of fluoride? sodium (look it up in Websters)

(2) how many cities have tried it and voted it out? 89

(3) How many cities have voted against it? 719 at last report.

(4- Why doesn't New York City have fluoride in the city public water system?

Dr. George W. Heard, D. D. S., who has for years practiced in the town without a toothache, Hereford, Deaf Smith County Texas; "It is hellish and un-American to put poison in our city water supplies and force citizens to drink it."

Dr. Alonzo J. Shaman, M. D. of Boston, one of the country's most outstanding physicians, says:

"It is the deadliest, most insane, wicked and illegal method of pollution ever devised by man, and many will die or become chronic invalids from drinking this water."

Still, in the interest of a free press, the Home News will publish statements in favor of fluoridation if any are received.

* * * * *

FLUORIDATION IN A NUTSHELL

1. There is some evidence that the ingestion of fluoride by children under 14 is beneficial to their teeth.

Search On For Alabama's Own Miss Universe

The excitement of Alabama's Miss Universe Contest for 1960 got underway this week when Bob Hart, president of the Birmingham Jaycees and Ben McKinnon, general manager of WSGN Radio, announced co-sponsorship of the event .

The search has begun for Alabama's most beautiful girl to represent this state in the celebrated Miss Universe Pageant in Long Beach, California July 16-26th. Alabama's Miss Universe will be crowned in Birmingham at The Club on June 26th, and will compete with entries from other states for the title of "Miss U. S. A.," who will represent the United States in the Miss Universe competition.

LEGISLATIVE NEWS

Patterson Faces Real Test, Who'll Run Administration?

TROUBLE

Snarled is the Senate business and fireworks abound in the House of Representatives. Relatively few bills have been introduced in either House as Governor Patterson's tax demands have brought on full fledegd filibusters in both houses, although the legislature has just begun. There is no doubt that there is a revolt against the administration on both sides of the legislative hall.

An old time political observer commented that he had never seen the legislature so tied up in such a short period of time. This legislature started off where the Folsom legislature ended.

PATTERSON BLAMED FOR FILIBUSTER

The general impression that the legislative knot is Patterson's responsibility stems from various reasons. John Patterson has held himself aloft from the individual members of the legislature making it most difficult for the legislators to see him to discuss matters with them. From the beginning of his administration, Patterson locked himself up in his "ivory tower" and was unavailable to the legislators except the administration's top leaders. When the legislators felt they could not discuss their views on the various issues with the Governor, there was naturally a general drawing away from the Governor's political camp. This administration has generated the impression, rightly or wrongly, that it was going to dictate the policies to the legislature whether the legislators liked it or not.

JOE ROBERTSON

Joe Robertson, Governor Patterson's executive secretary and captain of the palace guard, stands alertly at guarding the privacy of Patterson's "ivory tower," but his popularity is not high with that of the average legislator. Possibly he needs a lesson in diplomacy.

DIVISION OF THE LEGISLATURE

The political division of the legislature has not been the Black Belters versus the non-Black Belters as some reports would indicate but the division is along the lines either for or against Patterson's sizable tax increase program. The opposition is general throughout the state. The shifting of the political influence from Patterson has

Bishop Sheen Offers Advice On Dealing With Red Rogues

. . . Then why is it that when the United States and the Western World are accused of being oppressors of people, wanting to start a nuclear war and enslave people, of being imperialistic and an enemy of peace, do we merely make denials at the United Nations instead of giving a list of the countries that they have robbed, pillaged, raped and confiscated! Why do we not name names, and remind the Soviet Union of the countries they have confiscated, such as Ukraine, Romania, Hungary, East Germany, Estonia, Latvia, the Karelian Isthmus of Finland, Poland, Lithuania, Bulgaria, Armenia, Albania, Outer Mongolia, Azerbaijan, Kirghstan, Uzbekistan, China and others? Why do we not bring up before the United Nations, day after day, the problem of the liberation of each of these countries?

Instead of being on the de-

Carol Muse To Study At Northwestern U.

Miss Carol Muse, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Barney Muse, 3864 Wares Perry Road, graduating senior at Robert E. Lee High School, plans to attend Northwestern University on the General Foods Fund Merit Scholarship she won in nationwide competition.

Carol, active in school, church and dramatics, will major in mathematics.

A loyal and devoted church worker at Dalraida Methodist Church, Carol participates in the young people's activities and joins with her entire family, father, mother and sister, Marilyn in the choir.

Her hobbies include music, scientific projects, dramatics work, and Spanish.

Gallion Plan To Expose Race-Meddling Group Needs Legislative Support

BY BILL CLEGHORN

A plan submitted by Alabama's Attorney General, McDonald Gallion, has won approval from the National Conference of Attorney Generals in New Orleans.

It was a proposal that eight Southeastern states automatically exchange legal information on all racial suits.

It is suggested that the group also send each other complete files on all organizations stirring up racial turmoil in the states.

The legislatures of each state should pass legislation supporting this move, with provisions that make it mandatory for all contributions of money ,legal, or "educational" advice receiveed by any organization in Alabama be reported to the Attorney General and made public.

This would put the spotlight on such outfits as the Southern Regional Council and their devious ways of promoting racial turmoil in the South.

John Patterson ran on a segregation platform. He said he would put the NAACP out of business.

Yes, it is the Southern Regional Council, the outfit that played a leading role in the Montgomery meeting of white and Negro women last September. And the same outfit that poured money and support into Little Rock during the period the Airborne troops were invading the city, Sept. 1957. Some of the same troops that Gov. John Patterson reviewed last month.

N. E. Atlanta, Ga., is the recipient of Ford, Fund for the Republic grants of close to a million dollars. Southern Regional Council is the parent organization of 12 statewide councils on Human Relations operated only in the Southern States.

This very suspect organization has been severaly criticized by the attorney generals of several Southern States for meddling in racial integration.

Southern Regional Council has been able to exploit the facilities of religion and education because of a quasi-religious status afforded by occupancy of a space in a building owned by a huge church (Methodist).

The leadership of a few units of the Communist apparatus have records of Communist affiliations which exceed those of present and past directors of Southern Regional Council.

Red's Friends

Bruce Bennett, attorney general of Arkansas, in background material on the organization stirring up strife in the South, points out the Southern Regional Council has many officers and directors who are also national officers of the NAACP and other organizations, some that have been cited as subversive by the U. S. House Un-American Activities Committee, the Senate Internal Security Committee, and even the Attorney General of the United States.

Mr. Bennett points out that Jim Jackson is the executive secretary of the Council.

Daisy Bates, of the Little Rock, Ark., school agony, is also a director of this organization in Arkansas along with Harry Ashmore, editor of the Little Rock daily.

According to the Georgia Commission on Education, 1958 report, The Daily Worker, official organ of the Communist Party, credits the foundation of Southern Regional Council to Jim Jackson, Negro Communist, presently head of Southern Affairs Commission of the Communist Party. Jackson is also credited with the establishment of Southern Conference Education Fund.; and Southern Conference for Human Welfare, both organizations are recognized parts of the Communist apparatus and have interlocking directorates with Southern Regional Council.

The American Legion Firing Line, May 15, 1957, referring to the incorporating paper says "this document, filed in the Superior Court of Fulton County, State of Geirgia, listed the names of five incorporators of the Council as follows: Dr. Rufus E. Clement, Ralph McGil, and Bishop Arthur J. Moore, of Atlanta, Georgia; Dr. Charles S. Johnson, of Nashville, Tennessee (now deceased); and Dr. Howard W. Odum, Chapel Hill, North Carolina. (See Petition of the Incorporation, Book 062, pages 64-67, 1-6-44; and "The New York Times," 10-17-55.)

One name listed on the letterhead received from the Southern

The Home News will print all arguments, pro and con, that come to us.

In our American way of life, before our country became infiltrated with Socialists and Communistic schemes, it was routine procedure for the judges in courtroom cases to instruct the jury that if any witness had made one false statement, his entire testimony should be ruled out.

When someone asks you to support fluoride for our water, ask these questions.

(1) what kind of fluoride? sodium (look it up in Websters)

(2) how many cities have tried it and voted it out? 89

(3) How many cities have voted against it? 719 at last report.

(4- Why doesn't New York City have fluoride in the city public water system?

Dr. George W. Heard, D. D. S., who has for years practiced in the town without a toothache, Hereford, Deaf Smith County Texas; "It is hellish and un-American to put poison in our city water supplies and force citizens to drink it."

Dr. Alonzo J. Shaman, M. D. of Boston, one of the country's most outstanding physicians, says:

"It is the deadliest, most insane, wicked and illegal method of pollution ever devised by man, and many will die or become chronic invalids from drinking this water."

Still, in the interest of a free press, the Home News will publish statements in favor of fluoridation if any are received.

* * * * *

FLUORIDATION IN A NUTSHELL

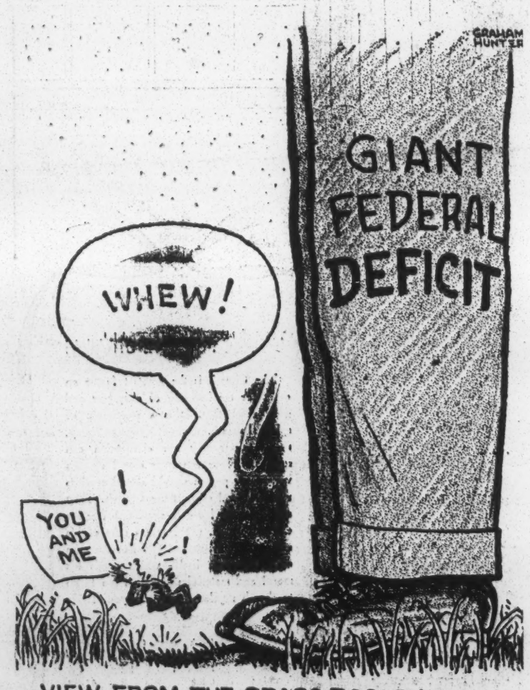
1. There is some evidence that the ingestion of fluoride by children under 14 is beneficial to their teeth;

2. There is no evidence—and no one claims—that the ingestion of fluorides by adults is in any way beneficial to their health;

3. Fluoride at high concentration is poisonous, and it is impossible to jusitfy the statement that life-long consumption of fluoride at low concentrations will never harm anyone;

4. Since all benefits claimed for fluoride can be had by dosing the children and leaving the parents alone, let the advocates of fluoridation concentrate their efforts on a practical way of giving fluoride to children, and let us keep our water supplies what they are now: pure, wholesome water, fit for use by everybody.—G. Calingaert, Phd. Geneva, N. Y.

* * * * *



VIEW FROM THE GRASS ROOTS LEVEL

Is Our Credit Good?

It seems unthinkable—even insulting—for a foreign country to question the credit of the United States. Yet President Eisenhower disclosed that 21 foreign governments have questioned "our ability to pay our bills and keep the dollar sound as it needs to be".

What's worse, private American citizens are expressing the same kind of doubts. They are refusing to buy U. S. bonds—the government's promice to pay, with interest.

Why this doubt in the dollar? Because for 24 of the last 28 years the United States has spent more than its income. The government has piled up a debt of 283 billiom dollars, and has helped produce inflation that cut the buying power of the dollar. As a result, people don't want to invest in long-term government bonds because they are afraid the money they get back won't buy as much as the money they put in.

Obviously the government wouldn't need to borrow if Congress didn't spend more money than the treasury takes in. If we didn't need to borrow, there would be no credit problem. So to solve the problem—or at least to keep it from getting worse—it is essenial for us to keep Congress from spending more money than we give it to spend in taxes.

pete with entries from other states for the title of "Miss U. S. A.," who will represent the United States in the Miss Universe competition.

commented that he had never seen the legislature so tied up in such a short period of time. This

Bishop Sheen Offers Advice On Dealing With Red Rogues

. . . Then why is it that when the United States and the Western World are accused of being oppressors of people, wanting to start a nuclear war and enslave people, of being imperialistic and an enemy of peace, do we merely make denials at the United Nations instead of giving a list of the countries that they have robbed, pillaged, raped and confiscated! Why do we not name names, and remind the Soviet Union of the countries they have confiscated, such as Ukraine, Romania, Hungary, East Germany, Estonia, Latvia, the Karelian Isthmus of Finland, Poland, Lithuania, Bulgaria, Armenia, Albania, Outer Mongolia, Azerbaijan, Kirghstan, Uzbekistan, China and others? Why do we not bring up before the United Nations, day after day, the problem of the liberation of each of these countries?

. . . Instead of being on the defensive, would not our strength lie less in constantly dealing with the Soviets than in pleading for the liberty and independence of the submerged population of Eastern Europe? There is nothing that so much distrubs a thief as to be caught with the stolen goods in his own hands, and not all the waters of the seven seas are enough to wash the blood from the Soveit hands that suppressed the freedom fighters of Hungary.

. . . So long as the Soviets can make the United States discuss nuclear warfare, space, summit meetings and the free city of Berlin, it distracts the Western World from the basic problem of taking the stolen goods from their hands.

—Bishop Fulton J. Sheen in the Journal-American on March 14, "Let's Not Hide Red Infamy."

Carol Muse To Study At Northwestern U.

Miss Carol Muse, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Barney Muse, 3864 Wares Perry Road, graduating senior at Robert E. Lee High School, plans to attend Northwestern University on the General Foods Fund Merit Scholarship she won in nationwide competition.

Carol, active in school, church and dramatics, will major in mathematics.

A loyal and devoted church worker at Dalraida Methodist Church, Carol participates in the young people's activities and joins with her entire family, father, mother and sister, Marilyn in the choir.

Her hobbies include music, scientific projects, dramatics work, and Spanish.

State Club Women Oppose Pending Civil Rights Bill

The Alabama Federation of Women's Clubs, which represents more than 32;000 state club women in 600 clubs, have unanimously adopted a resolution of opposition to the proposed Civil Rights bills now before Congress.

Meeting in Dothan, the ladies at their spring session, blasted the pending legislation as in direct violation of the Bill of Rights.

Mrs. Melvin Dassinger, who played a leading role in pushing the same resolution through the district meeting, presented the motion. She is a resident of Millbrook.

The resolution condemned all of the so-dalled civil rights bills Copies of the resolution were telegraphed to all Alabama Senators and Representatives.

To freeze coconut, crack the shell, remove the meat, and shred. Then add a small amount of sugar and the coconut milk. Pack into freezing containers, label, and freeze at once.

Bradshaw Promoted

Southern Bell Telephone Company announces that J. O. Bradshaw, former assistant man in the plant department, has been promoted to the position of junior engineer, effective May 1, 1959. Mr. Bradford transferred from the plant department to the engineering department at this time.

Gov. Orval Faubus To Speak In Tuscaloosa And At State Capitol

Alabama has officially invited one of the nation's most outstanding young governors, Orval Faubus, Governor of Arkansas to address a joint session of the House and Senate.

The state legislature adopted a resolution Friday extending the invitation.

Faubus is scheduled to be a speaker at a convention in Tuscaloosa next month at which time caravans of citizens from all over the South are expected to appear.

One of the nation's most popular public officials, Gov. Faubus, has the support of not only a vast majority of the citizens of his own state, but a sweeping majority of the citizens of the South.

In addition, Faubus, is very popular all over the United States of America. Recent surveys reveal that he is one of the most popular personalities in public life among the people of such cities as Philadelphia, Cleveland, Detroit, and Chicago.

According to newspaper accounts of Faubus, his popularity is based on his courageous resistance to bayonet tyranny; his intelligent defense of the Constitution provisions for states rights; his refusal to be intimidated; his great respect for the rights of the electorate; his willingness to go the second mile; his fearless attacks on Communism, demagoguery and Supreme Court tyranny.

A vigorous and dynamic personility Faubus attracts thousands wherever he appears. His line of approach is packed with well-wishers.

Dixie needs an honest, sincere champion of States Rights, after years of lip service from phoney politicians.

George Gallup in his report for December 27 announces that Governor Orval Faubus, according to a recent Gallup Poll, is one of the ten most admired men of the world among Americans. Others on this list are President Eisenhower, Sir Winston Churchill, Dr. Albet Schweitzer, Rev. Billy Graham, Former President Truman, General Douglas MacArthur, Vice President Nixon, Dr. Jonas Salk and Bernard Baruch.

This in spite of the unfavorable publicity from the controlled press.

administration, Patterson locked himself up in his "ivory tower" and was unavailable to the legislators except the administration's top leaders. When the legislators felt they could not discuss their views on the various issues with the Governor, there was naturally a general drawing away from the Governor's political camp. This administration has generated the impression, rightly or wrongly, that it was going to dictate the policies to the legislature whether the legislators liked it or not.

JOE ROBERTSON

Joe Robertson, Governor Patterson's executive secretary and captain of the palace guard, stands alertly at guarding the privacy of Patterson's "ivory tower," but his popularity is not high with that of the average legislator. Possibly he needs a lesson in diplomacy.

DIVISION OF THE LEGISLATURE

The political division of the legislature has not been the Black Belters versus the non-Black Belters as some reports would indicate but the division is along the lines either for or against Patterson's sizable tax increase program. The opposition is general throughout the state. The shifting of the political influence from Patterson has happened so suddenly that those who find themselves in opposition with the tax increase do not consider themselves anti-administration—but the issues are there.

HARD FEELINGS IN THE HOUSE

The anti-tax legislators were willing to forego the reading of the 400-page insurance bill Friday, but when the administration forces finished hurling charges against them, the anti-tax legislators voted to have the Clerks continue reading. Administration spokesman, Bob Gilchrist, among other things accused his anti-tax colleagues of trying to destroy the public schools of Alabama and that they wanted to "rule or ruin." Mr. Gilchrists' statements are the very sentiments of those anti-tax legislators have about Governor Patterson. Gilchrist's belated denial of Patterson's statement that Patterson would "ramrod" the loan measure through the legislature failed to impress his fellow members.

PATTERSON'S INEXPERIENCE

One of the veteran Senators when asked of his opinion as to the cause of the legislature trouble sumned up the situation briefly "Patterson's inexperience." Despite the fact that the administration has lost control of the Senate, good will reigned among the members as no bitter barbs had been exchanged.

NETTLES ATTACK

Represntative Sam Nettles of Arlington attacked the Patterson Administration as trying to pretend to be the sole defender of the faith, segregation. Nettles having a segregation bill which would assist the attorney general in his fight against the examination of the records of the NAACP and other integrated outfits made a determined effort to see Patterson to enlist Patterson's support. He was unable to get past the palace guard but did finally see Meriwether. The administration without showing him the courtesy of discussing this bill introduced his own bill as the administration's bill.

SINCERE MEN IN LEGISLATURE

There are a number of good men in the legislature and despite the fact that all business has come to a stop at the present time, they may be able to straighten the legislature out and accomplish some good before it is over.

FAUBUS INVITED

The Senate did suspend the filibuster long enough to invite Governor Orval Faubus of Arkansas to address the legislature nex month.

Generals in New Orleans.

It was a proposal that eight Southeastern states automatically exchange legal information on all racial suits.

It is suggested that the group also send each other complete files on all organizations stirring up racial turmoil in the states.

The legislatures of each state should pass legislation supporting this move, with provisions that make it mandatory for all contributions of money ,legal, or "educational" advice receiveed by any organization in Alabama be reported to the Attorney General and made public.

This would put the spotlight on such outfits as the Southern Regional Council and their devious ways of promoting racial turmoil in the South.

John Patterson ran on a segregation platform. He said he would put the NAACP out of business.

Yes, it is the Southern Regional Council, the outfit that played a leading role in the Montgomery meeting of white and Negro women last September. And the same outfit that poured money and support into Little Rock during the period the Airborne troops were invading the city, Sept. 1957. Some of the same troops that Gov. John Patterson reviewed last month.

Southern Regional Council, headquarters at 63 Auburn Ave., Statewide Councils on Human Relations operated only in the Southern States.

This very suspect organization has been severaly criticized by the attorney generals of several Southern States for meddling in racial integration.

Southern Regional Council has been able to exploit the facilities of religion and education because of a quasi-religious status afforded by occupancy of a space in a building owned by a huge church (Methodist).

The leadership of a few units of the Communist apparatus have records of Communist affiliations which exceed those of present and past directors of Southern Regional Council.

Red's Friends

Bruce Bennett, attorney general of Arkansas, in background material on the organization stirring up strife in the South, points out the Southern Regional Council has many officers and directors who are also national officers of the NAACP and other organizations, some that have been cited as subversive by the U. S. House Un-American Activities Committee, the Senate Internal Security Committee, and even the Attorney General of the United States.

Mr. Bennett points out that Jim Jackson, notorious Negro communist participated in the organi-

here, editor of the Little Rock daily.

According to the Georgia Commission on Education, 1958 report, The Daily Worker, official organ of the Communist Party, credits the foundation of Southern Regional Council to Jim Jackson, Negro Communist, presently head of Southern Affairs Commission of the Communist Party. Jackson is also credited with the establishment of Southern Conference Education Fund.; and Southern Conference for Human Welfare, both organizations are recognized parts of the Communist apparatus and have interlocking directorates with Southern Regional Council.

The American Legion Firing Line, May 15, 1957, referring to the incorporating paper says "this document, filed in the Superior Court of Fulton County, State of Geirgia, listed the names of five incorporators of the Council as follows: Dr. Rufus E. Clement, Ralph McGil, and Bishop Arthur J. Moore, of Atlanta, Georgia; Dr. Charles S. Johnson, of Nashville, Tennessee (now deceased); and Dr. Howard W. Odum, Chapel Hill, North Carolina. (See Petition of the Incorporation, Book 062, pages 64-67, 1-6-44; and "The New York Times," 10-17-55.)

One name listed on the letterhead received from the Southern Regional Council lists a John Hope II, chief consukant. According to a report on the Highlander Folk School, termed a Communist Training School at Monteagle,

(Continued on Page 4)

Methodists To Hold Annual The Older Adult Assembly At Blue Lake Camp

The Older Adult Assembly for the Alabama-West Florida Conference will be held May 13-16 at Blue Lake Camp.

This assembly is designed for all those planning or already in the retirement years. This would include grandparents and those of comparable age. Teachers of Older Adult classes, church school superintendents, adult division superintendents, Directors of Christian Education and Pastors are also urged to come.

The themes will be "Beat the Clock." It will be pursued by examining how Older Adults can life in the later years through the live a more profitable, happier knowledge of physical and mental hygiene, and spiritual enrichment.

Rev. Ralph Nichols will head the list of resource persons as the main speaker, Dr. R. K. Nichols, M. D., Prattville; Mr. James Mason, Dauphin Way Methodist Director of Christian Education, Mobile; and Mrs. Edith Upchurch, Director of Oak Park Recreation Center, Montgomery are some of the other leaders.

Those planning to attend should bring a Bible, informal clothing, linen, pillow, blankets, notebook, personal items, and bathing suit if desired.

The total cost is $11.50. This includes room and board, insurance coverage from home to camp and back, and the registration fee of $3.00.

(From the Methodist Christian Advocate)

University Honors 'Liberal' Editor From Atlanta Papers

Eugene Patterson, executive editor of the Atlanta Journal and Constitution, was principal speaker at the banquet in honor of the working press and journalism students at the University of Alabama last week.

The Georgia editor, who has been reported to share the same viewpoints as Ralph McGill on the segregation issue recently commented on the Georgia Legislature:

"Just this past week, the Legislature enacted with a flourish, a big new batch of segregation laws. Like a rooster with his neck wrung, the laws look lively but they can't stand up. The legislators know that."

After using steel wool scouring pads, wrap them in aluminum foil. This prevents dripping or rusting.

Your Help Needed To Surprise Enemy Hid In Our Nation!

RENEW YOUR SUBSCRIPTION

Please cooperate with us by renewing promptly. Our low subscription price and shortage of help prohibits us from sending more than one notice. Post Office rules force us to cancell all expirations Please help us expedite our work and your desire.

DAR Official Warns America On Dangers

In 1970, the Communist Conspiracy is expected to take over our country . . . unless "we, the people do something about it," Mrs. Ray L. Erb, National Vice-president of the Daughters of The American Revolution warned a Montgomery audience last Thursday.

Pointing out the many methods and techniques used by the Anti-Christian Communists, Mrs. Erb, speaking in the Court House said the communists in this government are beginning to gloat over their many successes.

"International Communism is way ahead of schedule," the outspoken official warned.

The meeting was under the sponsorship of the Baptist Laymen of Alabama, Inc.

MISS AUBURN at Village Fair. Pretty Miss Sandra O'Kelley, recently elected Miss Auburn, is shown listening to the weather report in Honolulu. The call was placed at Southern Bell's Direct Distance Dialing display at the Auburn Village Fair.

HEARTH and HISTORY...

KING JOHN'S *LOSS* WAS YOUR *GAIN!*

BY ABUSE OF HIS ROYAL POWER, KING JOHN OF ENGLAND DROVE HIS BARONS TO REBEL AGAINST HIM. AS ONE OF THE CONDITIONS FOR ALLOWING HIM TO KEEP HIS THRONE, THEY INSISTED THAT HE SIGN THE *MAGNA CARTA* IN *1215*. THIS DOCUMENT ESTABLISHED THE RIGHT TO PASS ON LAND TO HEIRS OF THE HOLDER... *A BASIC TENET HANDED DOWN THROUGH GENERATIONS* AND NOW FIRMLY EMBEDDED IN THE AMERICAN CONCEPT OF *REAL PROPERTY OWNERSHIP!*

MEMBERS OF THE *NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF REAL ESTATE BOARDS*- WHO IDENTIFY THEMSELVES BY THE REGISTERED TRADEMARK *REALTORS*- BEGIN THEIR CODE OF ETHICS: "UNDER ALL IS THE LAND. UPON ITS WISE UTILIZATION AND WIDESPREAD OWNERSHIP DEPEND THE ADVANCEMENT OF NATIONAL WELL-BEING...."

Teenage Reading Habits Revealed In New Survey

Who says teenagers don't read? A nation-wide survey just completed finds two out of three American teenagers "currently reading a book" other than a schoolbook. Compared with recent figures on adult reading, this indicates that teenagers out-read the adult population nearly four to one.

They read magazines and newspapers, too—and still find time to watch about two hours of television a day.

These are among recent findings of the nation's largest youth poll—the Institute of Student Opinion, sponsored by Scholastic Magazines, Inc. The ISO survey of teenage reading habits was conducted in connection with National Library Week.

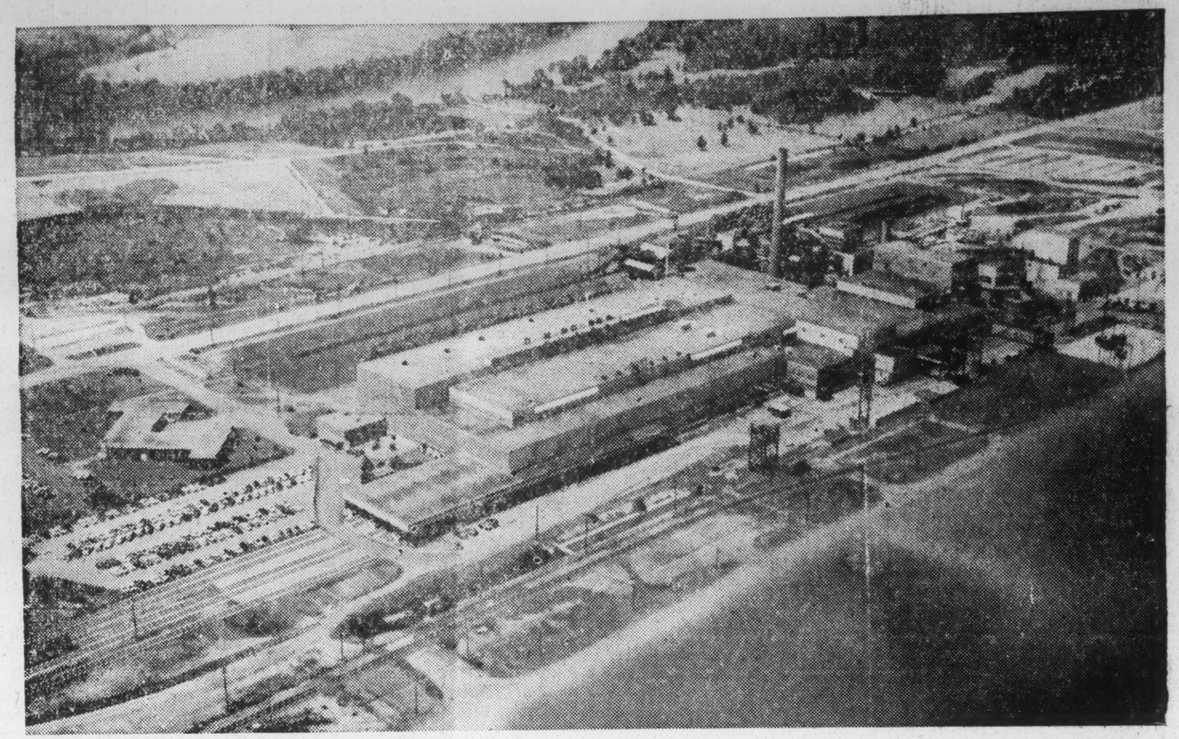
According to the 10,149 teenagers polled, their main source of books is libraries. Asked where they got the last book they had read, nearly two-thrids replied "public library" or "school library."

But they buy books, too—lots of them. 26 per cent reported buying a book—either paperbound or hard-cover—during the preceding thirty days.

In the nation-wide poll just completed, ISO also reports on the number of books in teenagers homes, and to what extent their families read magazines and daily newspapers. Findings are based on a scientifically selected cross-section of students from all parts of the country in public and private high schools of all sizes.

Commenting on the figures just released, ISO officials caution that some exaggeration is inevitable in questions about book buying and ownership. All possible steps, however, were taken to minimize inflated replies.

The Institute of Student Opinion, an independent activity sponsored by Scholastic Magazines, Inc., has been surveying the opinions of American teenagers since 1943. Technical consultant for the ISO polls is Dr. Harry Deane Wolfe, professor of Marketing, University of Wisconsin School of Commerce.



Coosa River Newsprint Company in Talladega County, beside the Coosa River. This big plant houses the biggest newprint machine in the world. Capacity is now almost 300,000 tons of newsprint annually. The Coosa's waters made possible the location of this great industry in Alabama.)McAlexander photo).

Sensing the News

•••

BY THURMAN SENSING, EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT

Southern States Industrial Council

TIME TO TALK FREEDOM

What's happening to patriotism in this country? It's a question every American ought to ask himself. Senator Barry Goldwater of Arizona recently said that there is a sign on the West Point parade grounds: "When the flag passes, gentlemen will remove their hats." Watch the average parade, said the senator and see how many hat you see still on when the flag goes by. "You ought to walk up and knock them off", he said.

The senator's point was that Americans should be more agressive about their patriotism. We should be proud to stand up for our country its institutions and its way of life. The flag is not a partisan matter; it has nothing to do with the Republican party or the Democratic party. It is a smybol of, and businessmen have made America and will keep making it, but not when you are cowards.

"You are in business to make a dollar. Don't be ashamed of it. The free enterprise system is the only vehicle that can provide profit and can provide jobs for millions and millions of American workers."

That's the right spirit! Businessmen must not allow themselves to be pressured by the pro-leftists until they become apologetic about money-making. It was distressing recently to read that a Congressman from the Midwest proudly announced he was selling all his securities. It's not wrong for a Congressman to own shares in American enterprise. This is a capitalist, not a communist country. A man who owns stocks should not be

Heart Disease To Be Studied By Doctors At Symposium

Doctors from over all of Alabama will convene in Birmingham on Sunday, May 17 to hear and to take part in a discussion on congestive heart failure. The occasion will be a symposium on congestive heart disease which is being sponsored by the Alabama Heart Association in cooperation with the Alabama Academy of General Practice, the Medical Association of the State of Alabama and the Medical College of Alabama.

The meeting will be in session all day as visiting doctors from over the state hear talks on the causes and some forms of treatment for congestive heart failure —probably the largest single disease problem with which the general practitioner has to deal in his daily routine.

Speakers on the Symposium will be Dr. Lloyd Hefner, Assistant Professor of Medicine at the Medical College of Alabama, speaking on "Causes of Congestive Heart Failure," Dr. William E. Lawrence, a practicing physician, will discuss the use of "Oral Diuretics in

— MORE ABOUT —

Gov. Patterson

Alabama Received $145,914 In Cancer Grants During Last Year

BIRMINGHAM, Ala.—Alabama institutions received cancer research grants totaling $145,914 last year from the American Cancer Society, Inc., according to figures received from the national office.

This amount was more than Alabama sent to the national office during the same period.

Figures released by the Alabama division office here showed the following ACS grants for 1958 to: Alabama Polytechnic Institute, Auburn, $17,135; Southern Research Institute, Birmingham, $103,908; Medical College of Alabama, Birmingham, $24,871.

Mrs. Lillian G. Meade, Birmingham, state executive director of ACS, said the Alabama division sends 40 per cent of funds raised

ganization for support of its three-point program of education, research and service. The remaining 60 per cent stays in Alabama for local program support.

In 1958 ACS raised $287,636 in Alabama, of which 40 per cent, or $114,800, went to the national organization. This was $31,114 less than the $145,914 allocated to Alabama institutions. ACS continues to support cancer research work in these institutions.

April is "Cancer Control" month, and an educational and fund-raising crusade is currently in progress in Alabama and throughout the nation. Funds contributed during this campaign, as well as memorial gifts and bequests made throughout the year, are used to support the work of the Cancer

Dr. Ralph Draughon Appointed Board Of SREB Committee

ATLANTA, Ga.—Dr Ralph B. Draughon, president of Alabama Polytechnic Institute, has been appointed to the Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Education Board by Chairman Cecil H. Underwood governor of West Virginia.

SREB was established in 1949 through legislative action of the Southern states for the purpose of making better use of higher education resources of the states through cooperation across state lines. Its members are the governors of 16 Southern states and four persons appointed by each governor.

Other Alabama members of the Board are: Governor John Patterson; Mr. Fred Folsom of Cullman; Dr. Frank A. Rose, president of the

schools are shut down to avoid integration. Among the latest taking such a step was Grace Methodist church here, which appointed a committee to plan classes if the need arises.

Dr. Charles L. Allen, pastor of the church, labelling the closing of public schools a "tragedy," said evehyone should do everything he can to prevent a shut down.

Prevent discoloration and off-flavor in frozen chicken by bleeding thoroughly, chilling quickly in water that contains ice, and wrapping in an air-tight package.

Help science find CAUSE and CURE of MS*

HELP FILL

MS HOPE CHEST

Sensing the News

BY THURMAN SENSING, EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT

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The senator's point was that Americans should be more agressive about their patriotism. We should be proud to stand up for our country its institutions and its way of life. The flag is not a partisan matter; it has nothing to do with the Republican party or the Democratic party. It is a smybol of, and a mark of respect for, the philosophy of freedom under which this nation was founded.

How many buildings have flagpoles? How many companies show the flag on national days? How many peeple talk with feeling about this great country of ours and its freedoms? The lack of aggressive patriotism, said Senator Goldwater, may be a sign that we may be further down the road to socialism than we like to think. The pro-leftists and the welfare statists have so derided this republic, the constitution, states rights and other glorious features of the United States that many Americans don't fight back in conversation.

Senator Goldwwater, who is a departmeut store owner in private life, charges that many American businessmen have been subjected to so much "libral" propaganda that they are beaten down. "I watch them come to the halls of Congress," said the senator, "and testify before our committees as whipped dogs." Speaking sternly to businessmen he said: "You businessmen have made America and will keep making it, but not when you are cowards.

"You are in business to make a dollar. Don't be ashamed of it. The free enterprise system is the only vehicle that can provide profit and can provide jobs for millions and millions of American workers."

That's the right spirit! Businessmen must not allow themselves to be pressured by the pro-leftists until they become apologetic about money-making. It was distressing recently to read that a Congressman from the Midwest proudly announced he was selling all his securities. It's not wrong for a Congressman to own shares in American enterprise. This is a capitalist, not a communist country. A man who owns stocks should not be ashamed to tell the world.

Jimmy Hoffa, boss of the Teamsters, thumbs his nose at decent Americans. The "liberals" aren't in the least hesitant about treating the Treasury as a grab bag. They are aggressive in their attacks on the kind of government the founding fathers created and millions of hard-working business-minded Americans have maintained over the years.

No one has to tell the enemies of America and our great free enterprise system to be aggressive. They are fighting tooth-and-nail to get what they want—the corruption and socialization of the United States. They are driving for power with all their energies.

Americans who believe in states rights and private business, in the profit motive and self-reliance, must outdo the "liberals" in aggressiveness. Our capitalist society works magnificiently. It is the greatest engine of productivity the world has ever seen. Americans should never stop talking about it and praising its achievements. Adults who know freedom's worth should preach it to the younger generation that the "liberals" are wooing so hard. Free enterprise is the great story of America. It should be told again and again in the schools and all the institutions of every community.

A very wise man once observed that the world, at any given time, belongs to those who are dedicated and enthusiastic. If we are any less dedicated and enthusiastic about our traditional American way of life than those who oppose it, then we only deserve to lose it. We need a rebirth of patriotism.

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Dr. W. J. B. Owings, of Brent, Alabama, and Dr. C. W. Neville, Birmingham, president and chairman of the Board of the Alabama Academy of General Practice will preside at the morning and afternoon sessions, respectively.

Dr. D. O. Wright, Chairman of the Board, Alabama Heart Association will extend the official welcome to the physicians at the meeting.

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— MORE ABOUT —

Gov. Patterson

(Continued from Page 1)

Tenn., a group of people assembled at the school over Labor Day Week end to "discuss the issues." Among, the group were leaders of the Montgomery bus boycott. John Hope II, Industrial Consultant. as one of the Highlander Execu- Fisk University, Nashville, is listed tives. This report may be obtained from the Georgia Commission on Education, 220 Agriculture Building.

Make Proof

We, the editor of the Home News, have received letters from officials of this SRC, including a man Harold Fleming, who calls himself the executive director and a Mrs. M. E. Tilly, who represented the Council at Montgomery's Sept. meeting of white and Negro women, reported in the Home News.

Mrs. Tilly's record goes back to Harry Truman's infamous Civil Rights Committee of 1946. The House Un-American Activities Committee and Mr. Eugene Cook of Georgia can give you additional data on Mrs. Tilly and her close, warm, personal friend, Ralph McGill.

At the same time, Alabama's Folsom Legislature was handing this outfit $16,000, the Fund for the Republic was giving them $20,000 for "Program of fact-finding and education concerning interracial problems" (long phrase for race-mixing). See the Jan. 1959 Report of the Fund.

A former director of the Council, George Mitchell, once told an audience in San Francisco, that, "we shall break the corn pone curtain in the South and integrate the South section by section."

Will he do it with our money?

Georgia's Attorney General Eugene Cook in his report, "The Ugly Truth About the NAACP" said the Southern Regional Council is dominated by individuals, who like the officials of the NAACP, have long records of affinity for and participation in Communist-front fellow-travelling, left wing and subversive organizations and activities.

Sworn testimony taken by both House and Senate Committees has placed known Communists in this organization.

The Southern Regional Council was represented at the Highlander Folk School seminar in the person of Mr. Fred Routh. Routh bore the title of assistant director of the Southern Regional Council.

We have photographs of Mr. Routh at this meeting. We also have photographs of the meeting of white and negro women in Montgomery last September. They met to discuss the problem.

Coosa River Newsprint Company in Talladega County, beside the Coosa River. This big plant houses the biggest newprint machine in the world. Capacity is now almost 300,000 tons of newsprint annually. The Coosa's waters made possible the location of this great industry in Alabama.)McAlexander photo).

Alabama Received $145,914 In Cancer Grants During Last Year

BIRMINGHAM, Ala.—Alabama institutions received cancer research grants totaling $145,914 last year from the American Cancer Society, Inc., according to figures received from the national office.

This amount was more than Alabama sent to the national office during the same period.

Figures released by the Alabama division office here showed the following ACS grants for 1958 to: Alabama Polytechnic Institute, Auburn, $17,135; Southern Research Institute, Birmingham, $103,908; Medical College of Alabama, Birmingham, $24,871.

Mrs. Lillian G. Meade, Birmingham, state executive director of ACS, said the Alabama division sends 40 per cent of funds raised in Alabama to the national organization for support of its three-point program of education, research and service. The remaining 60 per cent stays in Alabama for local program support.

In 1958 ACS raised $287,636 in Alabama, of which 40 per cent, or $114,800, went to the national organization. This was $31,114 less than the $145,914 allocated to Alabama institutions. ACS continues to support cancer research work in these institutions.

April is "Cancer Control" month, and an educational and fund-raising crusade is currently in progress in Alabama and throughout the nation. Funds contributed during this campaign, as well as memorial gifts and bequests made throughout the year, are used to support the work of the Cancer Society.

Dr. Ralph Draughon Appointed Board Of SREB Committee

ATLANTA, Ga.—Dr Ralph B. Draughon, president of Alabama Polytechnic Institute, has been appointed to the Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Education Board by Chairman Cecil H. Underwood governor of West Virginia.

SREB was established in 1949 through legislative action of the Southern states for the purpose of making better use of higher education resources of the states through cooperation across state lines. Its members are the governors of 16 Southern states and four persons appointed by each governor.

Other Alabama members of the Board are: Governor John Patterson; Mr. Fred Folsom of Cullman; Dr. Frank A. Rose, president of the University of Alabama; and Sen. Dave Archer of Huntsville.

Atlanta Churches Plans Private Schools

ATLANTA, Ga. —Churches in Atlanta and other parts of Georgia are planning to operate their own schools in th eevent public schools are shut down to avoid integration. Among the latest taking such a step was Grace Methodist church here, which appointed a committee to plan classes if the need arises.

Dr. Charles L. Allen, pastor of the church, labelling the closing of public schools a "tragedy," said evehyone should do everything he can to prevent a shut down.

Prevent discoloration and off-flavor in frozen chicken by bleeding thoroughly, chilling quickly in water that contains ice, and wrapping in an air-tight package.

Wage Earners Hourly Pay Raise Makes Record For Second Month

General wage rate increase throughout the textile industry, more business and new orders received by blast furnaces and steel works increased the average hourly earnings of factory production workers in Alabama during March to $1.89 to establish an all-time high for the second consecutive month, said Ralph R. Williams, Director of the Alabama Department of Industrial Relations today.

The rate of $1.89 per hour set in March was ten cents above the comparable month in 1958. Weekly earnings averaged $75.03, an increase of $1.37 over February and $7.91 above the weekly pay check in March 1958, Williams said.

Insured unemployment under the regular State and federal programs averaged 28,799 weekly during March, some 3,600 under February and approximately 17,000 less than the March 1958 figure. Williams said increased job opportunities in factories and trade establishments, weather conditions favorable for outdoor work, and exhaustions of benefit rights were factors contributing to the downturn.

In addition to the unemployed insured under the federal employees and State programs, a weekly average of 8,886 jobless workers claimed benefits under the Temporary Unemployment Compensation or the veterans programs. This was a drop of approximately 1,000 from the February total for this group. Williams said that at this time there are no indications of a major change in either direction in insured employment during April.

A Simple and Carefree Dessert

If the warm weather's put your family in an outdoor mood, treat them to dinner on the terrace or in the backyard. Be smart and plan an easy menu so you can be as carefree as the diners. For an excellent dessert selection, try Simple Simon's new improved frozen cream pie. Choose from the variety of flavors: chocolate, lemon, coconut and strawberry. They all feature a brand-new crust made from a recipe developed to guarantee perfect texture and flavor. It's flaky, tender, golden brown every time, with nary a single, soggy crumb.

The eye-appealing, flavor-packed fillings are made with the finest ingredients . . . slices of juicy frozen California strawberries, imported Dutch chocolate, fresh lemon juice and toasted grated coconut are all used in these pies to make them the best cream pies you've ever tasted. Expert bakers are constantly testing and retesting the pies to maintain this quality.

Each pie weighs a pound and measures 8 inches in diameter . . . plenty for 6 generous servings. Keep your freezer well stocked with Simple Simon frozen cream pies. With less than 45 minutes defrosting, you'll have a party-perfect dessert or snack for family or company . . . indoors or out.

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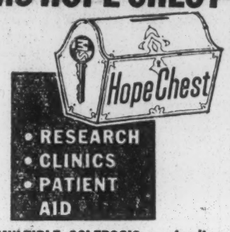

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The Commies and Integration . . . No. 3

Reds Goad NAACP To End Moderation

This is the third of five articles on the part played by Communists in bringing about racial troubles in the South. It is reprinted from The Standard-Times of New Bedford, Mass.

WASHINGTON—The success of Communist efforts to exploit the Southern Negro under the guise of "democratization" became fully evident in 1954 and the three subsequent years. The Supreme Court's historic 1954 ruling on school segregation was in judgement on four cases brought before it by the National Association of Advancement for Colored People which for years had been a priority objective of Communist infiltration.

The NAACP charged that Negro children in Delaware, Kansas, South Carolina and Virginia were being denied their rights under the 14th Amendment.

The court did not rule on this aspect. Instead, Chief Justice Earl Warren in the written opinion, declared that the court found for the NAACP because segregated schools induced a feeling of inferiority among Negro children.

THIS SOCIOLOGICAL view, the justice stated, is "amply supported by modern authority." He cited six books by such "modern authorities."

Two of the six authorities were Theodore Brameld and E. Franklin Frazier. Between [illegible] they have been members of or identified with 38 organizations listed as Communist, Communist-fronts or Communist-dominated.

A third "authority" was K.B. Clark. While arguments were being heard by the court on the four cases, Clark was on the payroll of the NAACP as a "social science expert."

A fourth authority cited by Justice Warren was the book, "An American Dilemma," edited by Gunnar Myrdal, a Swedish socialist. The chief justice emphasized the importance of this book in the court's decision by saying it was depended on "generally," that is from cover to cover.

Sixteen of the contributors to Myrdal's book have long records of pro-Communist affiliation and activity. One, W. E. B. Dubois, identified by the Communist Party as the "honorary chairman" of the NAACP, had a hand in 82 parts of the book. Dubois has been identified with 80 Communist fronts, reportedly more than any other American citizen.

Dubois intervened in behalf of executed Communist spies Julius and Ethel Rosenberg and sent the Kremlin a message of condolence on the death of Stalin.

Myrdal, himself, has written that the U. S. Constitution is "impractical and unfitted to modern conditions." Its adoption was "nearly a plot against the common people," said this foreign authority on American Negro problems.

* * *

THE COURT'S decision gave new influence to the NAACP. Its officers hailed the decision but indicated that it would not change the organization's plan for calm and orderly progress in race relations.

"We accept the decision quietly, unless there is deliberately-fomented trouble," said the late Walter White, then executive secretary of NAACP.

Thurgood Marshall, chief NAACP counsel, who had argued the school cases before the court, said, "The people will get together and work this thing out."

The Communist Party, however, wanted no part of moderation. It wanted the "big sharp struggles" its leaders had forecast, and racial unrest.

* * *

THE RECORD from the Supreme Court decision until the climax at Little Rock makes it plain which philosophy was the dominant one.

Moderation was forgotten.

The next three years brought unprecedented civil disobedience and violence in the South's racial affairs. There were all-out "incidents" of long duration in Tuskegee, Ala., Charleston, S. C., Tallahassee, Fla., Montgomery, Ala., Americus, Ga., and Clinton, Tenn., to name only the major ones.

GAVE RULING—Chief Justice Warren.

The NAACP played a prominent role in each, but the atmosphere was not the moderate one ostensibly espoused by the NAACP.

"IN MY OPINION, every major racial disturbance in the South since 1954 has been inspired and directed by the Communist Party," Mrs. Paul Crouch, widow of a former Communist leader, told The Standard-Times. Her husband was a top Communist functionary in the South for 13 years, and she was his aid throughout the period.

Communist exploitation of the Negro through the NAACP is attested by the proceedings of the 1957 national convention of the Communist Party. That convention adopted as its main resolution, "the question of Negro freedom . . . the crucial domestic issue of the day . . . requiring support of the program of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People."

Communist penetration of the NAACP in these important years is conceded by the NAACP itself.

On Feb. 14, 1956, Leroy Watkins, who succeeded White as NAACP executive secretary, warned all chapters to guard against the "intensive efforts" of Communists to infiltrate.

At that very time, however, the NAACP's official publication, "The Crisis," was recommending as MUST background reading for Negroes, books by Claude Lightfoot, chairman of the Illinois Communist Party, and Doxey E. Wilkerson, member of the party's National Committee.

Communist dominance of Negro civil rights developments after the Supreme Court decision is illustrated, also, in the activities of the Highlander School, influential "sociological" workshop in the South.

Highlander, according to testimony before a Congressional committee, was founded by a Communist and by a man who refused to state his beliefs.

Since 1954, Highlander has held a series of "workshops to develop plans for an orderly transition from segregated to intergrated schools."

At the last workshop, held over the Labor Day weekend just before the trouble at Little Rock, the leaders of every important racial strife incident in the South since 1954 were present.

Among those attending the important Highlander workshop was the Rev. Martin Luther King, leader of the Montgomery, Ala., bus boycott.

King was to be at Little Rock and, in 1956, at the White House protesting integration data.

By the time Central High School in Little Rock was open for its 1957-58 school year the Communist Party was marching step by step with the NAACP, whether the good element in the NAACP liked it or not.

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White Women, Negro
Hold Meeting At St. J

By BILL CLEGHORN
Editor, the Home News

(Ed. Note—The facts outlined in the story below were supplied to the Home News by eye witnesses who either attended the meeting or were stationed outside the meeting place).

Montgomery, our home town, the Cradle of the Confederacy, long regarded as a stronghold of the Deep South, now holds the distinction as being the site of a recent inter-racial meeting devoted to the general theme of "the problems of integration."

The meeting, called a district meeting of the Fellowship of the Concerned, drew participants from our own white communities and the Negro neighborhoods plus two rather mysterious white women from Atlanta, to a building at St. Jude's Hospital, September 27.

Approximately 30 white women were in attendance along with 30 or 40 Negro women and three Negro men. No white men were noted going or coming to the gathering. The Saturday meeting lasted from approximately 9:30 a. m. until 3:30 p. m.

Reports of the meeting have been circulating around Montgomery for several weeks although the white women who appeared to be in charge gave no indication that they desired publicity on the affair!

The theme of the meeting as outlined to the participants was "Women's Role in the Affairs of the World." The opening prayer was given by Dr. R. D. Crockett (negro) and the devotional by Mrs. Kalman Shmartz, Jr., on "Woman's Role in the Old Testament."

According to a letter received by one white woman (apparently by mistake), the Montgomery Fellowship of the Concerned is "a fellowship of Church women, leaders of both races and the three faiths, concerned about their South. There are no officers and no membership dues."

The letter was signed by a Mrs. Earl P. Andrews.

The meeting was held in the Father Purcell Unit of St. Judes Hospital Doctor's Conference Room.

Broken up into morning and afternoon sessions, a noon day box lunch, delivered by a representative of Furr's Cafe, a white restaurant on Fairview Ave., was served the participants.

On the program was Mrs. H. Victor Kerns, 481 Japonica, serving as sergeant-at-arms. Mr. Kerns is now reported to be a teacher at Cloverdale School.

A Jo Ann Robinson, teacher at Alabama State Teachers College, and a Mrs. Weisenberg, were in charge of taking notes, gathering comments and mailing those present a report.

(This newspaper did not receive a report from this source.)

A Mrs. J. F. McLeod, College Court, was registering attendants.

Mrs. Earl P. Andrews who served as narrator, stressed no publicity. Another very active participant was a Mrs. Bernard Lobman (reported to be in age bracket 40 to 55).

One Negro woman was active. She was a doctor's wife, about 50 years old, with her hair done in a pony tail. She passed out programs.

According to our reports, the white women were sitting together and the Negroes were sitting to themselves. Only a few white women chose to sit with the Negroes.

"NEW SOUTH"

Mrs. M. E. Tilly, Atlanta, Ga., brought literature: Sept. 1958 copy of "New South" Magazine. (Paul Crouch, former Communist who turned informer, stated under oath that this was a Communist front magazine

[illegible] were sitting together and the Negroes were sitting to themselves. Only a few white women chose to sit with the Negroes.

"NEW SOUTH"

Mrs. M. E. Tilly, Atlanta, Ga., brought literature: Sept. 1958 copy of "New South" Magazine. (Paul Crouch, former Communist who turned informer, stated under oath that this was a Communist front magazine when he was editor for about ten years); a reprint of Journal & Guide, Norfolk, Virginia, May 31, 1958 edition on "How Southern Conferene of Race Leaders Became Standing Good Will Group."; a reprint of Richmond Times-Dispatch Aug. 21, 1958 edition on "A Race Agency and the Facts", more about the Southern Regional Council on Interracial Cooperation, not Southern Conference for Human Welfare.

On the morning program were four speakers: Miss Violaine Junod, Atlanta, Ga., whose car tag registration number (Georgia 1-97674), gives the same address as the Southern Regional Council, who spoke on Woman's Role in South Africa; a Mrs. John L. Sanders, who is apparently of Japanese descent, spoke on Japan; Mrs. Frank Anderson spoke on England. (A Mr. Frank Anderson is editor of a Maxwell Field newspaper); and Mrs. J. P. Caple, Negro wife of a Montgomery dentist, spoke on various countries.

The afternoon session included talks by a Mrs. Lois L. Reeves, "Women's Role in the New Testament," and Mrs. H. L. Foster, Mrs. Albert C Winn, and Mrs. M. E. Tilly, all of whom spoke on Women's Role in the New South.

PRAISE ROSA

Rosa Parks, Negro woman whose arrest sparked the Montgomery bus boycott, was highly praised at the meeting.

* * *

Women's Role In Integration Theme Of Group

(Notes taken during sessions of the "Fellowship Meeting" of white and negro women and negro men held at St. Jude's Hospital, Sept. 27).

Women should have more interest in world affairs than men, the participants in an interracial "Fellowship of the Cocnerned" were told at district rally held recently, here, in Montgomery, by a visitor from Atlanta who calls the Union of South Africa home.

The speaker, a white woman who identified herself as Miss Violaine Junod, a lecturer at the University of South Africa, gave what was termed the most lengthy, humorous, and perhaps ridiculous talk of the sessions, our reporter said.

Miss Junod, whose background is rather vague, began by stating women are biologically different from men and should recognize that fact instead of trying to be the same as men.

She stated that women are always sure of their child although the man must rely only on faith in this matter.

Referring to Gandhi, the Anti Christ leader, Miss Junod, a woman of approximately 40 years, said that his supporters were mostly women.

She led a brief discusison on the Black Sash Movement in South Africa. This is a group of white women in Africa who sponsors passive resistance to segregation.

Miss Junod closed by urging the women present to keep their feminity and to use it for the cause.

The wife of a Negro dentist, J. P. Caples, mentioned just about every country known to man and some woman in each that was prominent. She referred to Life, Dec. 24, 1956 as her principal source. Heading her list of Americans was Rosa Parks, who, she stated, had the courage to keep her seat when a white man wanted her to give it up to him. Then she praised the Negro women of Montgomery for refu ing to ride the buses during t boycott. She concluded with t current problem "in Montgome with the parks", pointing out th on the petition for integrati presented to the city commission ers were the names of many w men.

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...ers Kiwanis Club ... ciously the two local television stations cooperate in community projects lending each other personnel and material support in joint efforts. And speaking in fun, don't worry about the country having more TV sets than bathtubs, because some day, we will have combined units so we

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The pastor of one of Montgomery's largest Baptist churches, the Rev. S. Louis Armstrong, Morningview Baptist, has been elected president of the Alabama Baptist Pastors' Conference at their meeting in Birmingham this week. Very active in youth work in Montgomery, he is in his tenth year at Morningview and I believe the only pastor they ever had.

• • •

The Dalraida Recreation Club will meet at the Center Club Building Tuesday night at 8. All members are urged to attend. Remember the club needs your inspiration, encouragement and support as much as it does your ...

...contest.

and 18th respectively.)

The contests have been lots of fun. It is interesting to learn

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The Montgomery Home News

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—Adapted

...years old, with her hair done in a pony tail. She passed out programs.

According to our reports, the ...

4/10/58

MEMORANDUM

Harold:

RECEIVED APR 12 1957

Here's the result of some fairly extensive research by Judy Grieser of our office. She scanned the files of the Worker, New Masses and various bibliographical aids, and Hall's piece is the only "find." Hope it proves useful. Also enclosed is the full text of the Jackson "birthday" story.

Dave

David F. Freeman

DFF

Daily Worker - Page 6 - December 1, 1954

James Jackson's 40th Birthday:
Hero Son of the Negro People

By S. D. Rock

This is the 40th birthday of James E. Jackson, Jr. It also marks roughly three-and-a-half years that this stalwart Marxist leader, Southern regional secretary of the Communist Party and member of its national committee, has lived the life of a political refugee, separated from his family, hunted by the vengeful, fascist-minded political police of the FBI.

Both these facts deserve widespread recognition and commemoration in the ranks of Communists, working-class militants and the Negro people.

*

As the masses gird themselves for more decisive battles against the small handful of ruling class advocates of fascism and genocidal war, their ranks were weakened by the absence of Jim Jackson. For he symbolized and embodies these qualities and skills of leadership most sorely needed now.

Proud son of the Negro people, Jim Jackson's indelible contributions to their struggles began when, as a student in the jimcrow public schools of his native Richmond, Va., he turned his exceptional mind beyond the classroom to find the answers to the very segregation of which he and his fellow pupils were the victims; to the daily indignities and abuses which his people suffered at the hands of the 'white supremacist' lords of the town; to the miserable wages of the factory 'hands' in the tobacco plants, the plodding domestic workers and the servants in the big hotels; to the insufferable hovels and firetraps which the Negro workers of Richmond inhabited--and still inhabit.

*

Since those early days, there are few basic struggles of the Negro nation and people in the South, or of the Southern workers and poor farmers, Negro and white which have not borne to some degree the imprint of his direct participation or his guidance of the class-conscious forces within them.

As the drive to break the Wall Street-Dixiecrat stranglehold on the political life of the South (and consequently the nation) takes shape in an ever more energetic and demanding movement for the full franchise, for Negro and popular representation, it is appropriate to recall that Jim Jackson and a small band of young Southerners launched the first anti-polltax week in Birmingham, Ala., in 1940. This observance soon flowered into a national campaign which reduced the number of polltax states from eight to five and stimulated voter registration movements among the Negro masses in every Southern state.

And when, in 1946, the first concerted effort of this generation was made to register Negroes to vote in Mississippi (paradise of the Ku Klux Klans); bitter-end defender of feudal oligarchy; current spawner of the misnamed 'Citizens Councils' aimed at terrorizing Negro children and parents into forfeiting their constitutional right to equal and integrated education,

Jim Jackson was there as an officer of the Southern Negro Youth Congress, spearheading the movement, rallying his fellow-Negro veterans to take advantage of their poll-tax exemption and vote.

In the eyes of the big-planter clique that rules Mississippi on behalf of finance capital, the advocacy of Negro voting in 'their' state was strictly 'illegal' in 1946. Jim Jackson had to find ingenious methods to get his message over to the Negro veterans. Regular-sized leaflets would be too bulky; but thousands of vets found in their hands little slips of paper, slightly bigger than a calling card and inscribed with the legend:

Negro Veterans
You who laid old Hitler low,
Don't be scared of old Bilbo;
Just like Hitler's friend Tojo,
Bilbo, too, has got to go!
Register and Vote!
Join the S. N. Y. C.!

*

There was at least as much truth as poetry in Jim Jackson's 'calling card.' The exposure of the corrupt practices, fraud and intimidation which Bilbo used to keep Negroes from voting against him in 1946 led to a movement to deny him the seat he had held in the Senate by identical methods term after term. The movement developed mass proportions and was stopped only by Bilbo's belated death early in 1947.

It was said in Mississippi that 'The Man,' as he was called, died of natural causes, aggravated by an overdose of Negro militancy stimulated by Jim Jackson.

As an inspirer and organizer of countless struggles of the Negro youth and people against lynching, against the murderous brutality of the police agents of the trusts and planters; for jobs and upgrading, for schools, recreational facilities and cultural development, Jim Jackson maintains today a preferred place in the hearts of the Negro masses all over the South.

Further, for a period of 15 years he took part in every important general movement for advancement which involved Negro and white labor and progressive forces of the South.

In addition to serving as a founder, vice president and principal organizer of the Southern Negro Youth Congress, he participated in the formation and building of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, the Southern Regional Council, and many other movements which in any important way challenged the states ~~que~~ (sic) quo of Negro oppression and Southern social backwardness.

*

Jim Jackson's constructive role in these movements stands as an effective refutation of the imperialist lie that the Communists join popular mass organizations to 'use' them for some ulterior motives. Throughout the South there are numerous ± leaders who could testify--and some day they will--that Jim Jackson's contributions to the organizations in which they shared with him the labor 'in the heat of the day' were always positive, helpful, and principled, whatever their differences on the fundamental questions of class struggle and the basic organization of society.

For Communists, Jim Jackson's mastery--though practice (sic) --of the united front tactic provides a model of great importance in carrying into life the objectives of the Party program. A primary characteristic of his style of work has been his persistent skill in developing mass struggles around the issues and through the organizational forms and methods closest and most congenial to the massess--all the while striving to raise a given campaign, project, or movement to higher levels of social consciousness and fighting capacity, all the while furthering the unity and initiative of Negro and white workers and the leadership of the Negro workers in the Negro liberation movement.

Continued on page 4 - Daily Worker, December 2, 1954

Jackson, a Leader in
Labor, Negro Struggle

Following is the concluding article on the occasion of the 40th birthday of James E. Jackson, Jr., Southern regional secretary of the Communist Party and member of its national committee, who has lived the life of a political refugee:

* * *

By S. D. Rock

Jim Jackson combines with a deep involvement in the crucial struggles of the Negro people during his entire mature life, a rich experience as an organizer of labor and builder of the trade union meovement.

When the leaders of the Southern Negro Youth Congress undertook to organize the desperately exploited Negro tobacco stemmers and laborers of the Larus Brothers and E xport Leaf plants in Richmond in 1937-38, Jackson was the principal leader of the organizing drive and historic strike (first in the history of the tobacco industry) which followed.

The success which he and other youthful organizers had in rallying the workers to organized resistance to $5-a-week pay envolopes, the spiteful abuse and lustful advances of 'straw boss' foremen, 'dressing rooms' in which women changed clothes behind barrel staves involoped by foul tobacco-leaf fumes; their success in mobilizing the support of all groups and classes in the Negro community in the form of money and food to maintain the strikers' kitchen; their success in organizing a supporting parade of white workers down Main Street through the heart of town--all this threw fear and panic into the bosses and resulted in Jim Jackson's being jailed on a trumped-up charge.

But eventually the strike was won and the victory of the Richmond tobacco workers, who joined the new CIO movement, led to the further organization of tobacco workers in Virginia and North Carolina and provided an important exmaple and stimulus for the entire Southern organizing drive of the late Thirties.

*

Not only the tobacco workers, but the longshoremen of Louisiana and Texas, textile workers of the Carolinas, shipbuilders in Mobile, steel workers and miners in Birmingham and Bessemer, can testify to Jim Jackson's contributions to their struggles for better wages and working conditions and for trade union democracy.

And in Detroit literally thousands of Communist and progressive auto workers recall his inexhaustible energy, great tactical skill and his fight for principle when, as leader of the Communist workers at the huge auto plants, he helped guide the building and development of a left and progressive workers' coalition against speedup wage-cuts, layoffs, and discrimination in 1947-48 and 1949.

Thus, the merging of experiences in the main stream of the Negro liberation movement and in various crucial struggles of the labor movement over a period of 20-odd years have molded a leader of rare qualities. The people must recall him to their service in the strenuous days ahead.

*

Most important, the two main ingredients that go to make up the revolutionary 'charge' in Jim Jackson--the fight for Negro freedom and for labor's rights--have been tempered to an unusually fine degree in the fire of Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist science.

At the time of the Smith Act indictments against the 17 leaders of the Communist Party, Jackson had begun to arrest our attention with his important contributions to our theory. His articles in Political A ffairs, his speeches at Party conventions and conferences bear the marks of a major and seasoned theoretical talent.

All the features are there which characterize the work of an outstanding Marxist scholar: (1) a concrete and thorough examination of economic and social reality and the experience of the masses as the basis for political and theoretical conclusions and generalizations; (2) the abhorrence of dogma and the shunning of cliches, however hallowed by time and extravagent(sic) usage; (3) a bold, creative, 'pioneering' approach to new and unsolved problems; (4) a confident but not mechanical recourse to the accumulated experience of the world proletariat as summarized in the classical work of Marx, Engles, Lenin and Stalin.

*

Jackson's theoretical contributions have been along two major lines. First, he has heightened the Party's understanding of the nature of the popular struggle in the South. He has constantly reminded us, as in his report to the 15th Party conventions, that '...in our trade union work and in our Negro work we cannot win the battle against opportunism, white chauvinism and reformism so long as work in these fields is characterized by a neglect and underestimation of the South.'

He proceeded in the same report to show that: 'The development of higher levels of the Negro national revolutionary struggle in the Balck Belt, and the broad mass movement for democratic rights in the South as a whole, is an indispensable prerequisite for insuring the victory of the working class and the American people over the menacing challenge of the ruling class forces of fascism

and war presently, and for working class victory over capitalism ultimately...This is a basic fundamental in the strategy for working class victory, and a special feature of the path to the triumph of Socialism in our country.'

Placing before the Party the challenge of 'the too poorly appreciated fact that the South is that region of the U. S. where the most powerful revolutionary pressures may develop,' Jackson has graphically described and analyzed the three main components of the people's struggles in the South, namely: '(1) the special struggles of the workers, Negro and white; ~~and~~ (2) the special struggles of the poor farmers, Negro and white; and (3) the struggle of the Negro nation for liberation and of the Negro people everywhere for equal rights.'

And he points out that, 'Above all, up from the backward South, there is growing in consciousness a potentially powerful democratic and revolutionary force, the oppressed and imprisoned Negro nation, which is fighting and will fight, on a scale as yet unimagined for its liberation from the imperialist bondage of Wall Street-Dixiecrat slavemasters.'

*

In applying the tools of Marxism-Leninism to that force (the struggle for freedom of the imprisoned Negro nation)--in outlining its present status and perspectives for the future, its relations with the labor movement, the agrarian masses and the Negro national minorities South and North, the relation- (Continued on Page 8)

Jackson

(Continued from Page 5)

ships and struggles of the classes within it, its alliance with the liberatory (sic) struggles in colonial lands and with the world peace movement headed by the socialist USSR--it is in this field of investigation that we find Jackson's second major area of contribution to our theoretical work.

*

Clearly the need and the possibility of returning Jim Jackson and other imprisoned and missing working class leaders to the front line of struggle is greater than ever before.

The Negro liberation movement is at a new height and, as the object of the increasingly ferocious attacks of the Dixiecrats and their bourgeois masters, it faces a rapidly sharpening crisis. Which road to take toward extended reformist collaboration with the Big Business would-be enslavers of the colonial world and the consequent short circuiting of the mass currents which led to the Supreme Court decision of last May 17. Or toward more determined and effective collaboration with an awakening labor movement and with the anti-imperialist, pro-peace forces of the world--the only sure road to 'Freedom by '63' and to complete liberation in our time.

*

Jim Jackson's experience, wisdom and energy are needed at the center of the Negro people's movement as this fateful decision takes shape before us.

Ben Davis' great political leadership is needed, the organizing genius of Henry Winston, the full, unhampered contributions of Pettis Perry, Claudia Jones and all the Negro victims of Smith Act

persecution are needed as never before in the maturing, centuries-old struggle for freedom.

And at their side in this great battle, as in the battle for true working class policies in the labor movement, and for a powerful people's coalition for peace and democracy, must stand their comrades and colleagues in leadership of the Communist Party--Wm. Z. Foster, Gene Dennis, Gus Hall, John Gates, Bob Thompson, and all the others.

The rich ties of Jim Jackson with the popular and labor movements of our land are shaped in one degree or another by all the leaders of the Communist Party. It is precisely these ties, developed over years of participation in the American class struggle which is the warrant of their leadership of our Party. And precisely these ties, however they manifest themselves, are our warrant to go to the American people with unprecedented vigor with the deman for amnesty for political prisoners.

The possibilities for success in this struggle are growing. The repugnance of the masses for McCarthyism deepens from day to day. It must embrace the fascist menace in all its manifestations, and primarily its anti-Communist core.

We must use the occasion of Jim Jackson's 40th birthday to remind ourselves and the democratic masses that the popular movement will not achieve its goals in the fight for peace, the battle for constitutional liberty, working class advance or Negro freedom unless Communists--and in the first instance the leaders of the Communist Party--exercise the full rights of citizenship in that movement and in the nation. //

A NEW POLITICAL CLIMATE FOR THE SOUTH

Broad progressive movements in the South show that forces are at work toward that unity of all patriotic Southerners who see racial harmony as the key to progress and effectiveness in the war.

By Rob F. Hall
Birmingham, Ala.

In his 'Brothers Under the Skin,' Carey McWilliams does not soft-pedal the seriousness of the attacks on the Negro people, the increasing bitterness of anti-Negro discrimination, and the danger to national unity resulting from the intolerable conditions under which the Negro people live, work and fight. But Mr. McWilliams emphasizes that in the course of this war for survival against Hitlerism, there has developed a climate favorable for far-reaching improvements in racial relations.

Even the South has been affected by this climate and out of it has come the recently organized Southern Regional Council, Inc., with headquarters in Atlanta, consisting of some hundred leading Southern white and Negro citizens. The council is dedicated to the proposition that 'the Negro in the United States and in every region is entitled to and should have every guarantee of equal opportunity that every other citizen of the United States has within the framework of the American democratic system of government.' The founders established the council so that there will be 'actual realistic accomplishments rather than mere words.'

Dr. Charles S. Johnson of Fiske University and Dr. Howard W. Odum of the University of North Carolina are co-chairman, and Dr. Guy B. Johnson, also of North Carolina has been made full-time executive director. Dr. Ira Reid, a well-known Negro leader of Atlanta University is associate director. Despite the prominence of academic names in the roster of officers, the movement is not confined to the Southern campus. The initiators and supporters of the Southern Regional Council include white industrialists, Negro business men (sic) and outstanding men and women of both races from the fields of church, labor, social work, government agencies and civic organizations.

The council has (sic) its beginning in a meeting of some 80 Southern Negro leaders in Durham, N. C., in October, 1942. The 'Durham Statement' issued as a result of the deliberations of that conference was notable both in the primacy it gave to the war effort and its demands on the 'first loyalty' of the Negro people, and for its frank and forthright posing of the demands of the Negro people in the South.

The Durham conference demands included.

1. Political and civil rights. This emphasized the right of suffrage and the right of 'personal security against abuses of police power by white officers of the law.' The touchy question of treatment of Negroes in public carriers was met with the demand that 'where segregation is mandatory by law...that these provisions be equal in kind and quality.'

2. Industry and labor. This pointed up the demand for the enforcement of the Fair Employment Practices Committee policies.
3. Service occupations. In this plank the degraded position of the domestic and other service workers was treated as an important question affecting hundreds of thousands of Negroes.
4. Education. The conference urged equalization of educational opportunities, including equalization of salaries. Where states cannot afford the requirements of this program, federal aid was called for.
5. Agriculture. Safeguards for the tenant and aids to the promotion of home and land ownership were emphasized.
6. Military service. The conference insisted upon the opportunity of full participation in all branches of military service and of advancement according to ability.
7. Social welfare and health. A drastic expansion of health facilities for the Negro people was advocated, including slum clearance and low-cost housing.

Following the publication of the Durham program there was widespread comment in the columns of the more responsible section of the Southern press. The Atlanta Constitution, whose editor is Ralph McGill said, 'It will be unfortunate if the South does not discuss calmly and intelligently the basis for interracial cooperation advanced recently by a group of Southern Negroes.' And partly due to the initiative of Mr. McGill, about 300 influential white Southerners gathered at Atlanta in April, 1943.

In their public document, now known as the Atlanta Statement, the white Southerners opened with an acknowledgement to the Durham group. 'Their statement,' said the whites, 'is so frank and courageous, so free from any suggestion of threat and ultimatum, and at the same time shows such good will, that we gladly agree to cooperate.'

The Atlanta conference did not draw up a detailed program. It implied agreement with the Durham planks but addressed itself primarily to 'the widespread and inexcusable discrimination in the administration of these laws.'

Continuing, the Atlanta conference said, 'The white Southerner has an obligation to interest himself in the legitimate aspirations of the Negro.

'This means correcting the discrimination between the races in the allocation of school funds; in the number and quality of schools; and in the salaries of teachers...It is recognized that there is often practical discrimination by some peace officers and in some courts in the treatment of Negro prisoners and in the abrogation of their civil rights...False arrests, brutal beatings and other evils must be stopped.'

In the economic sphere, the Negro must have equal pay for equal work. 'If we cannot plan for a well-trained, well-employed and prosperous Negro population, the economic future of the South is hopeless,' the atlanta Statement declared.

The statement then emphasized the necessity of eliminating 'the poison of racial antagonism' which unless checked 'will ultimately disturb and threaten the stability of the nation.'

The story then moves more rapidly. The Atlanta Conference designated a committee of whites, including Dr. Odum, Virginius Dabney, editor of The Richmond Times-Dispatch, and Josephine

Wilkins of the Georgia League of Women Voters, to meet with a committee of Negroes, to work out plans for collaboration.

The collaboration committee met in Richmond two months later. Their document was not as explicit as either the Durham or the Atlanta statements, but indicated a genuine desire to work together on the basis of an 'adaptation' of the Durham and Atlanta platforms. The collaboration committee itemized the most important of the Durham planks, including the franchise, personal security, employment, and equalized opportunity for education and professional training.

The thinking of Dr. Odum and certain other leaders seems to be in the negative. By training and background, Dr. Odum is inclined to rely on a small and select group and to distrust the average citizen, at least in the mass. The fact that foundations have underwritten the budget of the council for the coming year is in this sense both a strength and a weakness--a weakness in that the council will not need the financial support of the average citizen and may tend to ignore him, thus depriving itself of that strength, inspiration and effectiveness which comes from the participation of the rank and file.

The hesitancy of Dr. Odum and some of the other leaders has an explanation. It lies in their conviction that the Southern Regional Council may fight for improved race relation (sic) and improved conditions for the Negro people but must not under any circumstances raise a finger against segregation in the South.

When leaders of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare approached Dr. Odum and proposed a merger of their organization with the SRC, they were told politely but firmly that they were not wanted. The SCHW had opposed segregation, they were told, and their participation in SRC would perhaps commit the latter organization in the minds of the public to this position.

It would be easy to dismiss the Southern Regional Council as lagging behind the times, or as some think, hopelessly conservative. But actually, the issue is not so simple.

Those who really understand the character of this war of national survival recognize that the war crisis has made it possible to achieve complete equality for the Negro people in this period. Further, that the complete integration of the Negro people into American life, eliminating the cancerous institution of white supremacy from our social body, is vital to victory in the war and to the national unity of the post-war period. Thus the goal of abolishing segregation is a realistic and practical goal and all moves toward improving race relations will be most successful if they acknowledge this goal.

Unfortunately, this fact is not understood or accepted by a large and--at the present--dominant section of Southern liberal opinion. Even the Negro conferees at Durham, while expressing opposition to compulsory segregation, deliberately limited their program to demands which did not trespass on the hallowed precincts of Jim Crow. They declared.

'We are fundamentally opposed to the principle and practice of compulsory segregation...however we regard it as both sensible

(continued on Page 9)

A New Political Climate in ~~the~~ South

(Continued from Page 3)

and timely to address ourselves now ~~in~~ to the current problems of racial discrimination and neglect.'

The use of the word 'however' is most unfortunate, because it poses the fight on current problems as something in opposition to the fight against segregation. It was on the basis of this paragraph that Roscoe Dunjee, fighting editor of The Black Dispatch of Oklahoma City, jade his scathing criticism of the Durham conference.

Actually the Durham conferees should have said 'We are fundamentally opposed to compulsory segregation...and precisely because of that we are addressing ourselves to the current problems.'

The logic of this formulation is demonstrated when one considers that the fight for complete equality and for the abolition of segregation requires at this stage a militant unrelenting fight for the very platform of the Durham-Atlanta conference, for the franchise, for the elimination of police brutality, and for jobs for Negroes. It is in the course of such struggles that larger and larger sections of Southern whites will learn to know their Negro fellow citizens better and to see the utter unreasonableness of segregation and Jim Crow. They will learn how Jim Crow laws are degrading and humiliating to whites as well as Negroes. The educational process will be advanced.

No one at the Atlanta conference opposed tinkering with the basic Jim Crow structure of the South more vigorously than did Editor Virginius Dabney of The Richmond Times-Dispatch. But a few weeks ago, Mr. Dabney published a two column editorial urging the elimination of segregation in busses, street cars and railway trains in the state of Virginia. The response to this proposal by the people of Virginia was overwhelmingly favoralbe, Mr. Dabney reported subsequently. The fight for Negro rights in the South will unquestionably follow this pattern.

This assumes, of course, sincerity and good faith on the part of the leaders of the movement. Perhaps certain members of the Southern Regional Council do not at this time desire to eliminate segregation. There is room in the South for an organization with the limited program of merely achieving the unprejudiced administration of law to the Negro people. But the minimum essential is that the organization and its members shall energetically pursue this program.

In a recent issue of The Black Dispatch, M. S. Stuart, a columnist refrains from criticizing the SRC. But he issues a polite warning:

'Southern white friends of the race have been counselling patience and promising gradual improvement. Practical level-headed Negro leaders, North and South, have been inclined to subscribe to that theory. But many now are beginning to question whether or not the policy of these white friends is too darn gradual...They want concrete evidence of improvement, however small, to offset the contention that these Southern programs are only sugar-coated opiates to keep the Negro contented during the war. They would like grounds for hoping that at least some of the Negro babies born this year

will not be too old to enjoy any of the fruits of this gradualness when, if ever, it ripens.'

The SRC, even if it does not adopt as a part of its program the elimination of segregation, can still make a tremendous contribution to Southern unity and thus to the Southern role in the war effort. But it does have an obligation to speak out without delay for the cardinal points of its program, for the abolition of the poll tax, against the white primary and for the right to vote for the Negro people; for the support of FEPC and for jobs for Negroes; for expansion now of educational health and housing facilities for Negroes.

If it will do this, and at the same time, organize the great mass of Southern white opinion behind this program, we can rest assured that the time of complete integration of the Negro people into Southern and American life will not be far off.

There is, we repeat, room in the South for a movement which does not include the elimination of segregation. But there ought to be room in the Southern Regional Council for men and women, Negro and white, who take the position that only the complete elimination of segregation will achieve genuine racial harmony, if they cooperate in the immediate program of the council.

Southerners can be confident that despite the error of Dr. Odum is (sic) rejecting the overtures of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, the SRC is headed in the direction of that broader unity of all patriotic Southerners who know that racial harmony is the keystone of Southern progress and Southern effectiveness in the war. The Southern Regional Council therefore deserves the unremitting co-operation and support of all Southern people."

SAMUEL BURNEY HAY, D.D., PRESIDENT

Pl. 22548

STILLMAN COLLEGE
OWNED AND CONTROLLED BY THE
PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES
P. O. DRAWER 483
TUSCALOOSA, ALABAMA

Box 11
Gulf Shores, Ala.
Yorktown 8-4321

August 1, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
The Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I enclose a clipping from a newspaper serial that is being widely published in the South. It appeared in the Brimingham Post- Herald this morning, and will be in the Tuscaloosa News this afternoon.

This is evidently propaganda of a vicious and biased kind. The fact that it is quoted from a New England paper will give it a certain authority for people who want to believe it.

I am president of the local Human Relations Council. Our members and those whom we are trying to interest in membership will read this. Do you have a statement concerning the alleged connections of the S. R. C. with the Communist Party? I think it would be well for you to send one to the two newspapers I have mentioned. I would like a copy myself.

When your statement comes I want to carry it to Buford Boone. He and I are good friends and I am disappointed that his paper would carry material which incriminates by association and innuendo.

Sincerely yours,

Albert C. Winn

Albert C. Winn
Professor of Bible

August 6, 1958

Mr. Albert C. Winn
P. O. Box 11
Gulfshores, Alabama

Dear Mr. Winn:

Enclosed are our answers to the New Bedford (Mass.) Standard-Times, the Birmingham Post-Herald and Buford Boone. Also enclosed is a reprint from the Congressional Record which may be of some use to you.

As I mentioned over the phone, your prompt action in this matter was most helpful to us and we are deeply grateful. We will appreciate any further information that comes to light.

If we can supply you with additional material please let us know.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/hs
Enc.

August 6, 1958

Mr. Buford Boone
Tuscaloosa News
Tuscaloosa, Alabama

Dear Mr. Boone:

A friend has sent me the series entitled "Commies and Integration," prepared by the New Bedford (Mass.) Standard-Times and reprinted in the Birmingham Post-Herald.

I was shocked and dismayed to learn that your newspaper also reprinted the series. Enclosed is a copy of my letter to the editor of the New Bedford paper. In its slur on the Southern Regional Council and in most other respects, the series is as dishonest and irresponsible a piece of reporting as I have seen.

Having deeply admired the integrity and constructiveness displayed by you and your newspaper, I am especially disheartened to find that the News published this material.

I sincerely hope that you will undertake to correct the false and damaging statements made in the series.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/hs
Encl.

August 6, 1958

Mr. Hodding Carter, Editor
The Delta Democrat-Times
Greenville, Mississippi

Dear Hodding:

Have you seen the enclosed series called "Commies and Integration" prepared by the New Bedford (Mass.) Standard-Times and reprinted by the Birmingham Post-Herald and no doubt other Southern papers?

After reading the slur on SRC in Article No. 2, I was moved to write the New Bedford paper as enclosed.

I'm long since hardened to this kind of smearing by extremists in the South. But I can't swallow it so well when it bears the label of New England "journalism," even though I understand the paper is of the rabid McCarthyite variety.

Since I used your name, among others in my reply (as one that would be recognized that far North), I thought I should inform you of the business.

I'm sorry always to be writing you about the seamy side of our concerns and will try to remedy that in the furure. Meanwhile, warm regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/hs
Encl.

August 6, 1958

Editor
The Birmingham Post-Herald
Birmingham, Alabama

Dear Sir:

I have today written as enclosed to the editor of the New Bedford (Mass.) Standard-Times.

We were shocked to find that the Post-Herald would lend its columns to the dissemination of this kind of false and defamatory material -- all the more so, since the originating newspaper is far removed from the scene and there is no evidence that its reporter even made any first-hand inquiries in the South. Certainly he did not approach this organization.

The Southern Regional Council has no use for Communism or Communists. Newspapers like the Post-Herald would render a service if they would reduce, rather than increase, the public confusion between the cynical activities of Communists and the honest efforts of responsible citizens.

Very truly yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/hs
Encl.

August 6, 1958

Editor
The Standard-Times
New Bedford, Massachusetts

Dear Sir:

Our attention has been called to an article in the Birmingham Post-Herald of August 1. 1958, described as the second in a series of five articles reprinted from your newspaper. The series is characterized as dealing with "the Communist influence on racial strife in the South," "prepared after an extensive investigation."

The article contains the following paragraphs:

> The results of this "honeymoon" were vital Communist infiltration of the most important agencies in the South dealing in Negro issues. The Communists infiltrated four of these organizations and actually helped found three of them.
>
> They are the Southern Conference Educational Fund, the Southern Regional Council, the Highlander Folk School in Tennessee, and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.
>
> The Regional Council and the Educational Fund were both offshoots of the old Southern Conference for Human Welfare, which was dissolved in 1948 after twice being described by the Federal Government as "a Communist front serving the Soviet Union and its subservient Communist Party."

It is not my province to speak for the other organizations mentioned. But as far as the Southern Regional Council is concerned, the above statements are demonstrably false and injurious. This is to request a

prpmpt and unequivocal retraction in your newspaper and in those which reprinted the series. The "extensive investigation" on which this article is allegedly based clearly did not extend to reputable and reliable sources. If it had, your investigator would, without difficulty, have learned the following facts:

1. The Southern Regional Council was neither founded nor infiltrated by Communists. It is, and has always been, unalterably opposed to the Communist movement. It is not to be found on any official list of Communist or Communist-front organizations.

2. The Southern Regional Council is in no wise an "offshoot" of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. The Council was founded as the successor to the Commission on Interracial Cooperation in 1944 - five years before the Southern Conference became defunct. The two groups were entirely separate and distinct, both in organization and in approach.

3. The honorable origins of the Southern Regional Council are a matter of record, having been fully documented in contemporary newspaper accounts. The incorporators were Bishop Arthur J. Moore of the Methodist Church, Ralph McGill, editor of the Atlanta Constitution, the late Dr. Charles S. Johnson, president of Fisk University, Dr. Rufus E. Clement, president of Atlanta University, and the late Dr. Howard W. Odum of the University of North Carolina. There was no suggestion of Communist influence then or at any other time.

4. The Southern Regional Council's officers and board members are Southerners of unimpeachable reputation and patriotism. Among them are such well-known newspapermen as Hodding Carter of Mississippi, Benjamin Muse of Virginia, and Herbert Davidson of Florida; such churchmen as Catholic Bishop Joseph B. Brunini of Mississippi, Episcopal Bishop E. A. Penick of North Carolina, and Dr. Merrimon Cuninggim, dean of the SMU Theology School; and others of equal stature.

I trust that we may look forward to an early reply from you indicating that an appropriate correction will be made in the newspapers which used this series.

Very truly yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF:ls

File copy

COPY

August 6, 1958

Editor
The Standard-Times
New Bedford, Massachusetts

Dear Sir:

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I trust that we may look forward to an early reply from you indicating that an appropriate correction will be made in the newspapers which used this series.

Very truly yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF:ls

ack

201 Sunset Avenue
Charlottesville, Va.
August 7, 1958

Mr. Fred Routh
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave, NE
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Fred:

I am enclosing a clipping from the Richmond Times-Dispatch of August 5, 1958. This is the second installment of a daily series by Edward B. Simmons.

The whole series, so far, is absolutely sickening for being a cleverly contrived combination of half-truths, which add up to total lies, insofar as the Southern Regional Council is concerned.

It is all the more distressing for this to appear in a paper of which Virginius Dabney is editor when I believe he was on of the early directors of the Southern Regional Council.

I am sending this to you because you will know what, if anything, to do about it - and how to do it.

My best wishes to you.

Sincerely yours,

Mildred D. Brown

Mrs. Morris Brown

Richm. Times Dispatch 8-5-58

PART OF HANDBOOK

Red Propaganda Spurs Race Strife

This is the second in a series of five artcles, reprinted from the New Bedford (Mass.) Standard-Times, on Communist efforts to incite racial strife in the United States. The author is a member of the Standard-Times staff.

By Edward B. Simmons

WASHINGTON — To incite racial strife is one of the oldest objectives in the Communist program for getting world domination. "We must realize that our party's most powerful weapon is racial tension," states a Communist party handbook of 1912, well before a few hundred Bolsheviks seized control of Russia.

"By propounding into the consciousness of the dark races that for centuries they have been oppressed by the whites, we can mold them to the program of the Communist Party," the handbook continues.

"In America, we will aim for subtle victory. While inflaming the Negro minority against the whites, we will endeavor to instill in the whites a guilt complex for their exploitation of the Negroes. Thus will begin a process which will "deliver America to our cause."

Coincidence or Strategy?

Is it coincidence or the result of strategy that, some 45 years later, racial unrest in an outstanding Southern city, Little Rock, Ark., has increased so sharply that a Federal judge called for a 2½-year delay in any integration?

Again, is it coincidence or the result of Communist strategy that one of the most influtial of all Southern Negro leaders, the Rev. Martin Luther King, exhorts his followers with these words:

"It (the Montgomery, Ala., bus boycott) is a part of something that is happening all over the world. The oppressed people are rising up. They are revolting against colonialism and imperialism and all other systems of oppression."

When Mr. King draws a parallel between the situatian of the American Negro and "oppressed peoples" rising against "colonialism" and "imperialism," he is following exactly, to the word, the Communist line.

Direct Approach Failed

At first, the Communist drive for creation of racial strife called for a direct approach to Negroes, using labor unions and Communist fronts like the American Negro Labor Congress and the League for Struggle for Negro Rights.

This approach was brazenly direct, and it failed. Former Communist Joseph Kornfelder, one of the party founders in the United States and its first director of Southern operations, has described what happened:

"The South to the Communists was always one of the most vexing problems," Kornfelder told a joint legislative committee of the State of Louisiana in March 1957. "Moscow could never understand it . . . According to Marx' theory, the South should be leading the United States in Communist development.

"It just didn't work out that way.

"It was just to the contrary. The South proved to be a hard nut and it didn't conform to the doctrine.

Blocked by Religion

"They decided that the big block against penetration of the South is religion. The Negroes believed in religion; the hillbillies believed in religion; nearly everybody is religious. The South is more religious than the North.

"Therefore, they decided ing in Negro issues. The Communists infiltrated four of these organizations and actually helped found three of them.

They are the Southern Conference Educational Fund, the Southern Regional Council, the Highlander Folk School in Tennessee and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

An almost incredible maze of interlocking officials, ideas and publications linked the three first-named agencies with the Communist Party.

Council Got Ford Grant

The Regional Council and the Educational Fund were both off-shoots of the old Southern Conference for Human Welfare, which was dissolved in 1948 after twice being described by the Federal Government as "a Communist front serving the Soviet Union and its subservient Communist Party."

Former directors and officers of the Conference for Human Welfare became directors and officers of the Regional Council and the Educational Fund and of the Highlander School. The Communist Daily Worker openly boasted that James E. Jackson, chief of the Southern branch of the U. S. Communist Party, was a co-founder of the Regional Council.

Although the Regional Council is not widely known in the North, its influence in the South is attested by its receiving a $497,000 grant from the Ford Foundation's Fund for the Republic.

Likewise, the Highlander School plays an important role in Southern civil rights developments, although it is scarcely known in the North. The school, according to testimony before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, was co-founded by a Communist and by a man who refused to testify on his beliefs.

NAACP Infiltrated

During these "organizing" years by the Communist Party, the NAACP was extensively infiltrated, although not dominated by Communist sympathizers. Many of its leading officials were members of the Communist fronts.

In fact, by 1954 and the crucial Supreme Court decision, the Communist Party was so confident it had set the stage for developments in its favor that the party's national convention in the Winter of 1953 declared, "The next period ahead will witness momentous struggles of the Negroes . . . given the vanguard leadership of the Communist party, we may be confident that the Negro liberation movement will ally itself more fully with the camp of peace and democracy."

The Communist Party was in a position to follow its long-proved doctrine:

To get a "sociological" or pro-Communist book on the reading list of influential persons, like a Supreme Court justice;

To persuade a Negro to violate a civil rights statute, in the cause of "civil disobedience;"

To inject a fellow-traveler in the forefront of a civil rights dispute;

To support the program of the NAACP.

These objectives were attained in the year to come.

the handbook continues.

"In America, we will aim for subtle victory. While inflaming the Negro minority against the whites, we will endeavor to instill in the whites a guilt complex for their exploitation of the Negroes. Thus will begin a process which will "deliver America to our cause."

Coincidence or Strategy?

Is it coincidence or the result of strategy that, some 45 years later, racial unrest in an outstanding Southern city, Little Rock, Ark., has increased so sharply that a Federal judge called for a 2½-year delay in any integration?

Again, is it coincidence or the result of Communist strategy that one of the most influtial of all Southern Negro leaders, the Rev. Martin Luther King, exhorts his followers with these words:

"It (the Montgomery, Ala., bus boycott) is a part of something that is happening all over the world. The oppressed people are rising up. They are revolting against colonialism and imperialism and all other systems of oppression."

When Mr. King draws a parallel between the situatian of the American Negro and "oppressed peoples" rising against "colonialism" and "imperialism," he is following exactly, to the word, the Communist line.

Direct Approach Failed

At first, the Communist drive for creation of racial strife called for a direct approach to Negroes, using labor unions and Communist fronts like the American Negro Labor Congress and the League for Struggle for Negro Rights.

This approach was brazenly direct, and it failed. Former Communist Joseph Kornfelder, one of the party founders in the United States and its first director of Southern operations, has described what happened:

"The South to the Communists was always one of the most vexing problems," Kornfelder told a joint legislative committee of the State of Louisiana in March 1957. "Moscow could never understand it . . . According to Marx' theory, the South should be leading the United States in Communist development.

"It just didn't work out that way.

"It was just to the contrary. The South proved to be a hard nut and it didn't conform to the doctrine.

Blocked by Religion

"They decided that the big block against penetration of the South is religion. The Negroes believed in religion; the hillbillies believed in religion; nearly everybody is religious. The South is more religious than the North.

"Therefore, they decided maybe they should get at them under the auspices of the Cross."

Kornfelder and two Negro former Communist leaders, Manning Johnson and Leonard Patterson, told the Louisiana committee that the new tactics included, besides use of the church, penetration of reputable Negro organizations and the founding, but not obvious control, of others.

World War II, with its migrations and general dislocation of living habits, produced what Kornfelder described as a "sort of honeymoon situation" between the Communist organizers and Negro organizations.

4 Agencies Infiltrated

"It seems the intellectuals during that time had shown a remarkable weakness," he testified. "They were bigger suckers for the Communist propaganda than many others were, apparently because they sort of led a life apart from the daily troubles and toil of the population.

"They were the ivory tower boys who picked up the theories of the Communists, not looking at what is behind the theories."

The results of this "honeymoon" were vital Communist infiltration of the most important agencies in the South deal-

The Regional Council and the Educational Fund were both off-shoots of the old Southern Conference for Human Welfare, which was dissolved in 1948 after twice being described by the Federal Government as "a Communist front serving the Soviet Union and its subservient Communist Party."

Former directors and officers of the Conference for Human Welfare became directors and officers of the Regional Council and the Educational Fund and of the Highlander School. The Communist Daily Worker openly boasted that James E. Jackson, chief of the Southern branch of the U. S. Communist Party, was a co-founder of the Regional Council.

Although the Regional Council is not widely known in the North, its influence in the South is attested by its receiving a $497,000 grant from the Ford Foundation's Fund for the Republic.

Likewise, the Highlander School plays an important role in Southern civil rights developments, although it is scarcely known in the North. The school, according to testimony before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, was co-founded by a Communist and by a man who refused to testify on his beliefs.

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The Communist Party was in a position to follow its long-proved doctrine:

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To persuade a Negro to violate a civil rights statute, in the cause of "civil disobedience;"

To inject a fellow-traveler in the forefront of a civil rights dispute;

To support the program of the NAACP.

These objectives were attained in the year to come.

Tomorrow: Communist influence opposed moderation in ending segregation.

HODDING CARTER
EDITOR & PUBLISHER

JOHN T. GIBSON
GENERAL MANAGER

The Delta Democrat-Times
Greenville, Mississippi

August 11, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

That New Bedford sheet is pretty rank and I am surprised that the Post Herald reprinted it. Anything to please the subscribers, I suppose.

Do you think an icy letter from my attorney to the Standard Times, demanding a retraction, would do any good? They are too far away for an editorial to bother them, even though that was effective with our red-headed pal in Charleston.

All the best.

Hodding

HC:IBL

RADIO GREENVILLE - WDDT - 1,000 WATTS 900 KC
"Center of dial"

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
of B'nai B'rith

New England Regional Office -- 72 FRANKLIN STREET, SUITE 504, BOSTON 10, MASS. -- LIberty 2-4977

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National Director

August 12, 1958

Mr. Harold Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I want to acknowledge your letter of August 6th to Mr. Sol Kolack concerning the recent series in the New Bedford, Mass. Standard-Times. Mr. Kolack is on vacation until August 25th, and I shall hold your letter for his attention and reply as soon as he returns to his desk.

Cordially,

Charlotte Warshaw

(Mrs.) Charlotte M. Warshaw

The Tuscaloosa News

Tuscaloosa, Alabama

BUFORD BOONE
PUBLISHER

August 14, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Enclosed herewith is a page from The Tuscaloosa News which contains your letter to Mr. Boone regarding the publication by this newspaper of the series entitled "Commies and Integration."

Very truly yours,

Janette B. Younkin

(Mrs.)Janette B. Younkin
Secretary to Mr. Boone

The Tuscaloosa News
OUR 140th YEAR
1818 1958
Serving West Alabama

News Bureau Memo

August 14, 1958

Mr. Buford Boone
Publisher
The Tuscaloosa News
Tuscaloosa, Alabama

Dear Mr. Boone:

Thank you for your courteous and informative reply to my letter concerning the Standard-Times series.

I do understand, of course, the common newspaper practice of presenting diverse views which may or may not coincide with the paper's policy. What troubled us was not the airing of opinions with which we disagree, but allegations that are both untrue and damaging being presented as statements of fact.

Be that as it may, your allocation of space for our reply gives us a full and fair hearing.

I shall look forward to seeing whatever you publish including any editorial comment, and I shall see that you receive copies of any comment or correction published elsewhere.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

The Tuscaloosa News

Tuscaloosa, Alabama

BUFORD BOONE
PUBLISHER

August 8, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thank you for letting me have your reaction to our printing of the Standard-Times series.

Newspapers frequently reprint editorials, series of articles, letters, etc. containing statements with which the newspapers disagree. In such instances, sources are given for the readers' information.

You may not have been informed that we printed the first article on Page 1, so as to call attention to the series, and stated with this publication that the remaining releases would be on the editorial page. Our purpose in using this material on the editorial page was to put it in a place where our readers expect to find opinion expressed. They, and we, may agree or disagree. Our publication should not indicate agreement, although it may to some people.

I am sure I need not go further to make a point which I know you fully understand.

We have, since the great problem of integration arose, printed many discussions, editorials, etc. relating to the problem. On one occasion, we even reprinted as much as we could get of the text of an inflammatory speech made by a rabble-rouser who appeared on the platform here at the same time I did.

The Tuscaloosa News
OUR 140th YEAR
1818 1958
Serving West Alabama

It was good of you to go to the trouble to set down your comment in refutation, and in conformity with our policy as mentioned above, we are printing your letter to me and the full text of your letter to the Standard-Times. I shall mail you a clipping for your files in a day or two. If we make any comment on the matter, that, too, will be covered.

Thank you , again, for your letter.

Sincerely,

Buford Boone

VIA AIR MAIL SPECIAL DELIVERY

August 14, 1958

Mr. Virginius Dabney
Editor
The Times-Dispatch
Richmond, Virginia

Personal

Dear Mr. Dabney:

This is in reference to the five-part series on Communism and race prepared by the New Bedford Standard-Times and recently reprinted by the Times-Dispatch. The series as a whole is journalism at its shabbiest. But article number two is of direct and serious concern to the Southern Regional Council.

As you may have observed, this article states flatly that the Council from the start was "infiltrated" by and -- through its officials, ideas, and publications -- "linked" to the Communist Party. The article also flatly states that the Council was an "off-shoot" of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, described as a Communist front. And, as a fitting climax, the article gives credence to an alleged boast in the Daily Worker that the chief of the Communist Party's Southern branch was "a co-founder" of the Council.

It is understating it to say that we were astounded to find these statements reprinted in the Times-Dispatch. As one of those most intimately and influentially involved in the birth of the Council, and as a director during its early years of life, you are uniquely equipped to recognize

how false and malicious these allegations are. When this matter was discussed at our executive committee meeting yesterday, several of the members recalled their association with you in the sessions out of which the Council developed.

Of course, we realize that you may not have seen the series prior to its publication in your paper. But we should like assurance from you that these injurious falsehoods will be exposed for what they are and that a true account of the Council's origins will be fully and clearly presented in the Times-Dispatch.

In the event that such a correction is not to be published, I should appreciate prompt word to that effect so that we may submit for publication an appropriate statement of rebuttal.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Sent to Virginius Dabney: 8/15/58

"Dixie Interracial Group Formed for Good Will" Atl. Const. Aug. 6, 1943

The Southern Frontier, March 1944

Statement of Incorporators - 4/21/57

Minutes of the Meeting of the Incorporators. Feb. 11, 1944

Min. of the meeting of the Charter Members - Feb. 16, 1944

Firing Line Analysis

News and Courier Editorial - June 25, '57

Hodding Carter Editorial - Aug. 25, '57

Statement of Trustees - Wes. Mem. Bldg.

The Southern Patriot - May 1945

Need Selfore Mrs

VIA AIR MAIL

August 15, 1958

Mr. Virginius Dabney
Editor
The Times-Dispatch
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Mr. Dabney:

Following up our telephone conversation of today, I send you the enclosed materials concerning the origins of the Southern Regional Council. I am including a few editorials in which these charges were refutted by Ralph McGill and Hodding Carter.

The published account of a dinner for Justice Black, sponsored by the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, is of special interest since it shows the kind of respectable and even conservative leaders the Southern Conference was able to involve in its affairs as late as 1945.

As indicated in our own reply to the charges aired in the Firing Line, we believe that the Southern Regional Council is completely defensible as a responsible and patriotic organization that has never reflected the slightest sympathy for Communist doctrine. To leave unchallenged statements to the contrary in respectable newspapers would be to acquiesce in the injury of many fine reputations, as well as in damage to the

Council as an organization.

I strongly hope that we may look forward to some appropriate statement of correction in the Times-Dispatch.

With appreciation for your prompt and thorough attention to the problem, I am

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures

ADL

SOUTHEASTERN OFFICE
41 Exchange Pl., S. E., Atlanta 3, Ga.

For your information

8/18

Harold Fleming

Re Alex's letter to you of August 12th, note the attached checked excerpt from the Congressional Record Digest.

Do something!

Regards

Art Levin

Immi-gration	15626 -33	After a two-thirds vote to suspend the rules, in a voice vote House passes H.R. 13311, the bill introduced by Walter (D-Pa) last month, to limit opportunities for judicial review of orders of deportation. Speaking for the bill were Walter, Keating (R-NY), Hyde (R-Md), and Cramer (R-Fla). Celler (D-NY) calls the bill anti-immigrant, harsh, and punitive.
Humphrey (D-Minn)	15697	Inserts letter to Eisenhower from member of Annual Race Relations Institute at Fisk University, requesting that a national conference on race relations be held in Washington, D. C.
Russell (D-Ga)	A7204 & A7213	Inserts articles from New Bedford (Mass.) Standard-Times on the South as a target of the Communists.

New England Regional Office
ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE of B'nai B'rith
72 Franklin St.
Boston 10, Mass.

Arnold Forster

Isadore Zack

August 20, 1958

I have had several memos from our fellows around the country indicating that the series of articles published in July by the New Bedford, Mass. Standard Times on "Communist efforts to incite racial strife in the U.S." are being reprinted in southern newspapers. I also note that Holmes Alexander, the syndicated Washington columnist, praised the efforts of the Standard Times and reporter Simmons for "pinpointing" the defeat of the Communists at Little Rock in his special column published by the Boston, Mass. Sunday Herald on August 10, 1958. In this column, he urged that a monument be erected at Little Rock to mark the defeat of the Communist invaders and their mercenaries.

The Alexander column which appeared as a feature on the Sunday Herald editorial page, brought a flood of letters to the editor of the Herald attacking the Alexander piece. On August 15, the Boston Herald came out with an editorial entitled "The Holmes Alexander 'Line'." In this editorial the Herald pointed out that since they published the Alexander column on Little Rock "a number of readers have cried out in anguish. We have suffered some anguish, too, but for a different reason, and maybe we ought to attempt to clarify the Alexander "line" since he is one of our columnists."

The Herald editorial then points out that nowhere in his column did Alexander defend the principle of public school segregation. The Herald said "his was not a racist view. What he did defend was the right of the Southern states to choose or reject segregation without federal military compulsion."

Then the Herald slapped Alexander by saying that he was guilty of a dastardly debating device when he equated his own position with anti-Communism. The Herald said "in fighting for the freedom of self-determination by the Southern states, he (Alexander) accused the other side of surrendering to the communist line, the insitement of racial tensions and unrest. The re-election of Governor Faubus he interpreted as a monument-worthy defeat of communist".

At this point the Herald said "That's where we gritted our teeth. Surely it must be possible for this country to decide matters of internal policy without having to consult Moscow so as to be sure to avoid the Communist line."

The Herald editorial then pointed out that Alexander had approved of the New Bedford Standard Times' series on Little Rock (reference here is to the Edward B. Simmons series). At this point the Herald suggests that the Standard Times ought to check over its own arguments and strategies. And points out that the Standard Times has violently attacked Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge, a strategy which is quite the Communist line. (note: Although both the Herald and Standard Times are considered Republican newspapers, the Standard Times is anti-Eisenhower and the Herald is pro-Eisenhower. The Standard Times is anti-Lodge and the Herald is pro-Lodge).

The Herald closed its editorial with:

"And just to keep the record straight, we should like to make it plain that we do not share Mr. Alexander's views on Little Rock. Mr. Alexander writes over his own signature and speaks strictly for himself. The Herald's views appear in this column.

We consider Mr. Faubus not a national hero but a national menace who, for political gain, created one of the ugliest episodes in our history."

The Holmes Alexander column is published by the New Bedford Standard Times as well as the Manchester, New Hampshire Union Leader. Both of these newspapers have taken the strong position against desegregation. While the Standard Times published the Simmons series, the Unions Leader editorially attacked the award of a Pulitzer prize to Harold Ashmore of the Arkansas Gazette because the latter kept his own staff segregated.

Edward B. Simmons who wrote the series for the New Bedford Standard Times is a 40 year old graduate of Harvard, a local bluebood, who is married to the daughter of Tank Hardwick of Harvard football fame and they reside in the Yankee stronghold at Marion, a socialite stronghold near New Bedford.

Simmons is considered the star reporter in the employ of Basil Brewer, publisher of the Standard Times and his salary is estimated between $15,000.00 to $20,000.00 a year. Simmons has been described to me by people who are in daily contact with him, as "a stiff necked, right wing Yankee", and others identified him as "very reactionary and closely tied in to Brewer and Charles J. Lewin, editor and general manager of the Standard Times (note: Lewin, a strong McCarthyite, was chairman of the big rally sponsored in Boston by the Friends of Senator McCarthy, Inc. when the late Senator from Wisconsin made a Boston appearance at the height of the Fort Monmouth inquiry).

A source very close to this situation at New Bedford advises that no one on the Standard Times has any independence at all. A series such as the Simmons "expose" can be charged to Basil Brewer, who no doubt gave Simmons the idea and told him what he wanted to show. He said that Brewer is always looking for national recognition and would do anything to disturb Eisenhower. Brewer is described as "vindictive, arbitrary and tyrannical." Brewer hates Eisenhower, Lodge, the U.N., FEPC, but he loved Taft and he supported the campaign of Senator John Kennedy against Lodge. And strangely enough at this time, he strongly supports the campaign of George Fingold, a Jew, for the governorship of Massachusetts. But most of all Brewer hates Communism. The Simmons series which attempts to show the Communists efforts to incite racial strife in the U.S. is a natural for the Standard Times, but made very little impact in the New Bedford community.

I should point out that there has been absolutely no reply to any of the articles by Simmons in the Standard Times letter column. This is explained to me by on the spot observers as resulting from unwillingness of any organization or individual to tangle with the Standard Times on the subject of Communism. The average Standard Times reader and New Bedford citizen finds that he has nowhere to turn for rebuttal. The Standard Times has no opposition newspaper. They print daily and Sunday and also publish a Cape Cod edition out of Hyannis, Mass. Hundreds of thousands of residents of Southeastern Massachusetts have only this newspaper to read. When they turn to their local radio station they again run into the Standard Times controlled outlets at New Bedford (WNBH) and on the Cape (WCOD) Hyannis and Yarmouth. Now to really look in this segment of Massachusetts, Brewer is building up for a fight to get control of the television rights for channel 6 which will be centered in New Bedford.

I have indicated to our ADL people in New Bedford the importance of reaching Simmons and pointing out to him that his articles contain numerous halftruths, mistruths and smears, and that in my opinion he used the printed literature of hate mongers for resource material for the articles in question.

There is no Negro leadership in New Bedford despite strong enough to make any impact on the Standard Times despite the fact that there is a large Negro population in New Bedford and on Cape Cod. Meanwhile, I certainly hope that Mr. Harold Fleming of the Southern regional council at Atlanta and take Alex Miller's suggestion (letter of August 12) and answer the charges set out in the Simmons series. I am sure that they will be published.

As far as Simmons' use of material taken from the Israel Cohen book is concerned, I have located a reliable source who is a fellow member with Simmons of the New Bedford Harvard Club and who has promised to bring this matter to Simmons attention.

Attached to this memo and marked Exhibit A is the Holmes Alexander column published in the Boston Sunday Herald on August 10, 1958. Exhibit B is in the Boston Herald editorial of August 15, 1958 entitled "The Holmes Alexander 'Line'." Exhibit C is a sample letter of those received by the Boston Herald attacking the Holmes Alexander column and signed by John L. Saltonstall, Jr., Boston, active in local and civil liberties affairs.

IZ/gg

cc: Milt Ellerin
Alex Miller
Art Levin
Murray Friedman
Irwin Suhulman
Herman Edelsberg
Nate Perlmutter

ENCLOSURES

A Victory-To-Be 8/10/58 Boston Herald

Little Rock Monument Urged To Mark Communist Defeat

By HOLMES ALEXANDER

WASHINGTON, D. C.—We have monuments at Gettysburg and Valley Forge, although neither represented a clear-cut American victory at the time. It's my opinion that the stonecutters and bronze-workers can start any time now to raise a monument at Little Rock, Arkansas. At this place an unsung but significant victory was taken from the Communist invaders and their mercenaries.

Years may pass before there is popular recognition of how American forces of law and good sense threw back the Red assault at Little Rock. All sorts of maledictions will be hurled at those who anticipate the ultimate judgment and who say today what everybody will say tomorrow.

The Communists, by turning our flank at Little Rock, would have made a deep and maybe a disastrous penetration of the American defense. But the collapse of the enemy thrust, as seen in Governor Faubus' re-election and the end of the Administration's experiment in forced integration, has been the surest sign in recent years that we have ramparts at the home front and men to mount them.

* * *

Interestingly but not strangely, New England and the South have combined to make this fight, much as they made the first fight for American liberty in the Revolutionary War. It took a newspaper in New Hampshire, the Manchester Union Leader, to reduce to absurdity the posturizings of a Pulitzer Prize Arkansas editor who came out for bayonet-point integration at Central High School but who kept his own office segregated.

And my choice for the coolest and best "war" correspondent on the Little Rock battle comes from the New Bedford (Mass.) Standard-Times and their star reporter, Edward B. Simmons. In a five-part series of articles, Mr. Simmons wraps up the Little Rock campaign with these points:

Headline Personalities Fade Away

1. The Fallen Leaders: Practically all the headline personalities who led the wild charge on the Little Rock bastion are down in the dust of defeat or oblivion. Atty. Gen. Brownell and White House Aide Max Rabb are out of their Federal posts. Mayor Woodrow Wilson Mann of Little Rock has moved to Denver, Judge Ronald Davies, who ordered integration "forthwith," is replaced in the news by Judge Harry Lemley, who has suspended integration to ease "racial tension and unrest."

2. The Communist Line: Virtually every argument and strategy of the Little Rock attackers has been documented as a Communist tactic. For over 40 years the Communist platforms have called incessantly for "inflaming the Negro minority against the white" (1912) and for "the Negro liberation movement" behind the "vanguard leadership of the Communist party" (1953). In 1954 came the Supreme Court decision to integrate schools, and in 1957 came the military occupation which always accompanies a Communist coup.

3. Sociology Above Law: Chief Justice Earl Warren in his written decision on school segregation left the legal precedents and reached for "modern authority" to show that segregation gave Negro children a hurtful sense of inferiority. He cited six books to prove his point, books saturated with provable Communist sympathy and propaganda.

4. The Police State: Communism exists nowhere except where forced upon the people. "The honor of our country requires Federal intervention . . ." said the Communist political guide, Political Affairs. "A tremendous victory for the American people," said the Communist Daily Worker. This is how the Reds saw the use of troops in Little Rock.

This feature appears also in the daily Herald

SAYS COMMUNISM, EQUALITY CONFUSED

To the Editor of The Herald:

I was appalled by the Holmes Alexander piece August 10, the main point of which was that the victory of Governor Orval Faubus in Arkansas and the delay of integration in Little Rock will be remembered primarily as a monumental defeat for the forces of communism.

If we are to judge the events in Arkansas in terms of the struggle between the communists and the free world, it seems clear that these events have strengthened the Kremlin and weakened the position of the United States in international councils. Any objective observer would tell Mr. Alexander that the Faubus story has been used as a basis for highly effective anti-American propaganda all over the world, the communists having cited it as an example of the failure of our democratic system. Even the State Department of Mr. John Foster Dulles, which has shown little concern for the forces of democracy in the past, has been visibly distressed by the effects of this propaganda and has, we are informed, sought to strengthen pro-integration sentiments within the Eisenhower administration.

But despite the current tendency to weigh everything in terms of how it will affect the cold war, I think it just as important to assess events in terms of their likelihood of advancing American ideals. Here Mr. Alexander's views are equally appalling. He appears to believe that the idea of equality of opportunity for all Americans regardless of race, color or creed is communist - inspired. (Presumably Karl Marx was standing at the elbow of Abraham Lincoln when the Emancipation Proclamation was signed.) He says that the Supreme Court decision holding it unconstitutional to require children to attend separate schools in accordance with the shade of their respective skins was a "communist coup" (apparently because six books cited by Chief Justice Warren's opinion written for a unanimous Court are "saturated with provable communist sympathy and propaganda" — whatever that means), and he opines that President Eisenhower should not have enforced the United States District Court desegregation order by sending Federal troops to Little Rock since, as it turned out, his decision was supported by the Daily Worker.

Most Americans, even in the South, agree, I believe, with the fundamental democratic premise that our society be an open one in which ability and character, rather than ethnic or religious background, must be the primary factors in determining individual advancement. And most Americans are not so simple that they subscribe to the sort of specious reasoning by which Mr. Alexander twists a defeat in the long campaign against inequality of opportunity into a signal triumph against international communism.

JOHN L. SALTONSTALL, JR.
Boston

Boston Herald — August 15, 1958

The Holmes Alexander 'Line'

Boston Herald - August 15, 1958

Holmes Alexander last Sunday called for a monument to mark the Communist defeat in Little Rock, and a number of readers have cried out in anguish. We have suffered some anguish, too, but for a different reason, and maybe we ought to attempt to clarify the Alexander "line" since he is one of our columnists.

Nowhere in his column did Mr. Alexander defend the principle of public school segregation. His was not a racist view. What he did defend was the right of the Southern states to choose or reject segregation without federal military compulsion.

Whether at this time it is wiser for the nation to sustain the principle of states' rights or the principle of school integration, or whether the authority of the Supreme Court can be questioned by some higher state authority, or whether racial equality in the South can be better advanced by moral suasion than by federal absolutes—these are matters on which there can be proper differences of opinion. They are matters that should be debatable without excessive heat.

But Holmes Alexander was guilty of a dastardly debating device. He equated his own position with anti-communism. In fighting for the freedom of self-determination by the Southern states, he accused the other side of surrendering to the communist line, the incitement of racial tension and unrest. The re-election of Governor Faubus he interpreted as a monument-worthy defeat of communism.

That's where we gritted our teeth. Surely it must be possible for this country to decide matters of internal policy without having to consult Moscow so as to be sure to avoid the Communist line.

Mr. Alexander quoted approvingly the New Bedford Standard-Times, which saw the communist line in virtually every argument and strategy of the Little Rock attackers. Well, the Standard-Times ought to check over its own arguments and strategies. It has violently attacked Ambassador Cabot Lodge, a strategy which is quite the Communist line.

No, it proves nothing, this ascription of communism to your opponent, nothing except that your own argument may need some artificial bolstering. We wish Mr. Alexander hadn't!

And just to keep the record straight, we should like to make it plain that we do not share Mr. Alexander's views on Little Rock. Mr. Alexander writes over his own signature and speaks strictly for himself. The Herald's views appear in this column.

We consider Mr. Faubus not a national hero but a national menace who, for political gain, created one of the ugliest episodes in our history.

COPY

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

Editor
The Standard-Times
New Bedford, Massachusetts

Dear Sir:

Our attention has been called to an article in the Birmingham Post-Herald of August 1, 1958, described as the second in a series of five articles reprinted from your newspaper. The series is characterized as dealing with "the Communist influence on racial strife in the South," "prepared after an extensive investigation."

The article contains the following paragraphs:

> The results of this "honeymoon" were vital Communist infiltration of the most important agencies in the South dealing in Negro issues. The Communists infiltrated four of these organizations and actually helped found three of them.
>
> They are the Southern Conference Educational Fund, the Southern Regional Council, the Highlander Folk School in Tennessee, and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.
>
> The Regional Council and the Educational Fund were both offshoots of the old Southern Conference for Human Welfare, which was dissolved in 1948 after twice being described by the Federal Government as "a Communist front serving the Soviet Union and its subservient Communist Party."

It is not my province to speak for the other organizations mentioned, But as far as the Southern Regional Council is concerned, the above statements are demonstrably false and injurious. This is to request a prompt and unequivocal retraction in your newspaper and in those which reprinted the series. The "extensive investigation" on which this article is allegedly based clearly did not extend to reputable and reliable sources. If it had, your investigator would, without difficulty, have learned the following facts:

1. The Southern Regional Council was neither founded nor infiltrated by Communists. It is, and has always been, unalterably opposed to the Communist movement. It is not to be found on any official list of Communist or Communist-front organizations.

2. The Southern Regional Council is in no wise an "offshoot" of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. The Council was founded as the successor to the Commission on Interracial Cooperation in 1944 - five years before the Southern Conference became defunct. The two groups were entirely separate and distinct, both in organization and in approach.

3. The honorable origins of the Southern Regional Council are a matter of record, having been fully documented in contemporary newspaper accounts. The incorporators were Bishop Arthur J. Moore of the Methodist Church, Ralph McGill, editor of the Atlanta Constitution, the late Dr. Charles S. Johnson, president of Fisk University, Dr. Rufus E. Clement, president of Atlanta University, and the late Dr. Howard W. Odum of the University of North Carolina. There was no suggestion of Communist influence then or at any other time.

4. The Southern Regional Council's officers and board members are Southerners of unimpeachable reputation and patriotism. Among them are such well-known newspapermen as Hodding Carter of Mississippi, Benjamin Muse of Virginia, and Herbert Davidson of Florida; such churchmen as Catholic Bishop Joseph B. Brunini of Mississippi, Episcopal Bishop E.A. Penick of North Carolina, and Dr. Merrimon Cuninggim, dean of the SMU Theology School; and others of equal stature.

I trust that we may look forward to an early reply from you indicating that an appropriate correction will be made in the newspapers which used this series.

Very truly yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF:ls

Rcd 8/28/58

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

MEMORANDUM

August 26, 1958

TO: Nathaniel H. Goodrich

FROM: Edwin J. Lukas

Recently, a series of articles appeared in a few Southern newspapers, attacking the NAACP, the Southern Regional Council and other groups identified with the desegregation movement - as Communist groups, or Communist-dominated, or peddling the Communist line.

The articles, without a "by-line", seem to have originated in the New Bedford Standard Times. We have been asked to ascertain, through that newspaper, the authorship of the articles, which were quite vicious. Word just came to us from our New Bedford constituent that they were written by one, Edward B. Simmons of Washington, D. C.

I would appreciate your gathering for us as much information as possible on Simmons.

EJL

EJL:ps

VIA AIR MAIL

August 26, 1958

Mr. Virginius Dabney
The Richmond Times-Dispatch
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Mr. Dabney:

This is to acknowledge with appreciation your editorial of August 21. It was an impressively full and fair correction of the misstatements about SRC in the Standard-Times series.

I am grateful for your scrupulous attention to this problem, and I am sure the Executive Committee will share my admiration for your courage and frankness in dealing with it.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

file copy

22 Richmond Times-Dispatch

DAVID TENNANT BRYAN, *President and Publisher*

VIRGINIUS DABNEY, *Editor* JOHN H. COLBURN, *Managing Editor*

Thursday, August 21, 1958

A Race Agency and the Facts

Inaccurate statements as to its origins of the Southern Regional Council of Atlanta appeared recently in THE TIMES-DISPATCH, and should be corrected. They appeared — inadvertently, we are sure—in one of the series of articles by EDWARD B. SIMMONS of the New Bedford, Mass., *Standard-Times* concerning Communist efforts to incite racial strife in the United States.

MR. SIMMONS stated in the article appearing in our paper on August 5 that the Southern Regional Council, established in Atlanta in 1944, was an "offshoot of the old Southern Conference for Human Welfare, which was dissolved in 1948 after twice being described by the Federal Government as 'Communist front.'" He also said: "'The Communist *Daily Worker* openly boasted that JAMES E. JACKSON, chief of the Southern branch of the U. S. Communist party, was a co-founder of the Regional Council."

Taking these two charges in order, the Southern Regional Council was not an offshoot of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. It was established in response to an appeal from respected Southern Negro leaders, who met at Durham, N. C., in October, 1942, on the call of DR. GORDON B. HANCOCK, of the Virginia Union faculty here, and DR. P. B. YOUNG, of Norfolk, publisher of the Norfolk *Journal and Guide*. These Negro leaders did not ask for the elimination of segregation in the schools or anywhere else; they asked that "separate but equal" be made a reality.

Responding to their appeal, a group of white leaders met in Atlanta in the spring of 1943, and expressed a desire to cooperate. Out of this grew the Southern Regional Council. The Council was the successor to the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, founded in 1919 by leading churchmen. To repeat, it not only was no "offshoot" of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare; it was criticized in some quarters because it was more conservative than that organization and suspected of being in competition with it.

We must remember, too, that when the Southern Conference for Human Welfare was established in 1938, it was not suspected of having any Communist connections, and many well-intentioned and patriotic Southerners participated in its early meetings. A number of these later joined the Southern Regional Council when they discovered the true purposes of the Conference for Human Welfare.

As to the allegation of the Communist *Daily Worker* that JAMES E. JACKSON, chief of the Southern branch of the U. S. Communist party, was a "co-founder of the Southern Regional Council," there is nothing to support this.

A JAMES E. JACKSON is listed as having attended the Durham meeting of Negro leaders in October, 1942, but is not mentioned by the Norfolk *Journal and Guide* as having been on the committee which drew up the statement then issued. JACKSON did not participate in the meetings of white and Negro leaders in 1943 and 1944 which led to the establishment of the Southern Regional Council, and he was not at any time an officer, director, or member of that agency. The *Daily Worker's* statement that he was a "founder" is as unreliable and inaccurate as nearly everything else in that Communist sheet.

The late DR. HOWARD W. ODUM, noted and respected member of the University of North Carolina faculty, was the first president of the Council. He was succeeded in 1945 by PAUL D. WILLIAMS, prominent Catholic layman of Richmond and co-founder of the Catholic Committee of the South, who served until 1951. MR. WILLIAMS was succeeded in that year by MARION A. WRIGHT, South Carolina attorney, former chairman of the South Carolina Library Board and past president of the University of South Carolina Alumni Association.

It should be emphasized that SRC worked within the framework of "separate but equal" for seven years, and did not announce for integration until 1951.

While we disagree strongly and completely with its present position on this issue, we feel obligated to point out, in fairness, that it was in no sense Communist in its origins. The Southern Regional Council was established because of a sincere desire on the part of white and Negro leaders in the South to eliminate many of the disabilities and discriminations from which Negroes were suffering.

It was hoped that if these could be substantially lessened, the colored South would not look to the colored North for leadership. Insufficient progress was made, unfortunately, and the NAACP moved in and launched its drive for the complete elimination of segregation — sooner than it probably would have done if SRC's accomplishments had been larger.

That is where we stand today.

August 27, 1958

Mr. Alexander F. Miller
Director
National Community Service Division
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
Suite 220
Empire Building
Denver 2, Colorado

Dear Alex:

I'm about to head for New York for a brief rat-race. In case I miss you while there, here are copies of my slightly stale letter to the New Bedford hate sheet and an editorial by Virginius Dabney in the Times-Dispatch.

Dabney himself was to send a copy of his editorial to the editor of the Standard-Times, and I am sending it to those Southern papers that I know reprinted the series. If I get no response soon from the Standard-Times, I plan to write them again. Maybe your folks can use the Dabney editorial as ammunition in further approaches.

We didn't feel we could take on the broader job of answering the whole series. It would be an impossible job. And, in any case, separate refutations from the various groups and interests attacked would, I should think, be more effective.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming

Executive Director

HCF/mf

Enclosures

MOUNTAIN STATES REGIONAL OFFICE

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

Of B'nai B'rith

SUITE 220, EMPIRE BUILDING, DENVER 2, COLORADO

DENVER EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

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State Chairman, Wyoming
MARCEL PICK
State Chairman, New Mexico
SHELDON STEINHAUSER
Regional Director

August 12, 1958

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
Wesley Memorial Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Just in case you have not seen it, I am sending you a series of articles which appeared in the New Bedford, Massachusetts, Standard Times and which makes the point that the entire effort for integration is part of a Communist plot. I think these articles need a complete answer, preferably by an organization like yours which has a direct reason to respond because you are named in the articles. I think the series is an evil one not only because of half truths, mistruths and smears in it but, more basically, because here is a rock-ribbed Republican New England paper feeding grist to the mills of the Southern segregationists. I can see Southern papers picking up these articles and reprinting them to indicate that they have strong allies in the North. I can also see a number of naive and not-so-naive Northern papers reprinting the series or, at least, accepting its thesis and philosophy.

I would appreciate hearing from you as to what you decide. If you do send a letter, please send me a copy as I would like to have some of our contacts in New England use it to blast away.

Cordially,

Alex

Alexander F. Miller, Director
National Community Service Division

AFM:pa
enc.
cc: Arthur Levin
Saul Kolack
Arnold Forster

New Bedford Standard Times

LITTLE ROCK — ORIGIN AND AFTERMATH — V

Senate Committee Says South Is Target of Reds

(This is the last of five articles on the Communist Party campaign to foment racial tension in the South and the party's important role in recent racial troubles, including Little Rock. Material for this series was gathered in trips along the Eastern Seaboard and to the Midwest, in discussions with members of Congress and from review of U. S. Senate and House committee files.)

By EDWARD B. SIMMONS
Standard-Times Staff Writer

WASHINGTON, July 25—What lies ahead for race relations in the South and, indirectly, for the nation? If the pattern of the last three years is followed in the future, the outlook is not favorable. Some may want to ignore the record, but they cannot hide it. Racial disturbances since the Supreme Court decision of 1954, culminating in the use of armed force at Little Rock, have made two areas of opinion where there were three.

The middle-ground on Southern civil rights issues, the ground on which progress had been steady if slow, is virtually deserted. Sides have been chosen, of necessity.

Two Extremist Camps

Without this conciliatory middle area, there are two extremist camps.

One is headed by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The Communist Party officially has planted its standard in this camp, its purpose to promote racial tension behind the NAACP program.

The other camp includes various white citizen organizations, established authorities of many Southern municipalities and States and, as time passes, more and more of the "moderates."

The no man's land between these two camps is widened in an election year, like the present, and with the 1960 presidential campaign drawing closer. Neither major political party, nor, apparently, the Federal Government, wishes to intervene.

A Handsoff Attitude

The handsoff attitude in Washington was evident during Senate Judiciary Committee examination of incoming U. S. Attorney General William P. Rogers. The prospective head of the Federal agency that sent troops to Little Rock was not asked about his views on civil rights, not even by Southern senators.

Absence of leadership from Washington has increased the importance of the role played by the NAACP. Its leaders apparently plan no change in policy.

Reviewing events through Little Rock, Dr. Channing Tobias, board chairman of the NAACP, declared,

"But this record of advance is only a beginning. Unjust practices are still commonplace in many parts of the nation. The people have a continuing responsibility to take the lead, to assure the winning of equality in all communities, large and small, North and South.

Good Objective

"The pattern is set; it's up to us to fill in the details of the picture. Only then will we have achieved our goal of a democratic America living up to its ideals."

These words from an influential racial harmony, but are ever alert to exploit any issue to further their nefarious aims."

This observation may be obvious to many Americans.

But is it obvious to Dr. Tobias, who has been associated with 40 Communist fronts, board chairman of NAACP, or to W. E. B. DuBois, "honorary chairman" of NAACP, who has been identified with 82 Communist fronts, more than any other American citizen?

Apparently it is not.

As recently as March 1958, the NAACP leadership brought a court action in Florida seeking to halt an investigation by the Florida Legislature of Communist activity in that State.

Besides the NAACP, leadership in the integrationist camp will come from the Rev. Martin Luther King, leader of the Montgomery, Ala., bus boycott. Mr. King also seems hazy in distinguishing between the Communist way and the American way.

A Communist Explanation

At its 1957 national convention, the U. S. Communist Party selected a man identified by the Communist Daily Worker as Mr. King's "secretary," Bayard Rustin, to be an official "observer." Rustin praised the "democratic" proceedings of the convention in a report later denounced by FBI Director Hoover.

Mr. King was quoted as telling a Chicago assembly last year, "It (the Montgomery boycott, in which there was much violence) is a part of something that is happening all over the world. The oppressed people are rising up. They are revolting against colonialism and imperialism and all other systems of oppression."

This explanation is exactly that of the Communist Party, the depiction of the American Negro as a kicked-around colonial, oppressed by imperialists.

Yet the same Rev. Martin Luther King was one of four Negro "leaders" who called upon President Eisenhower in June 1958 to try and set the pattern for racial progress.

A Look to Future

A former Negro Communist official, who later worked for the U. S. Department of Justice, sees the future in these words:

"In my opinion, the Negro leadership should realize that they have responsibility," a Louisiana legislative committee was told by Manning Johnson. "a responsi-

labeled them everything they can, and there is no basis for them to negotiate with them because they have already built up a wall that cannot be gotten over, gotten under, or gone around."

Former Communist Johnson's judgment may be harsh. But the future will make him an accurate prophet unless there is wider understanding of the Communist background to "immediate" integration, to be accomplished by "force" if necessary.

In a little-publicized report of last November, the U. S. Senate Internal Security Subcommittee declared: "There is a present-day pattern of Communist activity in the mid-South area. The Communist participants . . . make up the basic framework of a Communist operation that is directed against all generations of people in the South."

To that could be added, "and in the nation."

South's Target of Reds

(This is the last of five articles on the Communist Party campaign to foment racial tension in the South and the party's important role in recent racial troubles, including Little Rock. Material for this series was gathered in trips along the Eastern Seaboard and to the Midwest, in discussions with members of Congress and from review of U. S. Senate and House committee files.)

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Good Objective

"The pattern is set; it's up to us to fill in the details of the picture. Only then will we have achieved our goal of a democratic America living up to its ideals."

These words from an influential Negro leader describe an objective which the majority of Americans would be happy to work toward.

But there is little reason to suppose that the good intentions of the NAACP will not capitulate, as they have before, to the driving, inflammatory race-tension strategy of the Communist Party.

After the 1954 court decision, the leadership of the NAACP promised moderation, a "quiet" "talking over" of issues among all segments.

Exactly as Forecast

Instead what transpired was a series of "big, sharp struggles" in civil disobedience and violence, exactly as forecast by Benjamin J. Davis, chairman of the Negro Commission of the Communist Party.

Today, Davis and his co-worker, James E. Jackson, Communist chief for Southern affairs, are using phraseology much like Dr. Tobias' in predicting the future.

"The people must take the lead," says Davis. "Negro liberation is now the property of the whole American people."

Jackson's view: "The response to Little Rock has signalized that ours is the time ripe with opportunity to secure major victories in the cause of Negro freedom."

These words have a ring like Dr. Tobias', but an utterly different intent.

Aims Nefarious

"You are aware, of course," FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover commented for The Standard-Times, "the Communists have no sincere interest in promoting racial harmony, but are ever alert to exploit any issue to further their nefarious aims."

This observation may be obvious to many Americans.

But is it obvious to Dr. Tobias, who has been associated with 40 Communist fronts, board chairman of NAACP, or to W. E. B. DuBois, "honorary chairman" of NAACP, who has been identified with 82 Communist fronts, more than any other American citizen?

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A Look to Future

A former Negro Communist official, who later worked for the U. S. Department of Justice, sees the future in these words:

"In my opinion, the Negro leadership should realize that they have responsibility," a Louisiana legislative committee was told by Manning Johnson, "a responsibility to guide and spirit their people along the right paths, help to pull themselves up by their own bootstraps, and to work together as a group for co-operation, mutual co-operation between races, to the end result that they can keep what they have, strengthen their economic and political position and move on to higher things.

"Men of King's type will not give that kind of leadership. The only thing they know is the threat and a sword.

"I know the NAACP can't do that. They have called the leaders of Southern life every conceivable type of name. They have labeled them everything they can, and there is no basis for them to negotiate with them because they have already built up a wall that cannot be gotten over, gotten under, or gone around."

Former Communist Johnson's judgment may be harsh. But the future will make him an accurate prophet unless there is wider understanding of the Communist background to "immediate" integration, to be accomplished by "force" if necessary.

In a little-publicized report of last November, the U. S. Senate Internal Security Subcommittee declared: "There is a present-day pattern of Communist activity in the mid-South area. The Communist participants . . . make up the basic framework of a Communist operation that is directed against all generations of people in the South."

To that could be added, "and in the nation."

New Bedford Standard-Times

LITTLE ROCK — ORIGIN AND AFTERMATH — IV

Daily Worker Led the Cry For Federal Intervention

(This is the fourth of five articles on the Communist Party campaign to foment racial tension in the South and the party's important role in racial troubles, including Little Rock. Material for this series was gathered in trips along the Eastern Seaboard and to the Midwest, in discussions with members of Congress and from review of U. S. Senate and House committee files.)

By EDWARD B. SIMMONS
Standard-Times Staff Writer

WASHINGTON, July 24—"The honor of our country requires Federal intervention now, to end the organized defiance of decency and justice in the South." These words were not spoken by Mayor Mann of Little Rock. Nor by Maxwell Rabb, White House assistant to whom the mayor talked daily by telephone in the hectic days preceding intervention by the National Guard and Paratroopers.

They were not spoken by an official of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the dominant U. S. Negro organization.

The words were an official pronouncement of the Communist Party of the United States, issued two years before Little Rock, and printed in the party's official political guide, Political Affairs, issue of October 1955.

Uttered by Communist

"The Federal Government has the power and the duty to use troops and whatever other constitutional means are available to enforce the law of the land."

Use of the word "constitutional" in the above might lead someone to think a good American had said those words.

They were uttered 18 months before Little Rock's Federal troop intervention by Benjamin J. Davis, chairman of the Negro Commission of the U. S. Communist Party.

"The Federal Government hasn't hesitated to use the force of jail and seizures in trying to destroy the Communists and other foes of Jim Crow," said Davis, who, like other Communists, has been able to predict the future in civil rights matters.

Pressed for Troops

"It should not hesitate to use whatever force—troops if necessary—to put down violent defiance of the law of the land, and murderous terror against peaceful citizens seeking to exercise their constitutional rights."

From the very beginning of the Little Rock incident, the Communists pressed for "dispatch of Federal troops to keep order in the South."

The Communist Daily Worker shrilled a demand for "action," on Sept. 5, the day after Governor Faubus stationed National Guardsmen around Central High School.

"The insurrection in Arkansas" must be put down, strummed the Worker the next day.

"G-men must be sent," said another edition, blasting FBI director Hoover for refusing to do so.

Other Phrases

"Every prerogative" must be used by the President, was another phrase in the daily demands for use of the military.

"Threats of blood running in the streets" were cited by the Worker, without identifying the source.

Southern whites were charged with being "immune to education, cajolery and pleas of moderation," so that troops were the only recourse.

"Why wait?" asked one Worker editorial.

"Patience!" scoffed another.

"Nothing is to be gained by handling Faubus with kid gloves," stated another diatribe.

"Shilly-shallying" was laid to the President.

Came to Pass

And so it came to pass. On Sept. 24, Paratroopers were airborne to Little Rock. Exactly the methods advocated by the Communist ace-agitators—speed and force—were used in a civil rights dispute.

"A tremendous victory for the American people," rejoined the next day's Daily Worker.

Use of armed troops climaxed years of incitement by violence and distortion of truth by the Communists and their sympathizers. Again a helping hand came from the Supreme Court that had "opened the way to Negro freedom," as the Communist Party observed, and from the misled NAACP.

Mrs. Daisy Bates, president of the Arkansas Conference of NAACP branches, had a key role at Little Rock.

Mrs. Bates Lauded

In an adulatory interview with Mrs. Bates, the New York Post's reporter Ted Poston stated, "both sides in this embattled Southern town agreed on one thing: "If there had been no Daisy Bates, there would have been no 101st Airborne Division patrolling the halls of Central High School.

"And no nine Negro children in the once all-white high school."

Mrs. Bates' husband, Lucius C. Bates, is a director of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, which former Communists have indicted as a "Communist transmission" agency, for inculcating and carrying out Communist doctrine.

The Southern Conference Educational Fund took over many of the officers and all of the publications of the old Southern Conference for Human Welfare, twice listed as a Communist front, "doing the work of the Communist Party," by the U. S. Government.

Mrs. Bates is listed as a "sponsor" of the Southern Conference Educational Fund.

Another Woman Influential

Mr. Bates was a member of the organization known as Negroes for Wallace, a Communist rallying-point. He was a sponsor of the Bill of Rights Congress, a Communist Party front.

Also influential at Little Rock was Mrs. Grace Lorch, white woman who "befriended" one of the Negro students refused admission to Central High.

Widely-published press dispatches described Mrs. Lorch as "a white housewife who protected a Negro girl before a jeering mob," and as "having defied an angry crowd of whites to offer sympathy."

It was not reported, however, that Mrs. Lorch, according to Senate Internal Security Subcommittee records, has a thorough Communist Party background.

Husband Indicted

She has been identified as a one-time Communist Party organizer in Boston, as having attended a Communist Party convention, as a member of the New England District of the Communist Party, as former vice-president of the Teachers Union, and as a director of the Samuel Adams School for Social Studies, both Communist fronts.

At the time Mrs. Lorch was active in Little Rock, her husband, Lee Lorch, was under Federal indictment on eight counts of refusing to answer questions on his alleged Communist background put to him by the House Un-American Activities Committee.

Here, too, the Supreme Court rendered an assist. The charges against Lorch later were dismissed by a Federal judge on the basis of the Supreme Court's freeing of John T. Watkins, United Auto Workers official who refused to name Communists he knew while he was one himself.

Little Rock found the U. S. Supreme Court, the NAACP and the Communist Party teammates.

It was a dazzling demonstration of what can happen, to quote former Communist Joseph Kornfelder, when "the ivory tower boys picked up the theories of the Communists, not looking at what is behind the theories."

(Tomorrow: What of the Future?)

New Bedford Standard Times

LITTLE ROCK — ORIGIN AND AFTERMATH — III

Goaded by Communists, NAACP Ends Moderation

(This is the third of five articles on the Communist Party campaign to foment racial tension in the South and the party's important role in racial troubles, including Little Rock. Material for this series was gathered in trips along the Eastern seaboard and to the Midwest, in discussions with members of Congress and from review of U. S. Senate and House committee files.)

By EDWARD B. SIMMONS
Standard-Times Staff Writer

WASHINGTON, July 23—The success of Communist efforts to exploit the Southern Negro under the guise of "democratization" became fully evident in 1954 and the three subsequent years. The Supreme Court's historic 1954 ruling on school segregation was in judgment on four cases brought before it by the National Association of Advancement for Colored People, which for years had been a priority objective of Communist infiltration.

The NAACP charged that Negro children in Delaware, Kansas, South Carolina and Virginia were being denied their rights under the 14th Amendement.

The court did not rule on this aspect. Instead, Chief Justice Earl Warren in the written opinion, declared that the court found for the NAACP because segregated schools induced a feeling of inferiority among Negro children.

Six Books Cited

This sociological view, the justice stated, is "amply supported by modern authority." He cited six books by such "modern authority."

Two of the six authorities were Theodore Brameld and E. Franklin Frazier. Between them, they have been members of or identified with 28 organizations listed as Communist, Communist-fronts or Communist-dominated.

A third "authority" was K. B. Clark. While arguments were being heard by the court on the four cases, Clark was on the payroll of the NAACP as a "social science expert."

A fourth authority cited by Justice Warren was the book, "An American Dilemma," edited by Gunnar Myrdal, a Swedish Socialist. The chief justice emphasized the importance of this book in the court's deliberations by saying it was depended on "generally," that is from cover to cover.

Records Noted

Sixteen of the contributors to Myrdal's book have long records of pro-Communist affiliation and activity. One, W. E. B. Dubois, identified by the Communist Party as the "honorary chairman" of the NAACP, had a hand in 82 parts of the book. Dubois has been identified with 80 Communist fronts, reportedly more than any other American citizen.

Dubois intervened in behalf of executed Communist spies Julius and Ethel Rosenberg and sent the Kremlin a message of condolence on the death of Stalin.

Myrdal, himself, has written that the U. S. Constitution is "impractical and unsuited to modern conditions." Its adoption was "nearly a plot against the common people," said this foreign authority on American Negro problems.

The court's decision gave new influence to the NAACP. Its officers hailed the decision but indicated that it would not change the organization's plan for calm and orderly progress in race relations.

"We accept the decision quietly, unless there is deliberately-fomented trouble," said the late Walter White, then executive secretary of NAACP.

Wanted Struggles

Thurgood Marshall, chief NAACP counsel, who had argued the school cases before the court, said, "The people will get together and work this thing out."

The Communist Party, however, wanted no part of moderation. It wanted the "big sharp struggles" its leaders had forecast, and racial unrest. Communist publications and officials shrilled for "immediate implementation of the Supreme Court decision, immediate abolition of segregation and discrimination from every facet of American life, immediate enforcement" . . . etc.

The record from the Supreme Court decision until the climax at Little Rock makes it plain which philosophy was the dominant one.

Moderation was forgotten.

The next three years brought unprecedented civil disobedience and violence in the South's racial affairs. There were all-out "incidents" of long duration in Tuskegee, Ala., Charleston, S. C., Tallahassee, Fla., Montgomery, Ala., Americus, Ga., and Clinton, Tenn., to name only the major ones.

Communists Blamed

The NAACP played a prominent role in each, but the atmosphere was not the moderate one ostensibly espoused by the NAACP.

"In my opinion, every major racial disturbance in the South since 1954 has been incited and directed by the Communist Party," Mrs. Paul Crouch, widow of a former Communist leader, told The Standard-Times. Her husband was a top Communist functionary in the South for 13 years, and she was his aid throughout the period.

Communist exploitation of the Negro through the NAACP is attested by the proceedings of the 1957 national convention of the Communist Party. That convention adopted as its main resolution, "the question of Negro freedom . . . the crucial domestic issue of the day . . . requiring support of the program of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People."

Communist penetration of the NAACP in these important years is conceded by the NAACP itself.

All Chapters Warned

On Feb. 14, 1956, Leroy Watkins, who succeded White as NAACP executive secretary, warned all chapters to guard against the "intensive efforts" of Communist to infiltrate.

At that very time, however, the NAACP's official publication, "The Crisis," was recommending as MUST background reading for Negroes, books by Claude Lightfoot, chairman of the Illinois Communist Party, and Doxey E. Wilkerson, member of the party's National Committee. Both have writen extensively in behalf of racial unrest.

Communist dominance of Negro civil rights developments after the Supreme Court decision is illustrated, also, in the activities of the Highlander School, influential "sociological" workshop in the South. Highlander, according to testimony before a congressional committee, was founded by a Communist and by a man who refused to state his beliefs.

Is Program Sincere?

Since 1954, Highlander has held a series of "workshops to develop plans for an orderly transition from segregated to integrated schools. "At the last workshop, held over the Labor Day weekend just before the trouble at Little Rock, the leaders of every important racial strife incident in the South since 1954 were present.

How sincere is the Highlander program for "orderly transition" in desegregation?

The actual curriculum at Highlander, its pamphlet statement in behalf of "orderly transition" notwithstanding, preached that "desegregation is more effectively accomplished in a single step than in a series of steps with delays in between."

This is fellow-traveler vernacular for the straight-out Communist program of "immediate desegregation."

Among those attending the important Highlander workshop was the Rev. Martin Luther King, leader of the Montgomery, Ala., bus boycott. King was to be at Little Rock, and, in 1958, at the White House, protesting integration delay.

By the time Central High School in Little Rock was to open for its 1957-58 school year, the Communist Party was marching step by step with the NAACP, whether the good element in the NAACP liked it or not.

(Tomorow: Troops move into Little Rock.)

PARTICIPANTS in the Highlander School seminar on race relations, held in September 1957 at the time of Little Rock, included, left foreground, Abner W. Berry of New York, a member of the National Committee of the Communist Party; second from right, the Rev. Martin Luther King, leader of the Montgomery, Ala., bus boycott; third from right, Aubrey W. Williams, long-time leader of Left-Wing causes in the South, and fourth from right, Myles Horton, director of the school.

New Bedford Standard Times

LITTLE ROCK — ORIGIN AND AFTERMATH — II

Communists' Basic Goal: To Incite Racial Strife

(This is the second of five articles on the Communist Party campaign to foment racial tension in the South and the party's important role in racial troubles, including Little Rock. Material for this series was gathered in trips along the Eastern Seaboard and to the Midwest, in discussions with members of Congress and from review of U. S. Senate and House committee files.)

By EDWARD B. SIMMONS
Standard-Times Staff Writer

WASHINGTON, July 22—To incite racial strife is one of the oldest objectives in the Communist program for getting world domination. "We must realize that our party's most powerful weapon is racial tension," states a Communist Party handbook of 1912, well before a few hundred Bolsheviks seized control of Russia.

"By propounding into the consciousness of the dark races that for centuries they have been oppressed by the whites, we can mold them to the program of the Communist Party," the handbook continues.

"In America, we will aim for subtle victory. While inflaming the Negro minority against the whites, we will endeavor to instill in the whites a guilt complex for their exploitation of the Negroes. Thus will begin a process which will deliver America to our cause."

Coincidence or Strategy?

Is it coincidence or the result of strategy that, some 45 years later, racial unrest in an outstanding Southern city, Little Rock, Ark., has increased so sharply that a Federal judge called for a 2½-year delay in any integration?

Again, is it coincidence or the result of Communist strategy that one of the most influential of all Southern Negro leaders, the Rev. Martin Luther King, exhorts his followers with these words:

"It (the Montgomery, Ala., bus boycott) is a part of something that is happening all over the world. The oppressed people are rising up. They are revolting against colonialism and imperialism and all other systems of oppression."

When Mr. King draws a parallel between the situation of the American Negro and "oppressed peoples" rising against "colonialism" and "imperialism," he is following exactly, to the word, the Communist line.

Direct Approach Failed

At first, the Communist drive for creation of racial strife called for a direct approach to Negroes, using labor unions and Communist fronts like the American Negro Labor Congress and the League for Struggle for Negro Rights.

This approach was brazenly direct and it failed. Former Communist Joseph Kornfelder, one of the party founders in the United States and its first director of Southern operations, has described what happened:

"The South to the Communists was always one of the most vexing problems," Kornfelder told a joint legislative committee of the State of Louisiana in March 1957. "Moscow could never understand it . . . According to Marx' theory, the South should be leading the United States in Communist development.

"It just didn't work out that way.

"It was just to the contrary. The South proved to be a hard nut and it didn't conform to the doctrine.

Blocked by Religion

"They decided that the big block against penetration of the South is religion. The Negroes believed in religion; the hillbillies believed in religion; nearly everybody is religious. The South is more religious than the North.

"Therefore, they decided maybe they should get at them under the auspices of the Cross."

Kornfelder and two Negro former Communist leaders, Manning Johnson and Leonard Patterson, told the Louisiana committee that the new tactics included, besides use of the church, penetration of reputable Negro organizations and the founding, but not obvious control, of others.

World War II, with its migrations and general dislocation of living habits, produced what Kornfelder described as a "sort of honeymoon situation" between the Communist organizers and Negro organizations.

4 Agencies Infiltrated

"It seems the intellectuals during that time had shown a remarkable weakness," he testified. "They were bigger suckers for the Communist propaganda than many others were, apparently because they sort of led a life apart from the daily troubles and toil of the population.

"They were the ivory tower boys who picked up the theories of the Communists, not looking at what is behind the theories."

The results of this "honeymoon" were vital Communist infiltration of the most important agencies in the South dealing in Negro issues. The Communists infiltrated four of these organizations and actually helped found three of them.

They are the Southern Conference Educational Fund, the Southern Regional Council, the Highlander Folk School in Tennessee and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

An almost incredible maze of interlocking officials, ideas and publications linked the three first-named agencies with the Communist Party.

Council Got Ford Grant

The Regional Council and the Educational Fund were both offshoots of the old Southern Conference for Human Welfare, which was dissolved in 1948 after twice being described by the Federal Government as "a Communist front serving the Soviet Union and its subservient Communist Party."

Former directors and officers of the Conference for Human Welfare became directors and officers of the Regional Council and the Educational Fund and of the Highlander School. The Communist Daily Worker openly boasted that James E. Jackson, chief of the Southern branch of the U. S. Communist Party, was a co-founder of the Regional Council.

Although the Regional Council is not widely known in the North, its influence in the South is attested by its receiving a $497,000 grant from the Ford Foundation's Fund for the Republic.

Likewise, the Highlander School plays an important role in Southern civil rights developments, although it is scarcely known in the North. The school, according to testimony before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, was co-founded by a Communist and by a man who refused to testify on his beliefs.

NAACP Infiltrated

During these "organizing" years by the Communist Party, the NAACP was extensively infiltrated, although not dominated by Communist sympathizers. Many of its leading officials were members of Communist fronts.

In fact, by 1954 and the crucial Supreme Court decision, the Communist Party was so confident it had set the stage for developments in its favor that the party's national convention in the Winter of 1953 declared, "The next period ahead will witness momentous struggles of the Negroes . . . given the vanguard leadership of the Communist Party, we may be confident that the Negro liberation movement will ally itself more fully with the camp of peace and democracy."

The Communist Party was in a position to follow its long-proved doctrine:

To get a "sociological" or pro-Communist book on the reading list of influential persons, like a Supreme Court justice;

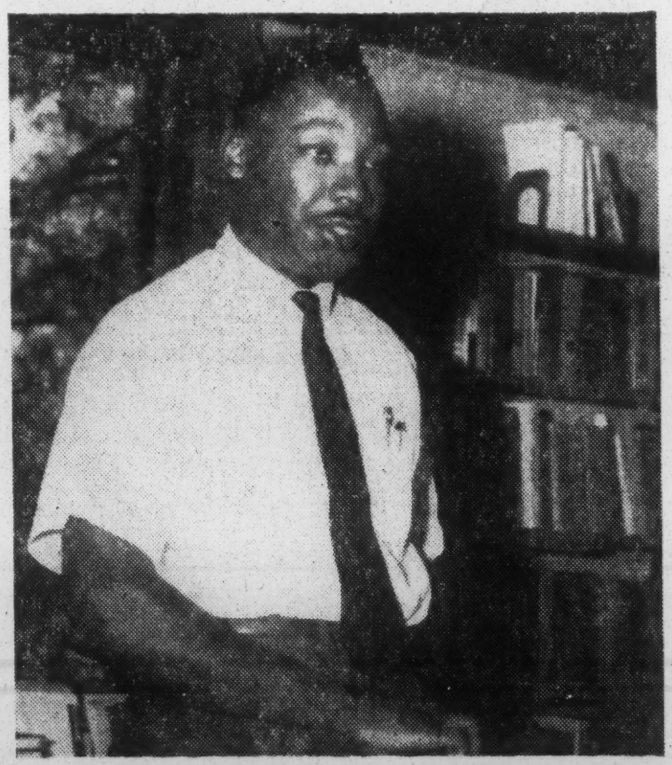
To persuade a Negro to violate a civil rights statute, in the cause of "civil disobedience;"

To inject a fellow-traveler in the forefront of a civil rights dispute;

To support the program of the NAACP.

These objectives were attained in the year to come.

(Tomorrow: The Supreme Court Decision.)



LEADING A DISCUSSION at the Highlander Folk School seminar on integration was the Rev. Martin Luther King who directed the Montgomery, Ala., bus boycott. The school advocates "immediate," "one-step" integration, without intermediate steps, exactly the program advocated by the Communist Party. Highlander was founded, according to congressional records, by a Communist and a Communist sympathizer. In June 1958 Mr. King called on President Eisenhower to urge more drastic Federal action.

New Bedford Standard Times

LITTLE ~~ROCK~~ — ORIGIN AND AFTERMATH — I

Forced Public School Integration Fails to Promote Racial Harmony

(This is the first of five articles on the Communist Party campaign to foment racial tension in the South and the party's important role in racial troubles, including Little Rock. Material for this series was gathered in trips along the Eastern Seaboard and to the Midwest, in discussions with members of Congress and from review of U. S. Senate and House committee files.)

By EDWARD B. SIMMONS
Standard-Times Staff Writer

WASHINGTON, July 21—The luster is wearing thin at Little Rock, Ark., where bayonets were used last Fall to enforce integration in a public school. Some of the trail-blazers appear to have washed their hands of the cause of Negro "rights." Others have been seen in roles considerably less flattering than those they played last Fall.

Ernest Green's observation, "I'm glad that's all over," is perhaps not untypical. Ernest, 18, was one of the nine Negro youths admitted to Little Rock's Central High School under the guns of federalized National Guardsmen and U. S. paratroopers.

Last month Ernest was graduated. One of the nine was expelled; the other seven may never return to Central.

If the experiment continues at Central, it will have to do so without the assistance of many persons who were instrumental in launching it.

Mayor Woodrow Wilson Mann of Little Rock, who made the daily telephone calls to the White House that led to Federal intervention, has left town.

He is now a resident of Denver, Colo., working in an investment banking firm.

Max Rabb, the presidential assistant who was at the White House end of the Mayor Mann calls and was a key man in the decision to send Federal troops, has left Washington.

He is now a partner in a big New York law firm.

Despite apparent "success" in its part in obtaining the Little Rock test, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has experienced a "sharp drop" in membership.

Federal Judge Ronald Davies, whose ruling that integration must begin "forthwith" in Little Rock was the foundation for what followed, has long since left Little Rock.

He is now back in his court in North Dakota, where there are but 257 Negroes in the entire State. Arkansas has 462,000.

Harry Ashmore, the Little Rock editor whose editorials in behalf of integration stirred the controversy and brought him a Pulitzer prize, has conceded he will not employ a Negro on his newspaper.

Mrs. Grace Lorch, the Little Rock "housewife" who attracted national attention by "befriending" one of the nine students, has since refused to declare whether she is a Communist.

Herbert Brownell, whose U. S. Justice Department gave the orders for dispatch of troops, is no longer attorney general.

He has taken up the more lucrative private practice of law.

The Justice Department, itself,

(Continued on Page 3)

Forcing Racial Harmony Fails

(Continued from Page 1)

has had a change of heart. Under its new chief, William P. Rogers, the word is "never again" on the use of Federal troops to enforce integration.

Education Hurt Badly

The Little Rock School Board, which had worked out a gradual integration program that Judge Davies' ruling nullified, has thrown in the sponge on any integration in the near future.

Central High School has claimed that the educational program for its 2,000 students was so badly dislocated by the one-year experiment the school could not survive another year without complete disintegration of morale.

This was a major consideration in Federal Judge Harry J. Lumley' approval of a 2½-year stay of integration for the Little Rock high school, a decision that may have made the best of a very unfortunate situation.

Majority Needs Consideration

Judge Lumley, while acknowledging the interest of Negroes in obtaining equal rights, said the "public interest" of the majority rated consideration, too. The burden placed on other Central High students and the "racial tension and unrest" created in Little Rock itself demanded a delay in integration, he said.

The ruling led to another example of apparent change in viewpoint among those who had been insistent on an immediate end of segregation.

When Judge Lumley's decision was taken to the U. S. Supreme Court, whose 1954 "sociological" and subsequent decrees had started the ferment in the South, that body declined to break up its Summer vacation for a special sitting.

The court, in effect, passed the buck to a lower court with an admotion to act fast.

Little Rock, the morning after, appears to have been a venture that has not served racial harmony or promoted integration. As such, its origin, its leaders and its original objectives invited inquiry.

(Tomorrow: The Communist Program.)

ADL

SOUTHEASTERN OFFICE
41 Exchange Pl., S. E., Atlanta 3, Ga.

For your information

9/2

Harold Fleming — Personal

thought you'd be interested to learn that Sol is trying to do something more than writing to you.

Regards

Art Levin

Alex Miller

Sol Kolack

August 27, 1958

The attached letter to Harold Fleming is self-explanatory. You will want to know that through our people in New Bedford we are trying to set up a meeting with Simmons and Brewer, wherein a small committee of leading New Bedford citizens would indicate their concern about the Simmons series.

Warm regards.

Sol

sk/w
cc Arnold Forster
Art Levin ✓

Sol's letter to you of 8/27/58

File

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
of B'nai B'rith

New England Regional Office -- 72 FRANKLIN STREET, SUITE 504, BOSTON 10, MASS. -- LIberty 2-4977

NEW ENGLAND REGIONAL BOARD

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New England Regional Director

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HON. MEIER STEINBRINK
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HENRY E. SCHULTZ
Chairman

BENJAMIN R. EPSTEIN
National Director

August 27, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I just returned to my desk from summer vacation, and I hasten to respond to your note concerning the series in the New Bedford Standard-Times by Edward B. Simmons. I also have before me Alex Miller's letter to you in which he indicates that he has made Iz Zack's report on the character of the newspaper and its star reporter available to you.

We have watched the New Bedford Standard-Times, and up to today your request for a correction has not been honored. In view of the editorial policy of the newspaper and the political position of its owner, I doubt that a retraction will be forthcoming. I would urge you, however, to make another attempt by re-submitting your letter, asking that it be published in the letters-to-the-editor column. Also, I wonder if your letter might be expanded along the lines of Alex Miller's suggestion. The attempt to inject the phony issue of communist infiltration into the legitimate strivings of the Negro community for equality in education is in itself a communist tactic, destructive of the American way which the Standard-Times purports to uphold. The very fact that your letter does not deal with the substance of the Simmons charges might give credence to these themes in the minds of the publisher and editors of the newspaper.

We will continue to watch the New Bedford Standard-Times for a reaction to your letter. With warmest regards,

Cordially,

Sol

SOL KOLACK

SK:w

cc Alex Miller
Arnold Forster
Art Levin

ADL

SOUTHEASTERN OFFICE
41 Exchange Pl., S. E., Atlanta 3, Ga.

For your information

Harold Fleming

Eleanor Roosevelt is your anonymous de plume?

Good job!

Art Levin

File New Bedford series

Alex Miller

Sol Kolack

August 28, 1958

On August 26 the New Bedford Standard Times carried the attached letter from Eleanor Roosevelt, criticizing the substance of the columns by Edward R. Simmons on the Little Rock situation. It is interesting to note that this is the only letter printed on the Simmons series.

Sol

SK/pm
encl

cc: Ia Zack
Arnold Forster
Arthur Levin ✓

P.S. Please exhibit to Harold Fleming.

New Bedford Standard-Times
August 26, 1958

Letters From Our Readers

Eleanor Roosevelt Criticizes Series on Little Rock

To the Editor of The Standard-Times:

I have read the articles on the Little Rock situation by Edward B. Simmons, which were done for The Standard-Times, and they seem to me to be playing into the hands of the Communists. If all the people who have the courage to work for integration in the South are to be branded as Communists, this is what the Communists want.

This is just a pattern to hold back integration in the South and you nothing can win to us, in the struggle of democracy versus Communism, more of the nations that have not yet attached themselves to either side, than a forthright policy on our part to enforce the Supreme Court decision.

Your writer overlooks the fact that two-thirds of the world's people are colored and this is no longer a national issue. It is an international question and one of the most important in the struggle for our leadership of the non-Communist world.

Every uncommitted nation that we lose to the Communists makes it less likely that we will win the struggle, and articles such as these are a great help to the Communists.

MRS. ELEANOR ROOSEVELT
New York City

Memo FROM THE DESK OF **MILDRED FLOWERS**

Aug & Sept, 1958

THE ATTACHED WAS DISTRIBUTED TO FOLLOWING:

SRC Board including Exe. Committee

State Directors and Chairmen & John Hope

John Popham
Ralph McGill (6)
Bob Baker
Sol Kolack
Ed. Lukas
Art Levin
Phil Hammer
Morris Abram
Mr. Winn of Tuscaloosa (Albert C.-Stillman Coll.
Buford Boone
Editor, Alabama Journal
Editor, Jackson Daily News
Editor, Birmingham Post-Herald
Editor, Standard-Times (Mass)
Alice Spearman (SCHR) - 100
Isadore Zack (ADL - Mass.) - 10

22 Richmond Times-Dispatch

DAVID TENNANT BRYAN, *President and Publisher*

VIRGINIUS DABNEY, *Editor* JOHN H. COLBURN, *Managing Editor*

Thursday, August 21, 1958

A Race Agency and the Facts

Inaccurate statements as to its origins of the Southern Regional Council of Atlanta appeared recently in THE TIMES-DISPATCH, and should be corrected. They appeared — inadvertently, we are sure—in one of the series of articles by EDWARD B. SIMMONS of the New Bedford, Mass., *Standard-Times* concerning Communist efforts to incite racial strife in the United States.

MR. SIMMONS stated in the article appearing in our paper on August 5 that the Southern Regional Council, established in Atlanta in 1944, was an "offshoot of the old Southern Conference for Human Welfare, which was dissolved in 1948 after twice being described by the Federal Government as 'Communist front.'" He also said: "'The Communist *Daily Worker* openly boasted that JAMES E. JACKSON, chief of the Southern branch of the U. S. Communist party, was a co-founder of the Regional Council."

Taking these two charges in order, the Southern Regional Council was not an offshoot of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. It was established in response to an appeal from respected Southern Negro leaders, who met at Durham, N. C., in October, 1942, on the call of DR. GORDON B. HANCOCK, of the Virginia Union faculty here, and DR. P. B. YOUNG, of Norfolk, publisher of the Norfolk *Journal and Guide*. These Negro leaders did not ask for the elimination of segregation in the schools or anywhere else; they asked that "separate but equal" be made a reality.

Responding to their appeal, a group of white leaders met in Atlanta in the spring of 1943, and expressed a desire to cooperate. Out of this grew the Southern Regional Council. The Council was the successor to the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, founded in 1919 by leading churchmen. To repeat, it not only was no "offshoot" of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare; it was criticized in some quarters because it was more conservative than that organization and suspected of being in competition with it.

We must remember, too, that when the Southern Conference for Human Welfare was established in 1938, it was not suspected of having any Communist connections, and many well-intentioned and patriotic Southerners participated in its early meetings. A number of these later joined the Southern Regional Council when they discovered the true purposes of the Conference for Human Welfare.

As to the allegation of the Communist *Daily Worker* that JAMES E. JACKSON, chief of the Southern branch of the U. S. Communist party, was a "co-founder of the Southern Regional Council," there is nothing to support this.

A JAMES E. JACKSON is listed as having attended the Durham meeting of Negro leaders in October, 1942, but is not mentioned by the Norfolk *Journal and Guide* as having been on the committee which drew up the statement then issued. JACKSON did not participate in the meetings of white and Negro leaders in 1943 and 1944 which led to the establishment of the Southern Regional Council, and he was not at any time an officer, director, or member of that agency. The *Daily Worker's* statement that he was a "founder" is as unreliable and inaccurate as nearly everything else in that Communist sheet.

The late DR. HOWARD W. ODUM, noted and respected member of the University of North Carolina faculty, was the first president of the Council. He was succeeded in 1945 by PAUL D. WILLIAMS, prominent Catholic layman of Richmond and co-founder of the Catholic Committee of the South, who served until 1951. MR. WILLIAMS was succeeded in that year by MARION A. WRIGHT, South Carolina attorney, former chairman of the South Carolina Library Board and past president of the University of South Carolina Alumni Association.

It should be emphasized that SRC worked within the framework of "separate but equal" for seven years, and did not announce for integration until 1951.

While we disagree strongly and completely with its present position on this issue, we feel obligated to point out, in fairness, that it was in no sense Communist in its origins. The Southern Regional Council was established because of a sincere desire on the part of white and Negro leaders in the South to eliminate many of the disabilities and discriminations from which Negroes were suffering.

It was hoped that if these could be substantially lessened, the colored South would not look to the colored North for leadership. Insufficient progress was made, unfortunately, and the NAACP moved in and launched its drive for the complete elimination of segregation — sooner than it probably would have done if SRC's accomplishments had been larger.

That is where we stand today.

September 1, 1958

AIR MAIL SPECIAL DELIVERY

Mr. Virginius Dabney, Editor
The Times-Dispatch
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Mr. Dabney:

Enclosed is a photostatic copy of a letter from an official of the Department of Justice to Roy Wilkins of the NAACP. The letter, which was made public at the time, dissociates the Department from Johnson and his testimony before the Rainach Committee.

The passage quoted below is from Facts on File. I should think its contents could be further verified, if necessary, by checking newspaper accounts of the SACB's action of August 11, 1956.

"On 8/11/56 the Subversive Activities Control Board reaffirmed its view that the U. S. Communist Party was Moscow controlled after reviewing its finding that the Communist Party must register with the Attorney General under the 1950 Internal Security Act. The SACB expunged from the record of hearings on the case what it called 'tainted' testimony given by Harvey Matusow, Manning Johnson and the late Paul Crouch."

I hope this is adequate. If you should need further documentation on these or other points, don't hesitate to call on me.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

enc.

September 2, 1958

The Editor
The News and Courier
Charleston, South Carolina

Dear Sir:

In a recent issue you publish another in Mr. Stanley F. Morse's long series of diatribes. This one, characteristically, seeks to sully the reputation of Mr. James M. Dabbs by feverish charges against the Southern Regional Council, of which Mr. Dabbs is president.

Mr. Morse is the evidently willing collaborator in a myth originated by the Communists themselves, in their Daily Worker.

Rather than answer once again these tired and absurd charges ourselves, we refer to the enclosed editorial from the conservative Richmond Times-Dispatch, from which we cite the following passages:

"(The Southern Regional Council) not only was no 'offshoot' of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare; it was criticized in some quarters because it was more conservative than that organization and suspected of being in competition with it...

"As to the allegation of the Communist Daily Worker that James E. Jackson, chief of the Southern branch of the U. S. Communist party, was a 'co-founder of the Southern Regional Council,' there is nothing to support this.... The Daily worker's statement

that he was a 'founder' is as unreliable and inaccurate as nearly everything else in that Communist sheet....

"While we disagree strongly and completely with (the Council's) present position on (integration), we feel obligated to point out, in fairness, that it was in no sense Communist in its origins. The Southern Regional Council was established because of a sincere desire on the part of white and Negro leaders in the South to eliminate many of the disabilities and discriminations from which Negroes were suffering."

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1 (Richmond Times-Dispatch Editorial, 8/21/58)

cc: Mr. Dabbs
Mrs. Spearman
Mr. Siceloff
Mr. John Morris

committee. built-in gadget or "Hands Off!

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Sale Of Book

To The News and Courier:

With reference to the book "South Carolinians Speak," which you have previously commended to your readers (Nov. 3 ,1957), your editorial on July 27 entitled "Grist For The Mill" makes much ado over the purchase of copies of this work by the Southern Regional Council through the assistance of a grant from the Fund for the Republic.

It should be observed that the publishers of this book offered it at public sale and that copies were sold to such diverse organizations and their representatives as the Southern Regional Council and the Citizens Councils.

The large order placed with us by this former group was only filled this past June when it was apparent that the publication had been thoroughly distributed in South Carolina. Distribution within South Carolina has exceeded 15,000 copies, while about 3,900 copies have been distributed outside the state. Southern Regional Council paid the face price of 50 cents per copy and obtained 2,500 copies which are a part of the number sold outside South Carolina.

The Fund for the Republic made it possible for the Southern Regional Council to purchase our book just as it provided the Southern Assn. of Nieman Fellows with the money to underwrite travel fellowships such as the one enjoyed by the editor of The News and Courier.

JOHN B. MORRIS
601 Jefferson St.,
Dillon.

About Prof. Dabbs

To The News and Courier:

With reference to his letter in The News and Courier July 23, does Prof. Dabbs know what he is dabbling in? "Let's look at the record," as Al Smith used to say.

James M. Dabbs is president of the Southern Regional Council which was formed by a Negro leader, James E. Jackson Jr., member of the national committee of the Communist Party USA and director of Communist activities in the Southern States. Three of the five incorporators of the Southern Regional Council had Communist-front affiliations, and over 30 of its officers and directors have had red records. The SRC is organizing and propagandizing for racial integration.

The Southern Regional Council has been financed mainly by grants totaling over $500,000 from the Fund for the Republic, a beneficiary of the Ford Foundation.

The Council has been exposed by the American Legion Firing Line in its issues of May 15 and July 15, 1957. Moreover, the American Legion has opposed the activities of the Fund for the Republic as leading to ". . . the destruction of the internal security of the United States." (Firing Line, Sept. 15, 1955, and March 1, 1957).

James M. Dabbs also has been listed as a member of the advisory committee of the Southern Conference Educational Fund. Inc., which is reported by the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee to be an offshoot of the Communist-front Southern Conference for Human Welfare with a number of the same officers (including a South Carolina Negro, Modjeska M. Simkins. See also the exposes of the SCEF in the Firing Line of July 1, 1955, and May 15, 1957.)

Dr. J. M. Dabbs advocates racial integration. Any intellectually honest professor acquainted with the facts of biology and history should know that racial integration, whether gradual or forced by Supreme Court edict and federal troops, will destroy America's great white civilization and the USA — just as Soviet bully Khrushchev plans.

STANLEY F. MORSE
Charleston.

News & Courier
P-5-5-58

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September 3, 1958

The Editor
The Jackson Daily News
Jackson, Mississippi

Dear Sir:

This is in reference to a series on Communists and integration originally published in the New Bedford Standard-Times and recently reprinted by your newspaper. Article number two of this series made false and damaging statements about the origins of the Southern Regional Council.

The enclosed editorial from the Richmond Times-Dispatch answers these charges far more effectively and objectively than we could. I trust that you will also want to correct these untrue statements. Accordingly, this is to ask that you reprint the Times-Dispatch editorial or such appropriate excerpts from it as you see fit.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1 (Richmond Times-Dispatch Editorial, 8/21/58)

September 3, 1958

The Editor
The Alabama Journal
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Sir:

This is in reference to a series on Communists and integration originally published in the New Bedford Standard-Times and recently reprinted by your newspaper. Article number two of this series made false and damaging statements about the origins of the Southern Regional Council.

The enclosed editorial from the Richmond Times-Dispatch answers these charges far more effectively and objectively than we could. I trust that you will also want to correct these untrue statements. Accordingly, this is to ask that you reprint the Times-Dispatch editorial or such appropriate excerpts from it as you see fit.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1 (Richmond Times-Dispatch Editorial, 8/21/58)

BC to: Rbt. Hughes
Mr. Albert C. Winn
Tuscaloosa, Ala.

September 3, 1958

The Editor
The Birmingham Post-Herald
Birmingham, Alabama

Dear Sir:

This is further to my letter of August 6, 1958, which so far has had no acknowledgment.

The enclosed editorial from the Richmond Times-Dispatch refutes far more persuasively and objectively than we could do the false statements about the Southern Regional Council contined in the series reprinted by you from the New Bedford Standard-Times.

I trust you will want to correct the false charges made in your columns against a group of reputable Southerners. Accordingly, this is to ask that you reprint the enclosed editorial or such appropriate excerpts from it as you may see fit.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1 (Richmond Times-Dispatch Editorial, 8/21/58)

Copy sent to Edwin J. Lukas

VIA AIR MAIL

September 3, 1958

The Editor
The Standard-Times
New Bedford, Massachusetts

Dear Sir:

This is in further reference to my letter of August 6, 1958 which has so far been neither acknowledged nor published, according to my latest information.

I am enclosing a copy of an editorial from the Richmond Times-Dispatch which corrects the misstatements about the Southern Regional Council appearing in your recent series by Mr. Simmons. I am sure you will agree that the Times-Dispatch is an informed and objective source.

This is to request that, in the interest of fairness and accuracy, you reprint the enclosed editorial.

I trust we may anticipate an early reply.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1 (Richmond Times-Dispatch Editorial)

ADL

SOUTHEASTERN OFFICE
41 Exchange Pl., S. E., Atlanta 3, Ga.

For your information

9-12

Harold Fleming

Art Levin

New Bedford file

Richmond Times-Dispatch, Wed., Sept. 3, 1958

Southern Regional Council And Manning Johnson

Regarding your editorial of August 21, A Race Agency and the Facts, I rather expect Edward B. Simmons accumulated his information on the Southern Regional Council from the sworn testimony of Manning Johnson which was taken under oath by the Louisiana State Legislature last year, and also from the American Legion's "Firing Line."

The information from these two sources is thoroughly documented even though Senator Paul Douglas tried to disprove it a year ago on the Senate floor by quoting from an article published by the Atlanta Constitution. Naturally the Atlanta Constitution would want to whitewash the Southern Regional Council because of the part played in this organization by Ralph McGill of the Atlanta Constitution.

While the U. S. Department of Justice and the Subversive Activities Control Board may have repudiated testimony of Manning Johnson many Americans still believe Johnson was telling the truth as he spoke under oath and so far as I know, he has not been punished for having lied.

I think that the main point is, though, that we in the South should not argue when respected Northern newspapers print articles trying to awaken Northerners as to some subversive influences behind the racial issue. If we think there are errors in such articles, then let us take it up directly with the newspaper in question rather than writing editorials which allow readers to believe we are not behind our Governor and our General Assembly. After all, our State stands for Constitution Government and States Rights. We are run by laws and not by men or by the N A A C P, Southern Regional Council, or any other such organization.

(Mrs.) ELIZABETH H. OSTH

Berryville.

[Editor's Note: Manning Johnson was quoted in newspaper accounts on March 9, 1957, as having testified before a legislative committee of the State of Louisiana that he is "now employed as Director of Research for the Department of Justice in Washington." Asked about this, Warren Olney III, Assistant U.S. Attorney General, stated: "Manning Johnson is not employed by the Department of Justice as Director of Research or in any other capacity . . . He has no authority to speak for or on behalf of the Department of Justice."

The previous year (8/11/56) the Subversive Activities Control Board had expunged from the record of a hearing concerning the Communist party, testimony given by Manning Johnson. It termed the testimony "tainted."

We are unable to follow Mrs. Osth's reasoning that there is a relationship between our pointing out erroneous statements concerning the origin of the Southern Regional Council in 1944 and our support of Gov. Almond's "massive resistance" in 1958. As far as we can see, there is no connection whatever. We are, of course, supporting Gov. Almond.]

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

386 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 16, N. Y. *Cable Address,* "WISHCOM, NEW YORK"

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September 4, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

The attached, concerning the author of the pieces in the Standard Times of New Bedford, should interest you. It is sent to you in confidence.

Warm regards.

Sincerely,

Edwin J. Lukas

EJL:ig
enc.

Edward B. Simmons who wrote the series for the New Bedford Standard Times is a 40 year old graduate of Harvard, a local blueblood, who is married to the daughter of Tack Hardwick of Harvard football fame and they reside in the Yankee stronghold of Marion, a socialite stronghold near New Bedford.

Simmons is considered the star reporter in the employ of Basil Brewer, publisher of the Standard Times and his salary is estimated between $15,000.00 to $20,000.00 a year. Simmons has been described to me by people who are in daily contact with him, as "a stiff necked, right wing Yankee", and others identified him as "very reactionary and closely tied in to Brewer and Charles J. Lewin, editor and general manager of the Standard Times (note: Lewin, a strong McCarthyite, was chairman of the big rally sponsored in Boston by the Friends of Senator McCarthy, Inc. when the late Senator from Wisconsin made a Boston appearance at the height of the Fort Monmouth inquiry).

VIA AIR MAIL

September 5, 1958

Mr. Edwin J. Lukas
American Jewish Committee
386 Fourth Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Ed:

Thanks so much for pursuing the question of the New Bedford Standard-Times series.

I have written the editor of the Standard-Times a second letter, copy enclosed. Also I was assured by Virginius Dabney that he would, himself, send a copy of his editorial to the Standard-Times with a suggestion that they make appropriate corrections. So far, I have had no response at all from the Standard-Times.

It would be most helpful indeed if your New Bedford constituent could use his influence with the editor in support of our request for a retraction.

With warm regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1 (Copy of HCF ltr. to New Bedford Standard-Times)

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

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August 29, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming,
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Thank you for sharing with me the reprint of the editorial in the Richmond Times-Dispatch. May I suggest that, if you have not already done so, you send it to the editor of the New Bedford Standard-Times, with the proposal that they make as prominent a retraction as the Richmond paper did.

I have located one of our constituents in New Bedford, who turns out to be a very close friend of the editor of that paper and, if you care to have me do so, I will ask him to lend his own support to your request that the record be set straight.

Sincerely,

Edwin J. Lukas

EJL:ps

September 5, 1958

Mr. Isadore Zack
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
72 Franklin Street
Suite 504
Boston 10, Massachusetts

Dear Mr. Zack:

I am happy to send you the additional copies of the Times-Dispatch editorial, which are enclosed.

It's good to know that you are working to counteract the effect of the Simmons series in Massachusetts and New Bedford. If there is any further way in which we can assist, do let me know.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures - 10 (Richmond-Times Dispatch Editorial)

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
of B'nai B'rith

New England Regional Office -- 72 FRANKLIN STREET, SUITE 504, BOSTON 10, MASS. -- LIberty 2-4977

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National Director

September 3, 1958

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thank you very much for sending us the reprint from the Richmond Times Dispatch of their editorial of August 21 entitled "A Race Agency and The Facts."

I wonder if I can trouble you for ten additional copies of this reprint to be used in local counteraction, especially in New Bedford where the Simmons series originated with the Standard-Times of that city.

Thank you for your interest and cooperation.

Sending today
M.F.

Sincerely,

Isadore Zack

Isadore Zack

IZ/gg

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

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September 11, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I have asked my contact in New Bedford to do what he can to persuade the editor of the Standard-Times to either reprint the editorial from the Richmond Times-Dispatch, or write one of its own, to similar effect.

I will let you know whether this effort was fruitful.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Edwin J. Lukas

EJL:ig

September 22, 1958

The Honorable Richard B. Russell
United States Senate
Washington, D. C.

My dear Senator Russell:

Thank you for your reply of September 16th to my letter concerning the New Bedford newspaper series.

I realize, of course, that it would have been impossible for you to insert the Richmond Times-Dispatch editorial into the Congressional Record for the last session. It was my intention to request that you do so when Congress reconvenes. I appreciate your willingness to consider this and hope that your decision will be favorable.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

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United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON ARMED SERVICES

Winder, Georgia
September 16, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

Permit me to acknowledge your letter with reference to the articles from the New Bedford, Massachusetts paper which I offered for the Congressional Record on August 12th.

I would dislike to insert any incorrect material in the Congressional Record or be responsible for it elsewhere. I must advise you, however, that the Congressional Record is closed and I did not have an opportunity to have the article from the Richmond paper printed. I shall give consideration to it in the next Session of the Congress.

Yours very truly,

Richard B Russell

September 9, 1958

The Honorable Richard B. Russell
United States Senate
Washington, D. C.

My dear Senator Russell:

This is in reference to a series on Communism and integration written by Edward B. Simmons for the New Bedford (Mass.) Standard-Times and reprinted in certain Southern newspapers. I understand that you had this newspaper series inserted into the Congressional Record on August 12th.

My reason for writing you is that these articles contain a number of serious misstatements, several of them pertaining to the Southern Regional Council. The enclosed copy of an editorial from the Richmond Times-Dispatch, which undertakes to correct these misstatements, is self explanatory.

I am sure you will want to correct the false and injurious misimpression of the Southern Regional Council and the reputable Southerners who comprise it. Therefore, I am forwarding the enclosed editorial from the conservative and influential Times-Dispatch with a request that you cause it to be entered into the Congressional Record in further extension of your remarks of August 12th.

With appreciation to your attention to this matter, I am

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1 (Richmond Times-Dispatch Editorial, 8/21/58)

October 3, 1958

Mr. Edwin J. Lukas
American Jewish Committee
386 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, New York

Dear Ed:

Thanks for the copy of Mr. Krivoff's letter to Mr. Lewin of the Standard-Times. It is a very persuasive rebuttal to the Simmons series.

So far as I know, the Standard-Times has not responsed to any comment on the series. It will be interesting to see if there is any reaction to Mr. Krivoff's letter.

All best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

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October 1, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

The enclosed is a photostat of a letter sent by our constituent in New Bedford, Massachusetts to his very good friend, the Editor of the "Standard-Times".

I will advise you whether the letter is published in that paper and also whether Lewin reacts to it in any fashion.

With warm regards.

Cordially yours,

Edwin J. Lukas.

EJL:rcj
Encl.

September 24, 1958

Mr. Charles J. Lewin
Standard-Times
New Bedford, Mass.

Dear Mr. Lewin:

In reading the articles published in the "Standard-Times" of July 21-25 and written by Mr. Edward E. Simmons about Little Rock and the struggle of the colored people in the south for integration, one wonders why we must give the communists credit for initiating every movement for human progress in the world, and in this country in particular.

There is no doubt that the negro in America should possess the same right as the white man. The white man obtained possession of this land by conquest. The negro was brought here by force, against his wish and will, and Americans, white and colored, fought a bloody war almost a hundred years ago to free him from slavery and allow him to enjoy his constitutional as well as his God given right to justice and equality. In the general Afro-Asiatic awakening of nations and races of this century, the negro found that, mentally and physically he possessed the same facilities as the white man. Culturally, he was prevented by some white men (until recently) from obtaining a decent and equal education with his white neighbor. In spite of this handicap, the negro race produced some great men in every line of endeavor. Numerically, he surpasses the white race by hundreds of millions. He is a power to be reckoned with in this world. In our struggle with communism on the world arena, we need his friendship and help as well as the help of all colored races. Why push them forcibly into the communist orbit by constantly drumming into their ears that the communist is the foremost champion in the fight for his rights?

We know that the communists try to hang on the coat tails of every popular movement for justice and progress. Is the justice of the movement for integration to suffer because a few communists sneaked in by the back door? All indications point to the fact that, sooner or later, the negro question will have to be settled and the negro will win his right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, plus his right to integrated education. Whether it will be accomplished by another Abraham Lincoln method (God forbid) or across a conference table, God only knows! Why put the communists in a position to claim the credit for fighting the negroes' battle when we know that, long before communism appeared on the world scene in its present form, there were millions of decent Americans who sacrificed their lives to free the negro from slavery and there are millions of white Americans today who are fighting for the negro's right to human dignity, equality and integration.

H. Krivoff

The original of this letter was mailed to Mr. Lewin on the above date.

COPY

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
386 FOURTH AVENUE NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

File — New Bedford

October 9, 1958

Mr. H. Krivoff
Dartmouth Finishing Corporation
45 Cove Street
New Bedford, Mass.

Dear Mr. Krivoff:

Thank you both for the clipping of your published letter in the "Standard-Times" as well as a clip of the editorial response. Of course, the editorial is entirely unresponsive; it completely missed the point of your letter, and I fear that Mr. Lewin plans to do nothing to undo the damage to other groups that it perpetrated in the form of the Simmons articles.

Sincerely yours,

Edwin J. Lukas.

EJL:rcj

cc to Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

The Standard-Times

NEW BEDFORD, MASS.
Standard Founded 1850 Times Founded 1902
Consolidated 1932

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 3, 1958

Entered at New Bedford Post Office as second class matter. Published every day but Sunday at 2 Market Street, New Bedford. Telephone WY 5-7411.

E. ANTHONY & SONS, INC., Proprietors
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CHARLES J. LEWIN, Editor and General Manager
DAN B. GAYLORD, General Business Manager
J. RICHARD EARLY, Managing Editor
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PROTECTING A BASIC RIGHT

Much-needed support of a basic principle—the right of the people to know—is contained in the open-meeting bill approved by the Legislature and awaiting Governor Furcolo's signature.

The bill provides that, except in certain circumstances, meetings of State, county and local governmental bodies shall be open to the public and the press. Excluded from the act are meetings of quasi-judicial bodies and authorities.

More timely or generally useful legislation is difficult to imagine. The absence of any statutory guarantee of the public's right has led to wide variance in practice; agencies in most communities have always been open to inspection, but in others the decision has been, often on personal caprice, to deny admittance to press and public.

Provision is made in the open-meeting bill, for private deliberations, where called for. Meetings of School Committees and other governmental functions may be held in executive session—private—if the agency considers that matters before it would adversely affect the public interest, the financial interest of a community or a personal reputation, if made known publicly.

The bill is a long one, with many provisions. But essentially it declares that no one is more entitled to know what public officials are doing than Mr. John Q. Public, himself, who pays the bills and does the voting.

This is a simple premise, a reaffirmation that good government depends on a well-informed electorate. The Legislature has given its solid endorsement, and it is to be hoped that Governor Furcolo, who has indicated his support, will approve the bill promptly.

ADVICE TO AVOID

A press association dispatch reported that "three Harvard professors have criticized the John Foster Dulles policy in the Far East," and demanded that the United States pull out of the Formosa Strait.

The three all hold impressive titles. Edwin O. Reischauer is director of the Harvard Center of Far East Studies; John K. Fairbank is associate director of the center, and Rupert Emerson is professor of history.

The trio have something else in common. They were associated in the Institute of Pacific Relations when the IPR, according to the U. S. Senate Committee on the Judiciary, "was a vehicle used by the Communists to orientate American Far Eastern policies toward Communist objectives."

When documented charges of pro-Communism in the IPR were officially laid before that organization, both Fairbank and Emerson were members of the board. Fairbank signed a petition denying bias; Emerson did nothing.

Fairbank and Reischauer participated ploited fully and continuously by Communists on a national scale. Current programs include intensified attempts to infiltrate mass Negro organizations. The party's objectives are not to aid the Negroes—but are designed to take advantage of all controversial issues on the racial question so as to create unrest, dissension and confusion in the minds of the American people."

The Communist campaign of confusion has intensified integration problems in the South. Knowledge of the Communist conspiracy is essential to a full understanding of the crises in Little Rock and elsewhere.

LAST NIGHT TO REGISTER

Prospective voters in the Nov. 4 election are reminded that the registration deadline is tonight. The office of the New Bedford Board of Registrars of Voters in City Hall will be open until 10 p. m. for the convenience of persons still unregistered.

Every citizen should take part in the important decisions that are to be made at the polls on the next election day. Voters will elect State officials and legislators who will administer affairs of the Commonwealth during the next two years, a U. S. senator and congressmen who will represent the Bay State in Washington, and a number of important officials who will serve at the county and district levels.

The right to vote should be cherished by every American as one of the most important privileges and responsibilities of citizenship. Be sure you are registered to vote Nov. 4.

Provision is made in the open meeting bill, for private deliberations where called for. Meetings of School Committees and other governmental functions may be held in executive session—private—if the agency considers that matters before it would adversely affect the public interest, the financial interest of a community or a personal reputation, if made known publicly.

The bill is a long one, with many provisions. But essentially it declares that no one is more entitled to know what public officials are doing than Mr. John Q. Public, himself, who pays the bills and does the voting.

This is a simple premise, a reaffirmation that good government depends on a well-informed electorate. The Legislature has given its solid endorsement, and it is to be hoped that Governor Furcolo, who has indicated his support, will approve the bill promptly.

ADVICE TO AVOID

A press association dispatch reported that "three Harvard professors have criticized the John Foster Dulles policy in the Far East," and demanded that the United States pull out of the Formosa Strait.

The three all hold impressive titles. Edwin O. Reischauer is director of the Harvard Center of Far East Studies; John K. Fairbank is associate director of the center, and Rupert Emerson is professor of history.

The trio have something else in common. They were associated in the Institute of Pacific Relations when the IPR, according to the U. S. Senate Committee on the Judiciary, "was a vehicle used by the Communists to orientate American Far Eastern policies toward Communist objectives."

When documented charges of pro-Communism in the IPR were officially laid before that organization, both Fairbank and Emerson were members of the board. Fairbank signed a petition denying bias; Emerson did nothing.

Fairbank and Reischauer participated in a 1949 meeting of an advisory committee of the U. S. State Department, on Far Eastern policy. Others who attended that meeting testified under oath that Fairbank and Reischauer were members of a small group at that meeting led by Lawrence K. Rosinger, who has refused to state whether he is a Communist, and Owen Lattimore.

Members of this small group, the Senate Judiciary Committee was told, were "very sympathetic toward the Chinese Communists," were strong advocates of aid for Communist China and of recognition of the Peiping government, were opposed to any Western pact in the Pacific and urged that Chiang and Formosa be abandoned.

Aggression instigated by Communist China in Korea has brought tragedy to many American homes since Fairbank wrote that the Communist government was "the best government that modern China has had."

Neither he nor colleagues Reischauer and Emerson have changed their views, however. They advocated appeasement of Communism then, and they do so now. The terrible cost of appeasement has taught these professors nothing.

A BETTER UNDERSTANDING

In a Letter to the Editor published yesterday, Hyman Krivoff took exception to a series of articles published in The Standard-Times during July, entitled "Little Rock—Its Origin and Aftermath."

"One wonders," wrote Mr. Krivoff, "why we must give the Communists credit for initiating every movement for human progress in the world, and in this country in particular."

The articles did not give the Communists "credit" for starting any movement for human progress. They did give the U. S. Communist Party "credit" for being influential in the drive for speed and force in Southern integration to help attain the Communist objective of racial unrest.

The purpose of the series was to document a situation that FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover has described as follows, in testimony made public after the articles were published:

"The Negro situation is also being ex-

Oct. 3, 1958

File New Bedford

NEW ENGLAND REGIONAL OFFICE
ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
of B'NAI B'RITH
72 Franklin Street, Suite 504, Boston 10, Mass.

Memorandum

To: Alex Miller

From: Iz Zack

Date: October 16, 1958

Subject:

A few weeks ago I sent you a tear-sheet from the New Bedford Standard-Times containing information about Justice Frankfurter's past affiliation with the NAACP as brought out in an exchange of letters between Frankfurter and Edward Simmons of the Standard-Times. (You will recall that Simmons was also the author of the five articles on Little Rock which have been reprinted in southern newspapers). This week David Lawrence, the national columnist, credited the Standard-Times of New Bedford in his column "Frankfurter Vs. Frankfurter" for bringing to light the fact that Justice Frankfurter had been Legal Counsel for the NAACP for about 10 years prior to his appointment to the High Court. I might point out that the Lawrence column is carried by the Standard-Times.

The earlier Simmons articles on Little Rock were picked up by another national columnist, Holmes Alexander, and used for the basis of his column in which he called for a national monument at Little Rock commemorating a major defeat for Communism. Alexander's column is also carried by the Standard-Times.

IZ/gg
cc: Arnold Forster

13

DAVID LAWRENCE

Miller

Frankfurter Vs. Frankfurter

WASHINGTON — This is the story of a case that might be called "Frankfurter vs. Frankfurter." It concerns a struggle of conscience which justices of the Supreme Court undergo when they are faced with the question of whether or not they should disqualify themselves from judging any case in which they previously have had a personal interest or connection.

This very problem has arisen with respect to Justice Frankfurter before it came up a few days ago when The Standard Times of New Bedford, Mass., published an exchange of letters with him about his 10-year affiliation with the legal committee of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Justice Frankfurter wrote that it was true he had for a long time, while a professor at Harvard Law School, given advice on "policy" matters to the legal committee of this organization. He wrote that the connection was terminated when he became a Supreme Court justice and added that he never had accepted any monetary compensation for such service.

Perhaps the best single statement of a judge's problem in meeting a "conflict of interest" where there has been no commercial or financial connection previously, but where emotions and personal feelings may be involved, was made by Justice Frankfurter himself. He gave a public explanation on May 26, 1952, of why he had declined to participate in the decision of a case before the Supreme Court about the broadcasting of music that annoyed the passengers on a Capital Transit Company bus in Washington. It had caused some of them to bring suit to declare such broadcasting a violation of both the First and Fifth Amendments of the Constitution. Here is what Justice Frankfurter in "recusing" himself—which is the legal expression for self-disqualification—wrote at that time:

"The judicial process demands that a judge move within the framework of revelant legal rules and the covenanted modes of thought for ascertaining them. He must think dispassionately and submerge private feeling on every aspect of a case. There is a good deal of shallow talk that the judicial robe does not change the man within it. It does. The fact is that on the whole judges do lay aside private views in discharging their judicial functions. This is achieved through training, professional habits, self-discipline and that fortunate alchemy by which men are loyal to the obligation with which they are entrusted. But it is also true that reason cannot control the subconscious influence of feelings of which it is unaware. When there is ground for believing that such unconscious feelings may operate in the ultimate judgment, or may not unfairly lead others to believe they are operating, judges recuse themselves. They do not sit in judgment. They do this for a variety of reasons. The guiding consideration is that the administration of justice should reasonably appear to be disinterested as well as be so in fact.

"This case for me presents such a situation. My feelings are so strongly engaged as a victim of the practice in controversy that I had better not participate in judicial judgment upon it. I am explicit as to the reason for my non-participation in this case because I have for some time been of the view that it is desirable to state why one takes himself out of a case."

Many lawyers now are pointing out that Justice Frankfurter apparently felt so deeply about a case in which the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People was a party that he was not content to stand on the written opinion which he and the eight other justices issued on Sept. 29 last. He felt impelled to give out a few days later a separate opinion of his own in addition. This lengthy document was replete with emotional phrases and oratorical exclamations, thus causing many lawyers to comment that Justice Frankfurter may have been revealing the same type of "subconscious feelings" which prompted him to disqualify himself in the bus case.

This is not the first time Justice Frankfurter has been criticized for sitting in a case in which he had a part prior to coming on the Supreme Court bench. In 1917 he was chief counsel for a three-man commission appointed by the President to investigate labor troubles in the principal mines of the Phelps-Dodge company in Arizona. The report aroused bitter comment from former President Theodore Roosevelt. Then, in April 1941, Justice Frankfurter wrote the opinion in a Supreme Court case on labor questions which was decided against the Phelps-Dodge company, and many lawyers said at the time that he should have disqualified himself.

Justices often disqualify themselves from sitting in cases in which they have had some previous connection with either party to the litigation. The non-receipt of a fee isn't always the controlling factor. Thus, a Supreme Court justice who has served as attorney general or solicitor general usually disqualifies himself from sitting in any case in which he has had some part personally, and, of course, there are no fees paid the attorney general or solicitor general for particular cases in the work of the Department of Justice.

There are no written rules of the Supreme Court requiring a justice to disqualify himself when he has had a previous connection with either party to a suit that comes before the court. The problem is left to the conscience of each justice.

(Copyright, 1958
New York Herald-Tribune)

ADL

SOUTHEASTERN OFFICE
41 Exchange Pl., S. E., Atlanta 3, Ga.

For your information

Harold Fleming - Personal

Any other questions?

Regards

Art Levin

File - New Bedford Standard Times

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Art Levin

FROM: Iz Zack

DATE: November 5, 1958

Since receiving your memo of October 9th requesting further background information on the New Bedford, Mass. Standard-Times, I have been in contact with several qualified sources of information at New Bedford and in the newspaper field, and have also made a further study of our files on the subject of the Standard-Times.

The pro-segregation editorial position of the Standard-Times continues. In reply to your specific inquiries I have the following:

McCarthyism:

The New Bedford's Standard-Times was second only to the Manchester, New Hampshire Union Leader in support of the late Senator McCarthy. The Standard-Times still runs favorable editorials on McCarthy and its letters to the editor column has always been and continues to be wide open to the pro-McCarthy element. The Standard-Times went one step further than the Union Leader in support of McCarthy by actively cooperating with the Friends of Senator McCarthy, Inc., which was active here in Massachusetts. (There were several anti-Semites involved in leadership capacity). The group ran several public meetings in Boston and other communities in the state at which thousands of reprints of the Standard-Times editorial page were distributed. There was other evidence that the Standard-Times had gone to some expense to support this movement. I have already reported to you the fact that Charles J. Lewin, Editor and General Manager of the paper, was Master of Ceremonies for the big McCarthy Rally staged at the Boston Arena.

One of the leaders in the Friends of Senator McCarthy organization was James T. Dunn of Fairhaven, Mass. who is one of the owners of the Standard-Times.

Eliminating Foreign Aid:

The New Bedford Standard-Times has been generally against foreign aid but it is not a major issue with Brewer.

Eliminating Income Tax:

There has been little or no editorial comment on this in the Standard-Times, but the newspaper has given considerable space in support of former Governor Brakka Lee of Utah and T. Coleman Andrews.

T V A:

No special interest noted in Standard-Times.

more

I am adding a few categories that you did not list:

Brewer was a strong supporter of Taft; promoted the For America organization in his newspaper columns and strongly attacked the United Nations. The Standard-Times was one of two New England newspapers which editorialized for the celebration of U. S. Day instead of U. N. on October 23rd.

The Standard-Times editorial page publishes the daily efforts of Pegler, Holmes Alexander, David Lawrence and Sokolsky. Every now and then there appears a column by Walter Lippman. I am told that Lippman is carried when his column coincides with the thinking of Brewer.

On the positive side:

Brewer gives considerable space in the Standard-Times to reporting Jewish social events, backing the United Jewish Appeal and in support of Israel. For some time the Jews in New Bedford were not too sure of Brewer when it came to the subject of Israel, but the moment that Nasser came under the domination of the Soviet, Brewer moved way over onto the side of Israel. He is a mortal enemy of Communism and Soviet Russia and thus became the natural ally of Israel.

His support of the UJA and other Jewish charities has been called to my attention. He also makes an annual gift of $1000 to the New Bedford UJA drive.

In recent weeks he has editorialized favorably on the promotion of Hyman Rickover, the UJA and the naming of Louis L. Strauss to a top cabinet post by Eisenhower.

I have attached a photostatic copy of a recent Standard-Times editorial that will give you a pretty good picture of the extremist and ultra-reactionary viewpoint of Mr. Brewer. It is entitled "America First -- Why Not?" and supports the American Legion platform adopted at their ~~annual~~ national convention this year and attacks the Providence Journal for needling the Legion and its endeavors.

IZ/gg

cc: Alex Miller
Arnold Forster
Murray Friedman
Irwin Schulman

Sunday Standard-Times

NEW BEDFORD, MASS.

Stan. ... Founded 1850 Times Founded 1902

Consolidated 1932

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 14 1958

Entered at New Bedford Post Office as second class matter. Published every Sunday at 2 Market Street, New Bedford. Telephone WY 5-7411.

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AMERICA FIRST—WHY NOT?

The American Legion, assembled in national convention at Chicago, approved a number of pro-American resolutions that reflect the patriotism and anti-Communism for which the Legion is well known.

It is nothing short of amazing that the Providence Journal gave the Legionnaires a verbal spanking for their resolutions, in an editorial entitled, "The Legion Convention Again Proves a Sorry Show."

The Journal noted that "the Communists took a fearful drubbing at this Legion convention, as they usually do." After telling what some of the resolutions were, the Journal concluded: "All in all, it was a mixed bag—an assortment of resolutions stretching from questionable or pointless positions on high policy down to ridiculous positions on matters of little consequence."

What stands did the Legion take to evoke such a stern editorial indictment in the Providence Journal? Here they are:

The Legion urged "a halt to any cutbacks in the defense program" and called on Congress "to again give the United States the greatest military strength of any nation in the world."

It proposed curbs on the Supreme Court to prevent the court from "assuming the role of legislative policy maker."

The Legion suggested that Congress investigate "help and assistance" reportedly given to Communists and subversive organizations by the American Civil Liberties Union.

It opposed Federal aid to public education;

Opposed efforts to "weaken, destroy or repeal" the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act;

Praised J. Edgar Hoover and asked Congress for new laws to protect confidential information in FBI files;

Cited the late Senator McCarthy as "a real American whose vindication is brought about by the events of our own era;"

Condemned the Board of Education of Bristol Township in Pennsylvania for naming a proposed high school after J. Robert Oppenheimer, the nuclear scientist who was declared a "security risk" by the Atomic Energy Commission in 1954 and denied further access to classified Government information.

The Legion supported the Bricker Amendment to prevent an international treaty or agreement from becoming law in the United States without the passage of legislation by Congress;

Condemned Egyptian President Nasser as "a Soviet tool;"

Opposed "peaceful co-existence" with any Communist nation;

Supported the landing of U. S. troops in Lebanon;

Urged continued U. S. support of Chiang Kai-shek's Chinese Nationalist Government;

Opposed U. S. recognition or a UN seat for Communist China;

Called for an end of U. S. foreign aid to India's Nehru, who consistently sides with the Communists against the West.

It is difficult to understand how the Providence Journal considers these resolutions "questionable," "pointless" or "ridiculous."

The American Legion deserves public applause for taking forthright stands in the national interest on important issues at home and abroad.

The country needs more individuals and organizations—like the Legion—that stand firmly for America first and are proud of it.

ADL

SOUTHEASTERN OFFICE
41 Exchange Pl., S. E., Atlanta 3, Ga.

For your information

11/12

Harold Fleming

Add to your file!

Art Levin

File

NEW ENGLAND REGIONAL OFFICE

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

of B'NAI B'RITH

72 Franklin Street, Suite 504, Boston 10, Mass.

Memorandum

To: Art Levin

From: Iz Zack

Date: November 10, 1958

Subject:

Add the attached to your file on the New Bedford Standard-Times. It is a page one editorial bearing the signature of Basil Brewer, the publisher, and it appeared in the Standard-Times on November 6, 1958. It certainly underlines Brewer's pro-Taft feelings.

IZ/gg

att.

13

The S
World News
Forty-Four Pages N

on Seeks

Poor Ike!

(An Editorial)

The seeds which ripened in the Democratic landslide of Tuesday were sowed at Chicago in July 1952, when the principles of the Republican Party, which had guided it for 100 years, were abandoned—when Taft was crucified and Eisenhower was nominated by a series of devices and deals—only now beginning to be understood.

Henry Cabot Lodge boasted that he and Herbert Brownell had schemed out the plan to charge Taft with thievery and fraud, in connection with securing the support of the Southern delegates. This was told gleefully by Lodge in a front-page story in the Boston Herald, by publisher Robert Choate, the Sunday morning following the '52 Republican convention.

The overtones were the masked hoodlums in front of the Convention hall bearing banners "stop thief," finally suppressed by police.

What Cabot Lodge did not boast of, or tell of, were the secret trades by which Nixon was named Vice-President, as part-pay for support by the California delegation and by which Warren was promised "the next Supreme Court vacancy" as payment for his voting the California delegation for the "rule" as proposed by Republican National Committeewoman Katherine Howard of Massachusetts.

This was the "rule" by which all delegates whose credentials were challenged, for whatever reason, were disfranchised, a rule unprecedented in the history of the Republican Party.

So headlong was this conspiracy that the entire Taft delegation of 30 from Texas was unseated, when only 18 had been challenged.

Of course Ike was a mere pawn in this cynical and fraudulent conspiracy. Innocent in his knowledge of the schemes of his supporters, he was equally innocent of any convictions as to party.

This was showed when, in his whole campaign of '52, he seldom if ever mentioned the name of the Republican Party of which he was standard-bearer.

In fact, not once in his 1953 inaugural address did he mention the name of the Republican Party.

It was, of course, no hardship to Ike when the American people presented him with a Democratic Congress in 1954 and again in 1956, though re-electing Eisenhower in 1956 by a tremendous majority.

So scant was Ike's knowledge of Republican principles, that he early fell for the idea it was his duty to "reform the Republican Party," giving it a new name, after 100 years, the "Modern Republican" party.

It was the political child who had not learned arithmetic, determining to rewrite the rules to indicate that 2-plus-2 no longer made 4.

Then something happened, which was unmistakable.

"Modern Republicanism" wasn't going over.

Moreover, there were sinister rumblings over the country—

following the '52 Republican convention.

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It was the political child who had not learned arithmetic, determining to rewrite the rules to indicate that 2-plus-2 no longer made 4.

Then something happened, which was unmistakable.

"Modern Republicanism" wasn't going over.

Moreover, there were sinister rumblings over the country—something about a Democratic landslide. Not only was "Modern Republicanism" not working, but ALL Republicans, especially candidates, were becoming gravely concerned.

The Supreme Court, led by Chief Justice Warren, was freeing Communists right and left. Only patriotic Americans, who wanted the Communists controlled, were suspect.

The Supreme Court became legislative rather than judicial.

The "deal", by which Warren became Supreme Court justice, had spawned a completely "new deal" in Supreme Court jurisprudence.

This could be best described as the presumption that the Government as prosecutor in law-enforcement—was wrong until proved right—which almost never took place in Communist cases.

The rumblings became louder; they even attracted the attention of the White House cabinet, which Ike had described as made up largely of "those who first thought I might be qualified to be President."

Whether it was coincident with Malcolm Moos being selected to help the President in speech-making, or otherwise, the name Republican commenced to appear frequently in the President's speeches.

Democrats commenced to be charged as "radicals" (as if Ike recently had discovered this phenomenon!) Great crowds greeted the President and party workers, and Republican candidates commenced to be cheered.

But something was, of course, wrong with this picture.

The Republican Party couldn't suddenly have become so important in the Fall of '58, when it was not worth even mentioning in the Inaugural of 1953.

Increasingly the President insisted "his" party was the party of "moderation," the Democratic Party was the party of radicalism.

But whoever heard of any large segment of the public voting for anything so sexless as moderation—and whoever heard of "radicalism" being cured by calling it radicalism?

Besides, the President's heart was not in it.

He knew the Democrat leaders in Congress too well. He liked them almost as well, perhaps better than Republicans. These Democrat leaders openly twitted the President THEY had supported his program "even better than the Republicans." In truth, many of the Eisenhower policies, such as staggering foreign aid and reciprocal trade, were more nearly Democratic than Republican.

Just about Halloween time the President's "Republican" anti-Democratic campaign came to a crescendo. Great crowds greeted Ike wherever he spoke. Stricken candidates took more hope.

But it was Ike's personal popularity which was being smiled upon. Also the people saw through the Halloween masque which he and Moos had manufactured.

It amused them, and they gave Ike "E" for effort as they wended their way to the polls to pile up the biggest Democratic landslide in the history of the Republic.

* * * *

And, as if to call quits to the comedy, Ike was asked Wednesday "if he expected to have additional trouble during the next two years dealing with (Democratic) Congress?"

He answered "not at all," adding he always has managed to get along pretty well with Congress, which has been Democratic, except for the first two years of the Eisenhower administration.

Well, why shouldn't Ike get along with a Democratic Congress?

It took him a long time to decide whether he was a Democrat or a Republican.

Knowing little of the principles of either party, he very well may still be undecided as to whether he is a Republican or a Democrat.

And with it all, Ike is so innocent.

Poor Ike!

BASIL BREWER

NEW ENGLAND REGIONAL OFFICE
ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
of B'NAI B'RITH
72 Franklin Street, Suite 504, Boston 10, Mass.

To Harold Fleming

Memorandum

To: Art Levin

From: Iz Zack

Date: December 5, 1958

Subject:

I had an opportunity this past week to speak to some of the Negro leaders in New Bedford, Mass. regarding their inaction on the matter of the Simmons series on Little Rock as published in the New Bedford Standard-Times. Everyone I spoke to blamed the local NAACP leadership which has now been replaced.

I established the fact that the Colored population in New Bedford was very disturbed by the Simmons articles, although no letters of protest were sent to the Standard-Times and there was no organized protest by the Colored community.

One Negro attorney told me that his people had failed miserably in handling this situation in the Standard-Times which is known to the Colored population of New Bedford as "The South Carolina Gazette". With the change in NAACP leadership, there will be organized protests against the Standard-Times' pro-segregation policy.

IZ/gg
cc: Alex Miller
George Levenson
Dr. Albert Soifer
Walter Carrington

13

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT:

Gentry, S. L.
P. O. Drawer 429
Sumter, S. C.

REGARDING:

Ltr. of request for info. regarding CCD and SRC's relationship with it; also names and addresses of other organizations connected with CCD.

DATE
March 3, 1959

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT:

Criticisms - "Defense Materials"
See also: Attachment - Thermofaxed ltr. from Gentry to Virginius Dabney, Richmond Times-Dispatch dtd. 10/3/58.

ADL

SOUTHEASTERN OFFICE
41 Exchange Pl., S. E., Atlanta 3, Ga.

For your information

Harold Fleming

Any other way in which we can be of help? Yuk.

Art Levin

RECEIVED MAY 12 1959

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
OF B'NAI B'RITH
515 Madison Avenue — Suite 300
New York 22, N. Y.

MEMORANDUM

To: Art Levin

From: Alex Miller

Date: May 7, 1959

Subject:

Please note the attached which I have just received from Iz Zack. Please share this with Harold Fleming. He may desire to write a letter to the New Bedford Standard Times giving the true facts.

AFM/jls
Att.
cc: Iz Zack

Alex

HENRY EDWARD SCHULTZ
National Chairman

BENJAMIN R. EPSTEIN
National Director

167

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH
72 Franklin Street, Boston 10, Mass. LIberty 2-4977

For your information

to: Alex Miller:

Instead of retracting on their Simons series about the Southern Regional Council, the New Bedford Standard Times hit the Richmond Times-Dispatch for apologizing. The attached letter reprinted in the Congressional Record of April 27 may be of interest to your friend at the Council.

Iz Zack

sovereign. That structure imposed standards which I like to think are just a bit higher, go a bit further, in protecting the individual from the possibility of arbitrary or capricious acts.

On a more practical note, it is interesting to look back on the action taken by the Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization following the decision of the Supreme Court in *Jay v. Boyd*. That happened to be a case argued by me for the Government and by our friend Will Maslow as amicus curiae for the petitioner. In a 5 to 4 decision the Court sustained the use of confidential information in connection with the Attorney General's discretionary power to suspend deportation, under certain circumstances, of aliens otherwise deportable. The funny thing was that after the hullabaloo was all over the Commissioner of Immigration, a man of courage and fair instincts, met the still lingering problem head on and took steps to abolish, for all practical purposes, the use of the device in this area. A recent check with the Commissioner's office reveals that no case presently exists in which resort to the use of such information was found necessary to a decision. My point is that not only may the damage that can be done to individual liberties under such procedures be all out of proportion to the needs of the security that we seek to safeguard, but the corollary is also true, namely, that the advances we make in the safeguarding of individual liberties, however small, do much to strengthen the foundation of our liberties and, often to our surprise, do not result in any shocking impairment of our safety and security.

There will always be disagreement with the work of the Supreme Court. The Court does not labor in a vacuum. We may support the Court's conclusions, or we may oppose them. We are of course secure in our right to approve decisions of the Court only insofar as others are secure in their right to criticize them. But there is a difference between criticism and ignoble attack. The Supreme Court is a naked institution. The Constitution has provided it with no means of enforcing its decisions; its effectiveness as an institution and as a constituent element of our system of government rests entirely upon the voluntary acceptance of its decrees by other elements of government and by the people. Disagreement with the Court's decrees will not enfeeble its institutional strength. But disagreement coupled with broadside attacks upon the institution itself or upon the character or purpose of the justices will surely erode the institution at its base.

We, who by reason of training or office are in positions of public responsibility, have a duty to expose the destructiveness of any attempt to weaken the Judiciary as an institution. Particularly in times of stress we cannot risk the loosening of our strongest bulwark against any tyranny, namely, our Constitution and the fundamental liberties embodied in it. Without a strong and independent Judiciary the weakening of both our individual liberties and our national security will surely result.

Southern Regional Council

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN BELL WILLIAMS

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, April 10, 1959

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include the following letter from Mr. Charles J. Lewin, editor and general manager, the Standard-Times, New Bedford, Mass.:

THE STANDARD-TIMES,
New Bedford, Mass., April 1, 1959.

Congressman JOHN BELL WILLIAMS,
House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN WILLIAMS: On March 2, 1959, an editorial which had been published in the Richmond Times-Dispatch was introduced into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, page A1647.

The Times-Dispatch editorial challenged the accuracy of certain statements in a 1958 series of articles written by Mr. Edward B. Simmons of the New Bedford Standard-Times and republished in the Times-Dispatch.

We would appreciate it if you would publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD this substantiation of the accuracy of the statements made in the Standard-Times articles.

The Times-Dispatch described as inaccurate a statement that the Southern Regional Council was an "offshoot" of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. It also challenged the accuracy of the statement that "the Communist Daily Worker openly boasted that James E. Jackson, chief of the southern branch of the Communist Party, was a cofounder of the regional council."

These statements in the Standard-Times articles were in no way inaccurate.

Papers of incorporation of the regional council and the latest listing of officers and directors of the organization (April 1957 listing was latest at time articles were written) show the following:

"Three of the five persons listed as incorporators of the Southern Regional Council had been active in the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. One had been a member of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare's executive board, and a second incorporator was a member of its southern council.

Three top officers of the Southern Regional Council, as of April 1957, had been affiliated with the Southern Conference for Human Welfare: the president, a vice president, and the chairman of the executive committee.

Fourteen members of the Southern Regional Council's board of directors, as listed in April 1957, had been affiliated with the Southern Conference for Human Welfare.

Thirteen members of the Southern Regional Council's board of directors, as listed in April 1957, were or are affiliated with the Southern Conference Educational Fund. This latter organization was identified by the U.S. Senate Internal Security Subcommittee as "operating with substantially the same leadership and purposes as its predecessor, the Southern Conference for Human Welfare."

Twelve former directors of the Southern Regional Council had been affiliated with the Southern Conference for Human Welfare.

In summary, then, three incorporators of record, three of the top officers and a total of 39 interlocking directorships link the Southern Regional Council with the Southern Conference for Human Welfare and its lineal descendant, the Southern Conference Educational Fund.

As to the statement about James E. Jackson, the Communist Daily Worker of December 1, 1954, stated on page 6, that Jackson "participated in the formation and building of * * * the Southern Regional Council and many other movements which in any important way challenged the status quo of Negro oppression and southern social backwardness."

The Times-Dispatch editorial conceded that "a James E. Jackson" attended the meeting of "leaders" that led to formation of the Southern Regional Council. Both James E. Jacksons are one and the same.

We would emphasize that the purpose of the Standard-Times articles was not to expose a particular individual or organization. However, we feel that the cause of racial harmony and justice is best served when the qualifications and background of all who are active in racial matters are open to public inspection.

If it is desired, we can substantiate all of the above information by photostated documentation.

Yours sincerely,

CHARLES J. LEWIN,
Editor and General Manager.

Soviet Publications in Japan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BARRATT O'HARA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 16, 1959

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I am extending my remarks to include an article by Mitsuru Uchida that I recommend to the reading of my colleagues who may not have been alerted to the intense campaign the Soviet is making to capture the minds of the younger generation in Japan by the printed word.

Recently I spoke at length on the classics of democracy program, which is meeting the Soivet challenge by translating into many languages. The classics of democracy that inspired our forefathers and making them available in inexpensive editions. I have spoken also in support of the information media program that enables American publishers to distribute American books in foreign countries by furnishing a means of converting local currencies into American dollars.

Nothing could more convincingly picture the necessity of these programs than Mr. Uchida's factual presentment of what the Soviet is doing in his native Japan. Mr. Uchida has a master's degree from Waseda University in Japan. He is preparing for his doctor's degree, and is now in the United States as a congressional intern in the program sponsored by the American Political Service Association. Up to the Easter recess he was a member of my congressional staff, I might add a most valuable member, who did the little chores and performed the important assignments with equal willingness and grace. He is serving the remainder of his congressional internship in the other body. His article follows:

COMMUNIST PUBLICATION ACTIVITIES IN JAPAN

(By Mitsuru Uchida)

Before the end of the war, Communist activities were strictly outlawed in Japan. In those days, therefore, its propaganda activities were carried inevitably in a clandestine, underground fashion, mostly through the printed word. Communist and leftist books, magazines, pamphlets, etc., were then surreptitiously distributed by secret party members and sympathizers.

It was partly due to the high rate of literacy among the Japanese people that the Communist Party could rely so much upon these kinds of communication channels for its propaganda. But it was also due to the fact that the party, under such difficult con-

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ADL

SOUTHEASTERN OFFICE
41 Exchange Pl., S. E., Atlanta 3, Ga.

For your information

9/8

Harold Fleming

Personal & Confidential

Regards

Art Levin

New Bedford Times File

New England Regional Office
ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE of B'nai B'rith
72 Franklin St.
Boston 10, Mass.

Alex Miller

Is Zack

September 4, 1959

On September 3 I was in New Bedford, Mass., for a luncheon meeting with the editor of the New Bedford Standard-Times, Mr. Charles Lewin. The meeting had been arranged by two members of the New Bedford Lodge of B'nai B'rith ADL Committee, Mr. Hyman Krivoff and Mr. George Levenson.

One of the matters that was taken up at this meeting was the Simmons series published last year in the Standard-Times on the subject of "The Aftermath of Little Rock". You will recall that this series was later reprinted in half a dozen newspapers in the South.

When I pointed out to Mr. Lewin that at least the Richmond Times Dispatch had come out with a retraction after using the series, Mr. Lewin stated that the Standard-Times had seen no reason to retract and they are still of the opinion that there are "Communists in the leadership" of the Southern Regional Council.

I pointed out that the second article in the series had used in its lead a direct quote from the Israel Cohen hoax. Lewin admitted that they had determined the origin of this material too late to do anything about it and they saw no reason for printing a retraction where only three paragraphs of the entire five article series were in question.

I am giving you this item so that it can be included in the files as a matter of record indicating that the Standard-Times now admits the use of the Israel Cohen material in the Simmons series but refuses to acknowledge this fact in a retraction.

During our further conversations, Lewin stated that the New Bedford Standard-Times is a states rights newspaper; that the publisher is against laws which "force a man to sell his property to a Negro even though he may not desire to do so," and "we are a fighting anti-Communist newspaper".

During the course of my conversation with Lewin he indicated to me that he has a reporter in his employ on the Standard-Times named Jacob Epstein who has been with him for quite a few years. He states that this man is related to "one of the big people in your New York office" and this reporter told him that the national office of the ADL has a file on the New Bedford Standard-Times about a foot thick. (?)

more

(Lewin, who has resisted my attempt to place ADL Bulletin materials in the columns of the Standard-Times, must now be trying to win friends among the Jews in the New Bedford community. In the Sunday edition of the Standard-Times on August 30, he gave almost a half a page of space for the reprint of the Arnold Forster ADL Bulletin article "The Ultimate Cruelty".)

IZ/gg

13

cc: Arnold Forster
Art Levin
Milt Ellerin

The Standard-Times
NEW BEDFORD, MASS.
Standard Founded 1850 Times Founded 1907
Consolidated 1932

SATURDAY, JANUARY 2, 1960

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LAWLER'S YEAR

A principal yardstick for measuring a community's progress in any 12-month period, forward or backward, must necessarily be found in the program of its government. This is because there can be no program of any kind without governmental leadership.

It is appropriate, therefore, to measure what New Bedford has accomplished in 1959 in terms of what the administration of Mayor Lawler—with the cooperation of a majority of the citizenry—has produced. Major among these achievements are:

1. A $2 reduction of the city's tax rate, in a period during which most municipalities increased their tax rates.

2. Creation of two additional off-street parking sites, one in the Center, the other in the North End, as partial remedies for a critically-important traffic problem.

3. Acquisition of a second industry for the Industrial Park, a firm which now is constructing a $200,000 building to house its operations here.

4. Construction of a new branch library in Buttonwood Park.

5. Establishment of a Wage Reclassification Board to study the compensation of municipal employes.

6. Hiring of a permanent city planner, one of the purposes being to institute a much-needed urban renewal program.

Most of a community's projects, as with these various steps forward, involve continuing demands. To stop with the initial action is to nullify its positive effect in large measure.

Thus, there still are major tasks ahead for the next year, several closely related to what already has been done.

These include:

1. Continuing effort toward industrial development. The mayor has set a goal by commenting, "By 1961, I hope to see at least six industries housed in the Industrial Park."

2. Measurable progress in waterfront improvement, which has lagged, with particularly emphasis on creating expanded facilities for the port's crowded fishing industry.

psychology as interpreted by a non-American Socialist.

It is worth noting that the law which the Warren majority overturned did not authorize segregation, but merely established the principle that if segregation existed, there must be an equality of service and facilities provided, in every respect.

Political, rather than legal dicta, apparently influenced the Warren-court decision, for no new facts were presented to justify overturning a ruling that had been accepted as law for more than a half-century.

The decision of the court was legislative, not judicial. It was weighted with politics, so much so that one of America's leading newspapers, the Los Angeles Times, referred to the ruling editorially as "doctrinaire, based, not on law, but on sociological precepts."

With regard to integration, The Standard-Times believes that integration can work in the United States as a nation, just as it has worked in New Bedford for many, many years.

If there is any serious question as to whether it has worked here, one has only to compare the political, economic, professional and social status of the non-white in this community today with that of a half-century ago, or even much less.

But such integration is not the result of politics or a court edict. As Dr. A. Whitney Griswold, president of Yale University, said, "This problem (racial integration) will be solved only through education, which, in the long run, will produce peace, quiet and justice."

The Standard-Times is not "anti-integration"; it is "anti-politics" in integration, for politics has no place in charting the course of the relations of one American with another.

THE FROST CHAIRS

Long ago, it was predictable that Robert Frost would be remembered as a gentle and wonderful poet. Now, one is happy to note that he will be remembered for something else, too, something that must be dear to his heart, for, like all poets, he is a lover of the intelligent mind.

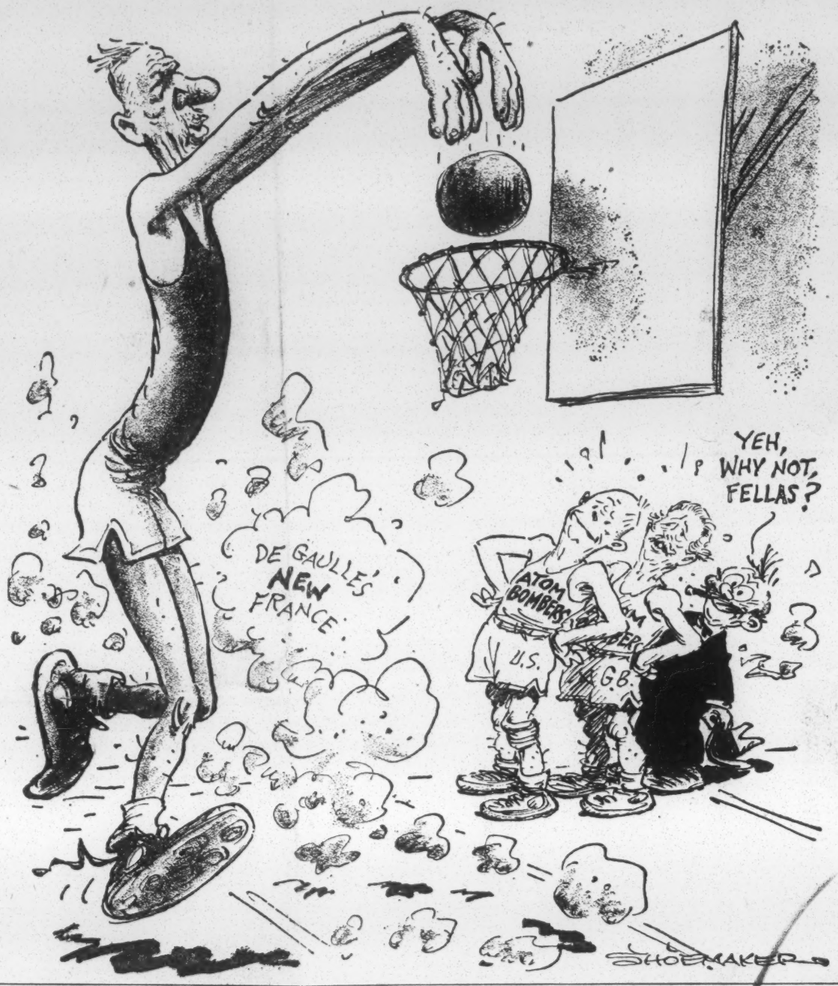
Not that a "new" or changed Frost has emerged. It was he who wrote, "Most of the change we think we see in life is due to truths being in and out of favor."

What has happened is that three Robert Frost chairs of teaching at the Amherst Regional High School are to be endowed by a private group of citizens. The program, designed to recognize and reward outstanding high school teachers (and honor the poet), already has obtained pledges of $75,000 for the endowment of the three chairs.

To be considered, a teacher must be selected from the fields of ancient and modern languages, mathematics, English, history, biology, chemistry or physics, and must have been a teacher at the high school for more than three years.

This development is particularly heart

Say, Maybe He'd Be O.K. on the Team



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Instead of writing resolutions I probably will not keep, I have listed a number of wishes I would love to have come true.

I wish that:

Newspapers would publish more stories like that of Peter Robitaille in The Standard-Times on their front pages because so very often God's gift of sight is taken so lightly.

More people would become Flag wavers more often. During our President's trip abroad, the millions who saw him showed the American [illegible]

ing, all this strife could be avoided.

Last, but not least, I wish everyone a very happy new year, for as the miles between nations become fewer, the need for love of our neighbor becomes greater.

FRANK ALMEIDA
674 Brock Avenue

City Postmaster Grateful to Public

To the Editor of The Standard-Times:

The staff of the New Bedford Post Office wishes to take this opportunity to thank the merchants and general public for the excellent co-operation rendered this office during the past Christmas holiday season. Their help in our "mail early" and "separation of mail" programs enabled the employes of this office to move the mails expeditiously and make all deliveries by Christmas. The public attention given us in the various advertisements of the New Bedford merchants cer-

Criticism of Nixon Evokes NAACP Response

To the Editor of The Standard-Times:

Last year, a series of articles was printed in The Standard-Times linking the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People with the Communist activities in this country. Then on Feb. 17, 1959, an editorial with the same theme was again published.

On Nov. 23, 1959, Basil Brewer, publisher of The Standard-Times, speaking before a "Know Your America Week" audience sponsored by the American Heritage Committee, attacked the Supreme Court for its momentous May 17, 1954 decision on the segregated school. He also attacked Vice-President Nixon for supporting this decision.

Why did Mr. Brewer pick the

Resolutions for Congress

Alexander Suggests Serious Debate on Finance, Appointment for John L. Lewis

B HOLMES ALEXANDER

WASHINGTON, Jan. 1—America, they say, is "vincible" in 1960. It would help us if we made some stick-to-it resolutions, such as:

1. That the 86th Congress, second session, rise up and strike a blow for the reputation of representative government. Every Congress in an election year (and more so in a presidential election year) is under temptation to politicate instead of legislate. The present lawmakers are probably under more pressures than most.

Madly Running

The Senate has agreed to take up a compulsory civil rights bill in February. This means that Northerners and Southerners will feel a political urge to make speeches over the heads of their colleagues to the folks back home. Both House and Senate will be asked to take up labor legislation, which is almost as controversial as civil rights. It will be a session in which you can hardly go through a door on Capitol Hill without colliding with somebody madly running for President or Vice-President.

With all this emotional and political distraction, the 85th Congress will have its character tested. Serious hearings and debates are needed on dull subjects like finance and on deep subjects like defense spending. There is skepticism among the intellectuals as to the continuance of self-government in our complicated age. This Congress has a great chance to show how it's done.

2. That the Senate strike off a medal for political derring-do. An early recipient might be Senator Steve Young (D.-Ohio) who lately exhibited utter disregard for his political safety. He didn't do it, if I may say so about a good friend, in the best of causes. He blasted the American Legion, the Chamber of Commerce and the National Association of Manufacturers—mainly because they disagreed with him. The Hamilton County (Ohio) Council of the Legion objected to Young's being a guest speaker before the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee. This group has a bad reputation for consorting with Communist causes.

The senator's argument, as told to me, was that President Eisenhower had consorted with Khrushchev, so why shouldn't a U. S. senator speak wherever he liked? Sure, why not? But lots of Americans exercised their right to disapprove of Ike's fraternizing with Mr. K. Anybody who doesn't like the company that a public man keeps has a right to say so.

But individualism is one thing which we need to overcome this "vincibility." It's refreshing to find a professional politician like Young saying, "Listen, Buster [illegible]

the Left Wing, as well as the Right.

3. That the proper authorities reserve a niche for a statue to John L. Lewis, the grand old man of the labor movement, who is soon to retire as president of the United Mine Workers. Labor columnist Victor Riesel, who knows Lewis far better than I, has called him "the last giant." Everybody around Washington must recognize that Lewis has been a towering leader and personality. He showed how—if you've got the genius—it's possible to drive a four-in-hand team of natural resources, capitalism, mechanization and collective bargaining down the highway of the 20th Century.

But there's no need to wait for a statue to honor "Big John" and to commemorate his greatness. When he leaves the UMW, President Eisenhower ought to make a special adviser out of Mr. Lewis—not necessarily in the limited field of labor affairs, but in the broad area of national economics. And not mainly as a tribute to Mr. Lewis, but as a means of aiding the country.

They Agree On Duty

4. That the other 49 States find out what's special about the senators from Pennsylvania. The two incumbents, Senators Clark (D.) and Scott (R.), don't necessarily agree on anything except their duty to serve the commonwealth and its people. During the congressional session these two senators, who conceivably could some day be rivals on the national tickets, hold regular television debates, thrashing out public subjects for their constituents. During the congressional recess they toured Japan to study Japanese manufacture and trade, with particular emphasis on goods that might affect Pennsylvania's troubled economy The senators have issued a joint statement on Japan for general use. And by their teamwork they have become well-informed advisers to Pennsylvania importers, exporters and producers. The Keystone State is getting its money's worth from these two men.

Meanwhile, former Senator Edward Martin (D.), whom Scott replaced in the 86th Congress, has written his autobiography, "Always Be on Time." It is the record of a life lived by old-fashioned ideals of public service in war and peace. Senator Martin, who is nearing 80, fought as a private soldier and non-com against the Spanish and later against Filipino insurrectionists at the beginning of the century. He was a regimental commander in the

remedies for a critically-important traffic problem.

3. Acquisition of a second industry for the Industrial Park, a firm which now is constructing a $200,000 building to house its operations here.

4. Construction of a new branch library in Buttonwood Park.

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These include:

1. Continuing effort toward industrial development. The mayor has set a goal by commenting, "By 1961, I hope to see at least six industries housed in the Industrial Park."

2. Measurable progress in waterfront improvement, which has lagged, with particularly emphasis on creating expanded facilities for the port's crowded fishing industry.

3. Undiminishing scrutiny and control of governmental expenditures, with the aim of maintaining businesslike procedure, providing for public needs adequately, preparing for economic growth, and retaining a tax structure that will encourage industries, businesses and individuals.

4. Creation of additional off-street parking facilities, since they are essential to the community's economy.

Goals such as these may not necessarily be achieved in any single year, but a course toward them can be, and should be set, each year, as long as they remain unattained.

New Bedford has made commendable progress in this last year; its people obviously have benefited by such progress and will continue to do so. This fact alone should stimulate efforts of the community and the Lawler administration to make 1960 the outstanding year it deserves to be in terms of New Bedford's advance toward better living.

POLITICS IN INTEGRATION

In the Letters From Our Readers Column on today's editorial page, Duncan A. Dottin, president of the New Bedford Branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, takes exception to criticism of Vice-President Nixon and Chief Justice Earl Warren of the Supreme Court.

What Mr. Dottin really is criticizing is made clear in Paragraph 5 of his letter, when he writes, "It is clear to us that The Standard-Times, as reflected by its editorial page, is anti-integration."

This is not "clear," because it is not so.

The criticism of Nixon was made, not because he is "the most prominent, if not the most distinguished" member of the NAACP, but rather because the motive for his membership obviously is political.

If his motive is other than political, why has Nixon not assumed equally prominent membership in any number of other organizations dedicated to the rights of minority groups? There are several, for example, concerned with the advancement of the American Indian. In the Indian groups, there might not be many votes involved, but their efforts are worthwhile and their needs are great.

Politics also was involved when the Supreme Court rendered its desegregation decision, upsetting a previous ruling of 60 years standing by declaring it unconstitutional. The high-court reversal was led by Chief Justice Earl Warren, who obtained his appointment to the Supreme Court as the result of a political "deal," the terms of which may well have included an understanding on the integration question.

In writing the decision, Warren went so far as to quote a Swedish liberal, Gunnar Myrdal, as an excuse for changing the law, indicating that Warren was not dealing with justice or the gradual development of equality, but rather with tion, for politics has no place in charting the course of the relations of one American with another.

THE FROST CHAIRS

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To be considered, a teacher must be selected from the fields of ancient and modern languages, mathematics, English, history, biology, chemistry or physics, and must have been a teacher at the high school for more than three years.

This development is particularly heart-warming, for it was hardly more than a year ago that Frost deplored the fact that America did not cloak its vitally-necessary high school teachers with sufficient dignity. He said, in effect, "They have chairs at the college level; why not the same prestige, security and incentive for high schools?"

Now it has come to pass, and Southeastern Massachusetts would do well to consider a similar step.

THESE DAYS

Larry Richey

Death of Hoover's Secretary Brings Back Memories

By GEORGE E. SOKOLSKY

The longer one lives, the more often he goes to funerals, but I did not expect to know on a Monday morning that Larry Richey, with whom I spent some hours in Herbert Hoover's apartment on Christmas Day, died gently in an airplane on his way home to Washington on Sunday. The transition was too swift; the surprise too shocking.

Unusual Character

Larry Richey was an unusual character. He was of Italian origin who as a boy was employed by the Secret Service to help track down counterfeiters and smugglers. He was small and could be put in places where his size and quickness were of value. I shall always treasure the many tales he told me of the Black Hand and of the efforts of the New York police to put down this criminal group of kidnapers and murderers. Larry undoubtedly had already learned how to keep his mouth shut when he worked for the Secret Service, but his sense of dog-like loyalty, his profound devotion to Herbert Hoover could not be taught or learned. It was as innate as the nose on his face.

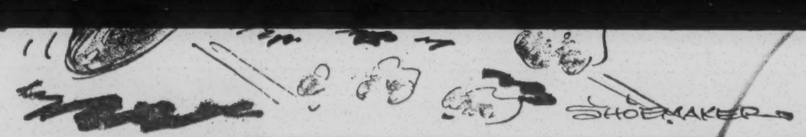
Herbert Hoover has often been accused of not being a keen psychologist in the selection of his associates. But this can be said that those who came close to Herbert Hoover have remained everlastingly loyal to him and that they have remained loyal to each other as well.

Larry Richey came into Hoover's service in 1917 when Hoover was food administrator and remained with him until his death. An intimate friendship developed between these two men, a decade apart in years. Both found their recreation in the outdoors, Hoover being a devotee of fishing and Larry generally going along with him. The association grew increasingly intimate as the years moved on, changing from secretary to close friend and confidant.

He Was With Friends

On Christmas Day, this year, Herbert Hoover invited a number of old friends to call on him. Larry had come up from Washington where he lived. He was gay and full of stories. He saw many of his own old friends. He talked about fishing and hunting and he was as cheerful as anyone there. I had perhaps 20 years ago planned to grow horseradish on my farm in the Berkshires and Larry recalled that and he had all sorts of quips and jests about horseradish. He and the chief, as Herbert Hoover is generally referred to, were planning some fishing trip together.

He had spent his last Christmas with those whom he loved most. Can any man ask for more?



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I wish that:

Newspapers would publish more stories like that of Peter Robitaille in The Standard-Times on their front pages because so very often God's gift of sight is taken so lightly.

More people would become Flag wavers more often. During our President's trip abroad, the millions who saw him showed the American people how to use the flag.

People would apply the Golden Rule oftener to their daily lives.

A better understanding could exist between labor and management, because after arbitration or strikes, a solution always appears. With complete understanding, all this strife could be avoided.

Last, but not least, I wish everyone a very happy new year, for as the miles between nations become fewer, the need for love of our neighbor becomes greater.

FRANK ALMEIDA
674 Brock Avenue

City Postmaster Grateful to Public

To the Editor of The Standard-Times:

The staff of the New Bedford Post Office wishes to take this opportunity to thank the merchants and general public for the excellent co-operation rendered this office during the past Christmas holiday season. Their help in our "mail early" and "separation of mail" programs enabled the employes of this office to move the mails expeditiously and make all deliveries by Christmas. The public attention given us in the various advertisements of the New Bedford merchants certainly resulted in improved service to the public.

On behalf of the entire postal employes' staff and myself, I wish every patron a very happy and prosperous new year.

JOHN J. GOBELL
Postmaster,
New Bedford Post Office

Criticism of Nixon Evokes NAACP Response

To the Editor of The Standard-Times:

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On Nov. 23, 1959, Basil Brewer, publisher of The Standard-Times, speaking before a "Know Your America Week" audience sponsored by the American Heritage Committee, attacked the Supreme Court for its momentous May 17, 1954 decision on the segregated school. He also attacked Vice-President Nixon for supporting this decision.

Why did Mr. Brewer pick the Vice-President and Supreme Court Chief Justice Warren? He had a multitude of names from which he could have chosen. Maybe there is a clue. In the Nov. 21, 1959 Standard-Times we learned that Mr. Brewer criticized William Loeb, publisher of the Manchester Union Leader, for endorsing Vice-President Nixon for the Republican nomination for President in 1960. Was this because Mr. Nixon "is perhaps the most prominent, if not the most distinguished, member of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People?" Or was it because "Nixon was one of the most important factors in defeating your and my efforts for Taft's nomination in the 1952 Republican convention?" According to Mr. Brewer, Chief Justice Warren was linked with this "conspiracy."

Now we learn from Taft's memorandum that his defeat was due to New York financial interests and a majority of the press.

Does this mean that Mr. Brewer and The Standard-Times will be factual in regards to the NAACP et al? Not likely. It is clear to us that The Standard-Times, as reflected by its editorial page, is anti-integration.

While the New Bedford Branch of the NAACP is non-partisan and goes on record as not supporting Vice-President Nixon or any other candidate, it seems to us that Mr. Brewer intends to attack any public figure who is in accord with the principles of the NAACP. If this is so, Mr. Brewer has many targets. We offer him the names of Richard Cardinal Cushing, FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover, and former Senator Herbert Lehman, among others.

DUNCAN A. DOTTIN
President, New Bedford Branch, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
431 Mill Street

The 'Burden' of Extra Pay

By INEZ ROBB

Before me, on my desk, huddles tangible evidence of the complications of modern civilization. It is an apologetic letter from my employer, a patient gentleman who does his best to keep me happy and producing in the vineyard. He is terribly upset because he is forced to pay me, in the calendar year 1959 for 54 weeks of "merl and terl" instead of the conventional 52. What distresses him so deeply is not any distaste for parting with money. Not at all.

2 Extra Weeks

What worries him is the fear that I am going to be furious on receipt of this extra swag. He anticipates that I shall be sore as a boil, not because it will boost my income, but because it will kite my income tax returns!

And yet there is no way out of this dread predicament, as he points out in his letter.

"Before the close of the year, we plan to issue you another biweekly check," the letter timidly states. "This check will be dated Dec. 31, 1959, and will be for the two weeks ending Jan. 2, 1960.

"With this check of Dec. 31, you will have received 27 checks during the year 1959, for a total of 54 weeks of compensation, which will increase your income and, naturally, your income tax.

"Since the normal 26 checks per year for 52 weeks totals 364 days and a calendar year is 365 days or sometimes 366 days, it is evident that once during a certain number of years there is no escape from the fact that 27 checks will be issued, as will be the case in 1959.

"If the other alternative had been followed, that is, of issuing your next check on Jan. 4, 1960, the result would have been merely to defer the 27 payroll disbursements into 1960 instead of 1959." So ends the letter on a final note of despair.

Well, sir, I want to hasten to assure my employer that I ain't mad at nobody. Truth to tell, I can hardly wait to get my greedy hands on that 27th check. Let Uncle Sam take his chance with the regular Christmas creditors, is my motto. First come, first served.

As that great American philosopher, Joe E. Lewis, keeps saying, "Money is good for the nerves." Certainly, there is no other season of the year when the nerves are more sorely in need of such soothing syrup than during the holidays. Despite credit cards, money is a very essential item. Far from being angry over a 27th check in 1959, I am practically delirious with joy.

There is only one item in my employer's letter that leaves me with a question. He writes: "It is evident that once during a certain number of years, there is no escape from the fact that 27 checks will be issued." What I want to know is this: When is the very next time I can't hope to escape?

A Little More Pay

The only sad situation that this predicament exposes is the indubitable fact that the present Federal tax structure so penalizes workers for added income that a little more pay in the envelope or a windfall is a matter of dread to the individual and of apology on the part of the employer.

It is the same stupid situation that penalizes the man or woman, on Social Security and under 72 years of age, who dares earn more than $1,200 annually. Or the young widow with children, on Social Security, who cannot supplement it with more than $1,200 of earned income every year.

It's crazy.

Even so, Uncle Sam is welcome to his share of that 27th check in 1959. As for my darling employer, all I can say, in poker parlance, is, "Hit me again!"

Just Folks

By EDGAR A. GUEST

A PRAYER

Dear Lord, look down on us today,
Where little children romp and play
And let their hearts be glad.
Let no one feel that life is grim;
Let no one's eyes with tears be dim,
Let no one's life be sad.

With those in sorrow, Lord, we pray,
Be constantly this Winter day,
And give them strength to bear
The aching heart, the bitter grief;
Support them now in the belief
That justice is their share.

And O, dear Lord, watch o'er the weak,
Restore the bloom to every cheek
And guard them from above.
Let age be spared from loneliness;
We ask no more, we ask no less,
Crown every home with love.

(Copyright, 1960, by the George Matthew Adams Service)

Subscription by Mail

New Bedford Standard-Times, 1 year, $20.00; 6 months, $10.00; 3 months, $5.00; 1 month, $1.70; 1 week, 40 cents.

New Bedford Standard-Times Cape Edition, 1 year, $15.00; 6 months, $7.50; 3 months, $3.75; 1 month, $1.25.

New Bedford Standard-Times (Cape Edition) with The Cape Cod Standard-Times, 1 year, $20.00; 6 months, $10.00; 3 months, $5.00; 1 month, $1.70; 1 week, 40 cents.

New Bedford Standard-Times (Wareham Edition) with The Cape Cod Standard-Times, 1 year, $20.00; 6 months, $10.00; 3 months, $5.00; 1 month, $1.70; 1 week, 40 cents.

Sunday Standard-Times, 1 year, $10.00; 6 months, $5.00; 3 months, $2.50; 1 month, (4 Sundays), 80 cents; single copy, 20 cents.

Sunday Standard-Times (Cape Edition), 1 year, $10.00; 6 months, $5.00; 3 months, $2.50; 1 month (4 Sundays), 80 cents; single copy, 20 cents.

Subscription by Carrier

New Bedford Standard-Times, 42 cents a week.

New Bedford Standard-Times and Sunday Standard-Times, 62 cents a week.

New Bedford Standard-Times (Cape Edition) in combination with The Cape Cod Standard-Times in Barnstable County, 42 cents a week.

New Bedford Stadnard-Times (Wareham Edition) in combination with the Cape Cod Standard-Times in the Town of Wareham in Plymouth County), 42 cents a week.

The Cape Cod Standard-Times, New Bedford Standard-Times and Sunday Standard-Times (Cape Edition) in Barnstable County and Town of Wareham in Plymouth County, 62 cents a week.

Subscribers will confer a favor if they will notify the publisners of any irregularities or delays in deliveries.

in our complicated age. This Congress has a great chance to show how it's done.

2. That the Senate strike off a medal for political derring-do. An early recipient might be Senator Steve Young (D.-Ohio) who lately exhibited utter disregard for his political safety. He didn't do it, if I may say so about a good friend, in the best of causes. He blasted the American Legion, the Chamber of Commerce and the National Association of Manufacturers—mainly because they disagreed with him. The Hamilton County (Ohio) Council of the Legion objected to Young's being a guest speaker before the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee. This group has a bad reputation for consorting with Communist causes.

The senator's argument, as told to me, was that President Eisenhower had consorted with Khrushchev, so why shouldn't a U. S. senator speak wherever he liked? Sure, why not? But lots of Americans exercised their right to disapprove of Ike's fraternizing with Mr. K. Anybody who doesn't like the company that a public man keeps has a right to say so.

But individualism is one thing which we need to overcome this "vincibility." It's refreshing to find a professional politician like Young saying, "Listen, Buster . . ." to a powerful organization like the Legion. Commendation is due the politico who knows no fear of the pressure groups. Only next time, maybe Steve Young will prove he's a two-fisted puncher. The Senate should offer to add an oak leaf cluster on the medal for senators who dare blast ators Clark (D.) and Scott (R.), don't necessarily agree on anything except their duty to serve the commonwealth and its people. During the congressional session these two senators, who conceivably could some day be rivals on the national tickets, hold regular television debates, thrashing out public subjects for their constituents. During the congressional recess they toured Japan to study Japanese manufacture and trade, with particular emphasis on goods that might affect Pennsylvania's troubled economy The senators have issued a joint statement on Japan for general use. And by their teamwork they have become well-informed advisers to Pennsylvania importers, exporters and producers. The Keystone State is getting its money's worth from these two men.

Meanwhile, former Senator Edward Martin (D.), whom Scott replaced in the 86th Congress, has written his autobiography, "Always Be on Time." It is the record of a life lived by old-fashioned ideals of public service in war and peace. Senator Martin, who is nearing 80, fought as a private soldier and non-com against the Spanish and later against Filipino insurrectionists at the beginning of the century. He was a regimental commander in the toughest combat of World War I. He trained the 28th Division as its commanding general in early World War II. In civilian life he was elected 18 times without defeat to public office, serving both as governor and senator. What's Pennsylvania got that the other States don't have?

Biggest Oil Rush Since '30s

Boom Is Predicted for Libya as 15 Companies Prepare to Spend $200,000,000

By EDWARD WAKIN

(Edward Wakin, a New York newspaperman and lecturer whose specialty is the Middle East and the United Nations, has covered first-hand most of the major stories in those areas during recent years. His articles have been widely syndicated and have appeared in various national magazines.)

Worldwide repercussions in oil diplomacy and in Middle Eastern power politics are in the making in the makeshift North African country of Libya. United Nations sources reveal that the timetable governing oil concessions in Libya will force the hand of foreign companies prospecting for oil during the coming year. As a result, 10 U. S. and five European companies will gamble up to $200,000,000 in 1960 on what is expected to be the biggest rush since the Middle East struck oil in the 1930s.

A Big Rush

According to diplomatic sources, here are the ingredients of trouble on which oil is about to be poured:

The U. S. Air Force's 12,000-man Wheelus Field in western Libya is the object of strong anti-Western feelings.

Libya's eastern neighbor, Egypt, is agitating the nationalists and has designs on Libyan oil resources.

King Idris I, who has managed to hold together an unnatural merger of the three Libyan provinces, is 70, and his potential successor looks too weak to carry on the strong-willed king's regime.

A serious threat to the position of Middle Eastern oil on the world market and to the strategic importance of the Suez Canal is an inevitable consequence of oil discoveries in North Africa.

In addition to oil and Wheelus Field, which is the largest U. S. air base outside the United States, the heavy American involvement stems from the subsidy necessary to keep Libya going in the eight years since the former Italian colony became independent. As the result of $100,000,000 from the United States and $70,000,000 from Britain, Libya's 1,100,000 inhabitants have received the highest per capita foreign aid in the world.

While an army of U. S. technicians has come to aid Libyan development, Egypt has followed its familiar pattern of sending schoolteachers, backed up by the propaganda of Radio Cairo, to influence nationalist attitudes. Gamal Abdel Nasser is by all odds the darling of the young nationalists who are campaigning against foreigners in Libya.

How long the aging king can keep the lid down is problematical. He is having trouble holding together his unwieldy provinces and even alternates his capital between Benghazi in the province of Cyrenaica and Tripoli in Tripolitania. Along with sparsely-settled Fezzan, the three provinces make Libya twice the size of Texas.

Despite the accompanying dangers of inflation, intervention and upheaval, oil is the only solution for a country whose main products are olive oil, peanuts, esparto grass (for high-grade paper) and camels.

The terms of oil concessions require the foreign companies to surrender one-fourth of their concessions by the end of 1960, which explains the rush to explore every square foot. Understandably, the Government is applying pressure for fast production of oil.

Suez Is Not Needed

Although Europe now obtains 75 to 80 percent of its oil from the Middle East, North African production in Algeria and Libya has a considerable geographic advantage. It is not dependent on the Nasser-controlled Suez Canal and has a major edge in its closeness to the European market.

With a surplus in the world oil market, Libyan oil offers the West greater bargaining power in coping with the rising demand for higher oil royalties in the Middle East and Venezuela.

As the U. S. stake soars in Libya, feeling its nationalism and itching to count oil royalties, the only safe prediction is that the backward, impoverished nation of shepherds and camel drivers is about to land in the middle of international politics.

SPADEA Syndicate, Inc.

Temperatures.

A daily comparison of New Bedford minimum temperatures for the last few years:

	1956	1957	1958	1959
Dec. 28	36	37	33	37
Dec. 29	15	32	40	31
Dec. 30	15	32	25	29
Dec. 31	33	12	26	—
	1957	1958	1959	1960
Jan. 1	8	28	25	—
Jan. 2	10	22	32	—

ADL

SOUTHEASTERN OFFICE
41 Exchange Pl., S. E., Atlanta 3, Ga.

For your information

Harold Fleming

Action - man - action

Oy.

Art Levin

New England Regional Office
ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE of B'nai B'rith
72 Franklin St.
Boston 10, Mass.

PA
ME (file)

Alex Miller

Iz Zack

January 13, 1960

file

standard Times

There has been a change in NAACP leadership at New Bedford, Mass., and at long last we have them delivering a blast at the New Bedford Standard-Times. This is the newspaper that ran the series on the aftermath of Little Rock in August of 1958, which was reprinted in several southern newspapers and which branded the Southern Regional Council as a communist front group.

When this series appeared, the NAACP leadership in New Bedford was very weak. Recently, Duncan A. Dottin took over as the President of the New Bedford Chapter. One of the first things he did was direct a letter to the Standard-Times (copy attached) attacking the Standard-Times for linking the NAACP with communist activities in this country. The Standard-Times printed the letter in its issue of January 2, 1960 and then tried to answer it on the same page with an editorial (copy attached).

IZ/gg

cc: Art Levin

att.

13

Mrs. Richardson Is Installed By Clairmont Heights Club

New officers were installed when the Clairmont Heights Evening Garden Club held its first birthday last week at the home of Mrs. T. M. Sullivan, 1523 Park Lane, Decatur.

Mrs. Curtis M. Hutchinson conducted the installation service for the new officers who are Mrs. Merlyn E. Richardson, President, Mrs. Earl F. Wearstler, First Vice-President; Mrs. T. M. Sullivan, Second Vice-President; Mrs. H. M. Stroud, Recording Secretary; Mrs. R. E. Roberson, Corresponding Secretary; Mrs. Karl E. Hall, Treasurer; Mrs. Don J. Langland, Parliamentarian.

The following committee chairmen were appointed: Mrs. John Sena, Chairman, Nominating Comittee; and Chairman, Hospitality Committee; Mrs. Robert Braden, Jr., Telephone Chairman; Mrs. William C. Wilkinson, Publicity Chairman; Mrs. Jack Baker, Finance Chairman, and Mrs. John Busha, Co-chairman.

Mrs. James C. Brown, Chairman and Mrs. R. Edwin Lee, Co chairman, Project Committee; Mrs. J. R. Thatcher, Flower Show Chairman; DeKalb Federation Representative, Mrs. Don J. Langland.

Special flower arangements for the occasion and a birthday cake were part of the celebration.

CLASSIFIEDS

HAVE CLIENTS FOR
Farms, Houses, Commercial Property Adjacent Expressway.
BILI HOLTON
GL 7-3426
HARBER REALTY CO.

NOW IS THE SEASON
to install lifetime aluminum full frame window screens — $5.55 each. Special sizes available.
30" attic fans with louvers. Top quality $69.95 Same low prices on all sizes.
REDMON BUILDERS SUPPLY
Next to the railroad, King, Avenue, Doraville
Call GL. 7-6218
GL. 7-8414

HELP WANTED
Business expansion. Need man, or woman, to operate Route in N. DEKALB County. Many dealers now earning $100.00, and more per week. No lay-offs. Car necessary. Age 25 to 65. Write T. F. Camp, 659 West Peachtree St., N. E., Atlanta, Georgia.
4TC6/5.

Does Chiropractic Hurt

SPECIAL HALF PRICE SALE
cash and carry
Sliding Glass doors
6' — $78
8' — $88
Jalousie windows and porch enclosures. Special spring prices.
Cash or terms.
Free estimates. Will install.
REDMON BUILDERS SUPPLY
Next to Railroad, King Avenue, Doraville
Call GL. 7-6218 GL. 7-8414

PIANO
Very small spinet type, beautiful mahogany finish; pretty white keys; just tuned. Will deliver free. $150 cash. Call JA. 5-2464.
4tc — 5-22

BUILT IN STOVE UNITS
Surface units and oven $135.00
Terms on bank rates
Jalousie doors $23.50
Medicine Cabinets $5.50 each
Berry Garage Doors, $49.95
REDMON BUILDERS SUPPLY
next to railroad. King Avenue, Doraville
call GL. 7-6218
GL. 7-8414

FOR SALE
Three room frame house for sale. Partial basement, back yard, fence, sidewalks, landscaped. Two bloocks from grammar school, close to shopping center. Monthly payments $72; down payments $1,100. Stove and refrigerator. Hemlock 5-

Tucker Society

By MRS. ANN BLANOTT
Call HI. 3-6847

Chip Jones, son of Mr. and Mrs. Elton Jones, Brockett Rd. is recovering from a tonsellectomy.

Tommy Perkins and Gary Moon have been chosen to play on the Greater Atlanta All-Star Baseball team. Gary who plays short stop was also a member in 1957. Tommy plays second base. The All-Star game will be played on May 23 at Ponce De Leon Park.

Eddie Jackson, son of Mr. and Mrs. Gordon Jackson, Fellowship Rd. has been confined to St. Joseph Hospital for surgery.

Mr. and Mrs. J. O. Challinor, of Pittsburg, Pa. arrived last Tuesday to spend ten days with their daughter Dr. and Mrs. William B. Cherry.

Mrs. E. H. Hooker and children Emily Sue and Edmond, Brockett Rd. spent last weekend in Easley, S. C.

Rev. and Mrs. Homer Fussell are attending the Southern Baptist Convention, being held in Houston, Texas during the week of May 20-23. He is pastor of the Tucker Baptist Church.

The Baptist Daily Vacation Bible School will be held beginning week of June 16-25. Commencement will be held on Wednesday evening, June 25.

The Rev. Leslie Nabors, who has been serving at the Methodist Church has accepted a pastorate in Mississippi beginning June 1.

Mr. and Mrs. Douglas Morgan, announce the birth of a son, Harold Alexander. The paternal grandparents are Mr. and Mrs. Ross Morgan, Brockett Rd.

Dr. Bobby and Virginia Eaves with children Susan, Bobby and Steve spent last weekend vacationing in the Blue Ridge Mountains.

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Among those celebrating birthdays are Emily Sue Hooker, who was eleven years old on May 21.

Miss Jo Nan Freeman, a senior at Tucker High was recently elected Key Club Queen. Her court included, Gayle Fortner, senior, Lois Oliver and Brenda Christopher juniors, Beverly Wood and Linda Mann, sophomores, Marsha Henderson and Alice Matthews, freshman.

Mrs. Mildred Turpin, a teacher at Tucker Elementary, and Mrs. Maude Hollingsworth, Briarlake Elementary school were initiated into the Alpha Rho Chapter of the Delta Kappa Gamma Society last Saturday, May 17 at a luncheon at the Avondale American Legion Club. This is an International Society for Women Educators.

NEW PTA OFFICERS for Skyland School were installed at a meeting last week at which the Reverend Fitzhugh Legerton of Oglethorpe Presbyterian Church was speaker. Seated left to right are Mr. and Mrs. Larry Atkins, outgoing co-presidents; Mr. and Mrs. George Edwards, new co-presidents; and standing, other members of the board, Don Tebbs, Mrs. Martha McClure, Mrs. Dorris McWilliams, Mrs. Mary Harwell, Mrs. Nancy Harper, Mr. Bert Fulford and Mrs. Marie Alexander.

Mr. and Mrs. George Edwards Installed As New Presidents of Skyland P-TA

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READ

You Are Being Betrayed Into Communist Hands!

Who Declare You Have No Soul — And That There Is No God.

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4TC6/5.

Does Chiropractic Hurt

While talking with a patient recently, he remarked that if we Chiropractors could just let the people know that our adjustments were painless that many of the sick who need care would come in. He said "Many people wish to go to a Chiropractor but do not because they are afraid it will hurt."

After hearing this I realized for the first time that perhaps he was right. If there are any of you who are hesitating from visiting a Chiropractor for fear that the adjustment will be painful, please be assured that this is not the case. With modern technique, a chiropractic adjustment is no more painful than a good firm hand shake. Children and grown ups alike realize immediately after an adjustment that their fears were completely unfounded.

Do not deprive yourself of health. See a Chiropractor today. For information regarding the Chiropractic approach to your condition, call or write this office.

Dr. Kent Hovis
CHIROPRACTOR
Telephone: CE—3-5568
1476 Candler Road
(Brookhaven)
(Now 1220 Dresden Dr.)
TR—2-0130
177 14th Street, N. E.

8' — $88
Jalousie windows and porch enclosures. Special spring prices.
Cash or terms.
Free estimates. Will install.
REDMON BUILDERS SUPPLY
Next to Railroad, King Avenue, Doraville
Call GL. 7-6218 GL. 7-8414

PIANO
Very small spinet type, beautiful mahogany finish; pretty white keys; just tuned. Will deliver free. $150 cash. Call JA. 5-2404.
4tc — 5-22

BUILT IN STOVE UNITS
Surface units and oven $135.00
Terms on bank rates
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Three room frame house for sale. Partial basement, back yard, fence, sidewalks, landscaped. Two bloocks from grammar school, close to shopping center. Monthly payments $72; down payments $1,100. Stove and refrigerator. Hemlock 5-9334.
2tc

FOR SALE BY OWNER
Berger and Craftsman 12 inch Dumpy level instruments. Complete with cases, tripods. Stanley No. J-4-A electric Stanley No. J-4- electric plane with sharpening attach. case Two-eight inch Porter-Cable Hand power saws, extra blades. Asbestos siding cutter, 27 inch capacity. Half-ton chain hoist.
DeLuxe. Crosley. electric stove. Reasonable. GL. 7-4997.
1tp

BUSINESS OPPORTUNITY
LOCAL AREA MAN OR LADY, WANTED TO SERVICE AND COLLECT FROM COIN-OPERATED DISPENSING EQUIPMENT. 4 TO 9 HOURS WEEKLY EARNS OPERATOR UP TO $290 MONTHLY. NO AGE LIMIT OR SELLING BUT MUST HAVE CAR, REFERENCES AND $402 TO $804 WORKING CAPITAL. FOR INTERVIEW GIVE PERSONAL PARTICULARS, PHONE NUMBER WRITE BOX 4728 DALLAS 6, TEXAS.
1tp.

HELP WANTED PRESSER
Woman experienced silk, wool. Part time. Apply One-Hour Martinizing, 3956 Buford Highway, across from Skyland Shopping Center.
1tc.

OPPORTUNITY
MAN OR WOMAN
Responsible person from this area, to service and collect from automatic dispensers. No selling. Age not essential. Car, references, and $400 to $700.00 investment necessary. 7 to 12 hours weekly nets up to $200.00 monthly. Possibility fulltime work. For local interview give phone and full particulars.
Write P. O. Box 146, Minneapolis 40, Minn.
1tp

WANTED TO BUY
Cash register, any condition. Write J. P. Yuriam, 1090 Vaud Avenue, Atlanta 7.
3tc 5/29

WRITTEN APPLICATIONS BEING ACCEPTED DORAVILLE CITY HALL FOR MAINTENANCE MAN. SALARY $350 PER MONTH.

WRITTEN APPLICATIONS BEING ACCEPTED DORAVILLE CITY HALL FOR ASSISTANT CITY CLERK. PART TIME, HOURLY BASIS.

Call Don Boyer
To Save
ALLSTATE INSURANCE
AUTO — FIRE
AUTO FINANCING
DAYS — CE. 7-7571
NIGHTS — GL. 7-7010

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Other new members of the board were also installed and include Don Tebbs, Mrs. Martha McClure, Mrs. Dorris McWilliams, Mrs. Mary Harwell, Mrs. Nancy Harper, and Mrs. Marie Alexander. Mr. Bert Fulford, principal, is also a member.

The Reverend Fitzhugh Legerton was speaker for the evening, and reminded the new officers that "the essence of leaderhip is — the responsibility to serve—".

Mrs. Martha McClure, program chairman, and Burt Fulford, principal, spoke on the progress made by the school due to PTA efforts.

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Holy Land Movie Shown

"Three Minutes to Twelve," a movie filmed in the Holy Land will be shown on Saturday evening, May 24 at 7:45 o'clock, at the Northside Wesleyan Metodist Church.

The public is invited to attend.

Your
PHOTOGRAPH

— can make that 'graduation glow' linger on.
Call now for appointment!

J & L STUDIO
3704 Buford Highway
Across From Skyland
Call ME 6-7221
For Appointment

READ . . . .
THE ATLANTAN MAGAZINE
A New Voice for
ATLANTA and the SOUTH!
NOW ON YOUR NEWSSTAND!!

You Are Being Betrayed Into Communist Hands!

Who Declare You Have No Soul — And That There Is No God.

Fred Routh, a headquarters official of Southern Regional Council, 63 Auburn Ave., N. E., Atlanta, Georgia, is leading a workshop. In at least one of these sessions, the tactics of including women and children in racial demonstrations and incidents was propounded on the basis that police are reluctant to shoot women and children.

Southern Regional Council is the recipient of Ford, Fund for the Republic grants of $497,000.00. Fund for the Republic grants originated with the Ford Motor Company. Southern Regional Council is the parent organization of 12 statewide Councils on Human Relations operated only in the Southern States.

Southern Regional Council has been able to exploit the facilities of religion and education because of a quasi-religious status afforded by occupancy of space in a building owned by a huge church. The leadership of few units of the Communist apparatus have records of Communist affiliations which exceed those of present and past directors of Southern Regional Council.

The Daily Worker, official organ of the Communist Party, credits the foundation of Southern Regional Council to Jim Jackson, Negro Communist, presently head of Southern Affairs Commission of the Communist Party. Jackson is also credited with the establishment of Southern Conference Education Fund; and Southern Conference for Human Welfare, both organizations are recognized parts of the Communist apparatus and have interlocking directorates with Southern Regional Council.

The American Legion Firing Line, May 15, 1957, referring to the incorporating papers says "This document, filed in the Superior Court of Fulton County, State of Georgia, listed the names of five incorporators of the Council as follows: Dr. Rufus E. Clement, president of Atlanta University; Ralph McGill, Atlanta newspaper editor; and Bis. Arthur J. Moore, Bishop of Methodist Churches of Georgia; Dr. Charles S. Johnson, of Nashville, Tennessee (now deceased); and Dr. Howard W. Odum, Chapel Hill, North Carolina. (See Petition of the Incorporation, Book 062, pages 64-67, 1-6-44; and "The New York Times", 10-17-55).

McCOY'S FURNITURE & APPLIANCE CENTER
PHONE GL. 7-4326 CHAMBLEE, GA.
Your RCA Whirlpool Dealer
RCA Window Air Conditioner — 1, 1½, 2 Tons
BUY NOW — SAVE ½ COST

CHAMBLEE SUPREME GASOLINES
4473 P'TREE IND. BOULEVARD
Gates TIRES $11.95 Up
4 on GREEN STAMPS AT FRONT PUMPS

COME SEE US
Lowest Independent Prices, Very Superior Quality

NOW! — TO ALL — NOT A LOTTERY
YOUR TIRES FREE ASK US!
Your Friendly Family Station On P'tree Industrial Blvd.
Where Smart People SAVE!

ALL CIGARETTES 25c TO REGULAR GAS CUSTOMERS AND FRIENDS
→ *Royal Triton — Quaker State — Pennzoil Premium Oils* → — TAX PAID — WHERE ITS FUN TO TRADE — ← *"Store Items" at savings and we pay Ga. Sales Tax* ←

File this with other copies of this smear & Haas's reply

THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

BOX 4689

ATLANTA 2, GEORGIA

May 22, 1958

RALPH McGILL
Editor, Atlanta Constitution

Dear Harold:

I don't guess you could do much with a jury in Jim Davis' county, but I certainly think your lawyer could demand retraction. Supply him with the facts in the case to make said retraction.

through your lawyer,

Sincerely,

Ralph McGill

Ralph McGill

RM:gl

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
Wesley Memorial Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

NYT
Cong Record
St'mt Incorp.
St'mt Trustee
Editorials + ltrs

File with the McCoy Criticisms - and North DeKalb Record + Norcross News.

May 23, 1958.

McCoy's Furniture and Appliance Center,
Chamblee, Georgia.

Dear Sir:

As Counsel for the Southern Regional Council, I am writing to you in connection with the paid advertisement of your business in the North DeKalb Record and Norcross News of Thursday, May 22nd.

My client is convinced that the statements you have made, and the context in which you have put them, indicate that you are under a real misapprehension concerning the organization and the nature of the Southern Regional Council.

Referring to the first paragraph, the Southern Regional Council does not promote, sponsor, or encourage racial demonstrations and incidents of any kind. On the contrary, it is interested in averting racial demonstrations and incidents of all kinds.

The Southern Regional Council does not now and never has undertaken to exploit any religion, religious affiliation, or educational facilities by any reference to the location of its offices, nor by reference to such facilities on its stationery, or other printed matter, despite the fact that it is supported by both religious and educational organizations. The Southern Regional Council believes that its aims are entirely consistent with the aims of religion.

The charge of affiliation with communistic "apparatus" is categorically denied, and in this connection you would be interested to know that Congressman Walters of the House Un-American Activities Committee has expressly stated that the Southern Regional Council has never been cited by his Committee as being connected with any communistic activity.

McCoy's Furniture and Appliance Center

The Southern Regional Council categorically denies that the Jim Jackson referred to by you is or ever has been connected with the Southern Regional Council. The names of the incorporators, which you have included, should refute this charge in part, and the fact that the source of the charge is the Daily Worker would hardly lend credibility to the charge.

The origin of the Council is fully documented in the public press as of the date of its founding, and is, therefore, a matter of record. There is no interlocking directorate between Southern Regional Council and either the Southern Conference Education Fund or the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, which latter organization is understood to have been defunct since 1949.

The Southern Regional Council has received funds from the Fund for the Republic as have hundreds of other reputable organizations. Except for the context within which the paragraph of your advertisement making this statement is found, there would appear to be no reason for discussing this, but certainly the Southern Regional Council does not consider the Fund for the Republic as a part of the communist "apparatus" or disreputable in any way, shape, or form.

We think that as a fair person with knowledge of these facts which we have now given you, you will want to retract the statements contained in your advertisement, which certainly do not present a fair and accurate representation of the position of the Southern Regional Council, and my client looks forward to your doing so.

We assume that the views set forth are those of yourself, although your identification in the same ad as an RCA Dealer might lead to the assumption that this represents the views of that organization as well. Perhaps you would want to clarify this.

Should you care to have any documentation of the statements which have been made herein, we shall be glad to furnish it to you.

Very truly yours,

JFH:RS

JOSEPH F. HAAS

May 26, 1958

Mr. Ralph McGill, Editor
The Atlanta Constitution
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Ralph:

Many thanks for calling to our attention the wretched ad in the North DeKalb Recorder and Norcross News. I discussed this with our legal counsel, Joseph Haas, and he has written the McCoy firm as enclosed. I'll let you know what, if anything, results from this.

File

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1 (Ltr. written by Joseph Haas - dtd.5/23/58 for SRC.)

July 12, 1955.

M E M O R A N D U M

To: Staff
From: Harold C. Fleming
Re: Attacks on S.R.C.

Unfounded charges against the Southern Regional Council are a recurring nuisance. The source is an inflammatory political paper published by Roy V. Harris, whom you may remember as an intemperate and now largely discredited politician of Augusta, Georgia. His attacks on the SRC have been ignored by the reputable newspapers and other media.

In refuting such allegations, it is always difficult to know how much detail to supply, I hope this letter and the attached material aren't too burdensomely complete for your purposes. On the other hand, if more elaboration would be helpful, I will be glad to supply it.

As to the charges commonly made:

(1) The SRC is not the successor -- de facto, or otherwise-- of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, The SCHW was organized in 1938 and survived until about 1949; the SRC was organized in 1944. As one might expect from this timing, and from their differing approaches to the problems of the South, the two organizations were widely regarded as rival agencies. That some members of the SRC's staff and board at one time participated in the Southern Conference is true. At its inception,

the Conference attracted the cream of the South's liberal leadership; it was after these persons had become disillusioned and withdrew from the Conference that it acquired its dubious reputation. The attached copy of an editorial from the Atlanta Constitution helps clarify this history; the editorial was written by Ralph McGill, who was one of the incorporators of the SRC and is a continuing supporter of its work. Also attached are copies of letters from three of the founders of the SRC, written at a time when the same baseless charges were being clandestinely used against Morris Abram, an SRC board member who was then seeking office.

(2) In view of the facts cited above, the history of the SCHW is irrelevant; however, it might be noted in passing that the evidence of communist penetration of the Southern Conference, even its latter stages, was not sufficient to warrant its inclusion on the U.S. Attorney General's list of subversive organizations.

(3) The organizers of theSouthern Regional Council were Southerners of considerable distinction whose patriotism has never been seriously questioned. A mere listing of their manes and identifications should be sufficient to expose this charge for what it is. The organizing meeting of the SRC was held in response to a call issued by the following persons:

C.H. Gillman, Georgia Director, C.I.O
George L. Googe, Southern Director, A.F.L.
M. Ashby Jones, Baptist minister
Ryland Knight, Baptist minister
Rabbi David Marx, The Temple, Atlanta
Bishop Arthur J. Moore, The Methodist Church
Ralph McGill, Editor, the Atlanta Constitution
Stuart R. Oglesby, Presbyterian minister
Rt. Rev. Gerald P. O'Hara, Catholic Bishop of Savannah-Atlanta
Dean S. Paden, President, King Hardware Company
J. McDowell Richards, President, Columbia Theological Seminary
Bishop John Moore Walker, The Protestant Episcopal Church
Goodrich C. White, President , Emory University.

Following the deliberations of this group and a subsequent conference with Negro leaders, the SRC war chartered, the incorporators being Bishop J. Moore, Ralph McGill, President Rufus E. Clement of Atlanta University, President Charles S. Johnson of Fisk University, and the late Dr. Howard W. Odum, professor of

sociology at the University of North Carolina. Dr. Odum served as the first president of the organization, 1944-1946.

(4) Our detractors do not name the "two top members" who are alleged to be communists, but Roy Harris's paper provides the basis for this allegation. Two persons who were once members of SRC's board were recently accused of communist sympathies by Paul Crouch in testimony before a Senate Internal Security Committee subcommittee. We have no way of evaluating this testimony against two out of the more than 100/former members of the SRC board. However, no such charges were against these persons during their terms of servece on our board--1945-1949, Nor by any stretch of theimagination could they be described as "top members"; neither held office or played any significant part in the formulation of SRC policy. (Ironically, one of them resigned from the board because he felt that SRC's position on segregation was not unequivocal enough).

(5) Dr. Mitchell did hold membership for several years on the board of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, resigning when he found himself in disagreement with its policies. Harris's charges of other "red front" associations are based on a series of falsehoods and distortions which would require a great deal of space to review and refute. The high esteem in which Dr. Mitchell is held by all who know him and his work is typified by the award which he received in 1953 from the Catholic Committee of the South for his "significant contribution to the welfare of the South".

(6) The Southern Regional Council has been scrupulously non-political in all of its activities and has never been specifically charged otherwise. It operates under an official grant of tax-exemption from the United States Treasury Department. Anyone who will take the trouble to examine the Council's publications, statements, and activities will see that, from the beginning, it has stood for the exact opposite of communism. It is a body of responsible Southerners of both races working for orderly, constructive progress in race relations. Nothing could damage the cause of international

communism more than the success of this effort.

Over the years, the Southern Regional Council has received both financial and moral support from many of the major religious denominations in the South, including Methodist, Protestant Episcopal, Presbyterian, Congregational , Society of Friends, Catholic and Jewish groups. Its work has had the endorsement of many prominent persons; the following characterizations of the Council by three widely known Southern editors--all of them intimately acquainted with its activities--are representative:

> "An able and worthwhile organization working in the field of racial relations. It has no radical tinge, but is, nevertheless, an aggressively energetic coordinating agency."
>
> Ralph McGill
> Atlanta Constitution

> "The sanest and best-informed Southwide organization dealing with race relation."
>
> Virginius Dabney
> Saturday Evening Post

> "The SRC is unique in a number of heartening directions. It is biracial, non-denominational and non-political. It does not engage in tom-tom beating, parades, or lengthy 'pronunciamentos' slanted for non-Southern consumption and approval. But it is not an isolationist effort to separate the South's problems from the nation's--or from the nation's concern."
>
> Hodding Carter
> Colliers Magazine

Encs. Letters: Odum, Richards, McNamara
Editorial from the Atlanta Constitution.

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF
. . . . FRED B. ROUTH . . . .

Wed Oct 19 - 55

To staff

Phone call this day at 4.20 pm from Mr. Robert Jackson, who identified himself as a charter member of Gate City Post #72 American Legion.

Wanted know what we were going to say to the Governor on Oct 31st I referred him to Guy Wells - whom he recognized as the man with whom he had fought over a text book in 1937-8!

Had a long conversation with him - out-quoted him on US Constitution which seemed to impress him. He promised to reread it - particularly Article 6 Sec. 2 which I commended to him.

(over)

He remained rational throughout conversation. Said we obviously had a difference of opinion -

I agreed.

FBR

Criticisms File ~~FHCF~~

October 24, 1955

MEMORANDUM

TO: GSM

FROM: GSM

At approximately 4:00 p.m., George Mitchell, on October 24th, telephoned U. S. District Attorney James Dorsey and asked for an appointment when Mitchell and one or two friends might come over and expound to him the truth of the charges erroneously made by Georgia's Attorney General Eugene Cook. Mr. Dorsey said that he would be willing to receive a social visit, but such a visit would have no official quarter as a record, would establish nothing, and more to that effect.

Finding him thus unreceptive to the purpose of the visit, I did not persist to make one.

eab/

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF
. . . . HAROLD C. FLEMING . . . .

October 28, 1955

For the files

At 1:20 PM I received a call from the

man identifying himself as Robert H. Jackson. He inquired if I knew one W. A. Washburn, who, Jackson said, is a member of the "American Crusade for Peace." When I replied that I had never heard of Washburn, Jackson said he wanted to "put you on guard." Remainder of conversation:

HF: I see where you boys got your charter.

RJ: What boys? Oh, I'm not mixed up with that group (meaning the KKK).

HF: Oh, have you left them?

RJ: I never have been. Like I told you, I'm just making some investigations. They know everything that crowd is doing.

HF: I'm sure of that.

This makes the third telephone call I have received from Jackson in the last three weeks. He represents himself as "making investigations for a group in Washington" about which he is not free to divulge any information. He is obviously fishing for information about us; asks questions about our operations and personnel, obviously based on no real understanding of who and what SRC is. Fred Routh and Mrs. Tilly have also had calls from him.

ADL has documentary evidence, as of August 1955, identifying Robert H. Jackson Sr. with KKK Klavern 213 in Atlanta.

HCF

Telephone Conversation
November 10, 1955
3:45 - 3:53 p.m.

Man called up and said his name was Bill Hendley. Asked what he represented? Said he represented the Georgia League Against Communism and the Georgia Anti-Communist Society. Where did he have his office? Buford, Georgia. Inquired whether SRC was a communist organization or not? I said it was not.

Had we been described by Senator Eastland, a month or so ago, as a communist group? Said I had no knowledge of what Eastland said, but said Eastland had been riding pretty hard the Southern Conference Educational Fund. Man said he knew of that matter.

Asked if he might have a list of members of the Board of SRC, and I told him that if he would write us and ask for a list he could have one.

Had we ever been cited as subversive? No, except that the Attorney General of Georgia said that a number of people who had been associated with us had been cited by the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

Long disposition against Gunnar Myrdal, and said he (Myrdal) knew nothing of American conditions. Had some notion that Myrdal had said that the American Constitution was a plot against the American people. Asked if I knew that the Carnegie University had put up the money for Myrdal's book? I said it was my understanding that it was the Carnegie Foundation.

Did we have any Jews on our Board? I said I daresay we had some. Was I aware that virtually all the communists were Jews? Was I aware that all the atomic spies were Jews? No, I was not. Did I know that the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith was really an arm of the communist movement in this country? No, I did not. I went on to say that I was not at all interested in the conversation, and that I thought it was an ill service to our country to spread hatred and malicious charges against people and groups.

Hendley said at the end that he was satisfied that the Attorney General of Georgia would move against the Southern Regional Council, and that we would not long be in business.

Elsewhere in the conversation asked my opinion of the NAACP, which I defended. Was I aware that Channing Tobias of the NAACP had a long communist record, and had been cited by the House Committee on Un-American Activities? Said I knew Channing Tobias for many years, and that he had been cleared of the many charges of communist affiliations or sympathies. Asked again what I thought of the NAACP? Said I thought it was doing a pretty good job. End of conversation.

GSM

Note: One of the last things the man said was: "I think you are a communist group, and I think you won't be in business long.

Also asked my opinion of "the NAACP," which I defended.

Ed

Citizens SCR

CITY OF ATLANTA

DEPARTMENT OF POLICE
HERBERT T. JENKINS, CHIEF

ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

November 10, 1955

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Ave. N. E.
Atlanta, 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thank you for your letter of November 8th.

This is to advise that I have forwarded it on to Supt. I. G. Cowan of the Detective Department for filing and further investigation.

Yours very truly,

H T Jenkins

Chief of Police

HTJ:GP
c. c.
Supt. I. G. Cowan

ATLANTA THE DOGWOOD CITY

November 8, 1955

Police Chief Herbert H. Jenkins
Police Headquarters
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Chief Jenkins:

This is to report a threatening telephone call which I received approximately 3:00 p. m. on this date.

A man who gave his name as John J. Wood called and began questioning the receptionist about the nature and work of the Southern Regional Council, where upon the call was switched to me. After questioning me at some length, "Mr. Wood" began, quite irrevelantly to express his views about communism--namely that it is a movement conceived, inspired, and let by Jews. When I told him that I had no interest in his views and was about to hang up, he said:

"You dirty Communist! We are going to drag you and your kind out and hang you to the trees."

"Who are 'we'?" I asked.

He replied "You'll find out. We'll get you, you dirty _____."

Aside from a good deal of profanity, which I have ommitted, these are the exact words, written down by me during the conversation. I thought it proper to inform you of a threat of this nature, and I will be happy, of course, to assist in any investigation of this or subsequent threats.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming,
Assistant Director.

HCF:mf

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
533 - 805 Peachtree Building
Atlanta, Georgia

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

November 14, 1955

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I have your letter of November 8, 1955, concerning the individual who called your office on that date, and who you say engaged in a conversation of a critical and obscene nature.

The acts reported by you do not constitute a violation of any Federal law within the jurisdiction of this Bureau, and we are therefore without the authority to institute investigation. As you are well aware, it is the function of the local police authorities to provide protection in those instances in which physical harm is believed imminent and I, accordingly, urge that if you have not done so you notify the Atlanta Police officials.

Your letter has, of course, been made a matter of record, should the incident be of pertinence to matters which may come to this Bureau's attention in the future.

Very truly yours,

J. K. Mumford

J. K. MUMFORD
Special Agent in Charge

November 8, 1955

Federal Bureau of Investigation
805 Peachtree, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

This is to report a threatening telephone call which I received approximately 3:00 p. m. on this date.

A man who gave his name as John J. Wood called and began questioning the receptionist about the nature and work of the Southern Regional Council, where upon the call was switched to me. After questioning me at some length, "Mr. Wood" began, quite irrevelantly to express his views about communism--namely that it is a movement conceived, inspired, and led by Jews. When I told him that I had no interest in his views and was about to hang up, he said:

"You dirty Communist! We are going to drag you and your kind out and hang you to the trees."

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He replyed "You'll find out. We'll get you, you dirty _____."

Aside from a good deal of profanity, which I have ommitted, these are the exact words, written down by me during the conversation. I thought it proper to inform you of a threat of this nature, and I will be happy, of course, to assist in any investigation of this or subsequent threats.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming,
Assistant Director.

HCF:mf

November 15, 1955

M E M O R A N D U M

FILE COPY

TO: HCF

FROM: GSM

George MacMillan called from Aiken. Has been in conference with Paul Smith of Colliers. Smith's man Campbell. Campbell has contracted with MacMillan for MacMillan, beginning January 1st, to cover and do a long piece on Talmadge-George campaign.

I discussed with MacMillan the attacks on us, and MacMillan said that maybe there ought to be a piece in the New York Times' maggie straightening people out. I hinted, but did not press, that MacMillan might write a piece somewhere.

MacMillan coming to Atlanta probably Tuesday or Wednesday, November 22nd or 23rd, and will discuss all items with us.

eab/

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

386 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 16, N. Y. *Cable Address,* "WISHCOM, NEW YORK"

Telephone MURRAY HILL 5-0181

IRVING M. ENGEL, *President*
SIMON H. RIFKIND, *Chairman, Executive Committee*
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JESSE H. STEINHART, *San Francisco, Vice-President*
ALAN M. STROOCK, *New York, Vice-President*

December 27, 1955

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 South Auburn St.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Harold:

I just learned (although you may already know) that in an early issue of the American Legion's Firing Line, the Fund for the Republic's appropriation to SRC will be "thoroughly exposed."

You might want to know of this, to prepare for it appropriately.

Warm regards.

Sincerely,

Edwin J. Lukas

EJL:ig
cc: W.H. Ferry

148-2-55

49th Annual Meeting, Jan. 27-29, 1956
Hotel Commodore, New York City

Council In State Linked To Commies

Jackson Daily News 3/9/57

BY PHIL STROUPE
Daily News Staff Writer

BATON ROUGE, La.—Bishop Joseph B. Brunini and 15 other Mississippians are listed as directors of an organization described by a former Negro Communist as a "transmission belt of Communist infiltration in the South."

Manning Johnson of New York City, consultant to various government agencies and a Moscow trained former Communist, told a Louisiana legislative committee under oath here Friday, the Mississippi Council on Human Relations is a subsidiary of a Communist-created organization, the Southern Regional Council.

The Southern Regional Council received $443,000 from the Fund for the Republic, an agency already under investigation by Congress, Johnson told the committee. In answer to a direct question by chief counsel Bill Shaw, Johnson said the Mississippi Council on Human Relations was one of 12 created with the money received from the Fund for the Republic.

A spokesman for the Mississippi Council on Human Relations said Saturday that Johnson's statement is just "another crazy accusation that pops up in hearings such as this."

The spokesman flatly denied the organization has any link whatsoever with the Communist Party.

The Council was first organized approximately 30 years ago under the leadership of Bishop Bratton of the Episcopal Church as an inter-racial group to improve race relations in Mississippi.

It is an organization of Mississippi citizens with no connection with the Communist Party, the spokesman said.

Johnson introduced as documentary evidence into the bulky record of the three-day hearing into segregation problems, a letter from Ruby Lyells of 1104 Lynch St., Jackson, Miss., inviting "members and friends" to the annual meeting of the council at the Jackson YWCA Nov. 5, 1955.

Johnson's documentary evidence followed the name-calling of at least 21 Mississippians who are members of the board of directors of the Council on Human Relations or who participated in its annual meeting.

The council's parent organization, the Southern Regional Council, was founded by one James E. Jackson of Atlanta, and others identified by Johnson as Communists.

Jackson later was arrested by the FBI and convicted under the Smith Act for subversive activity. He is free on bail pending appeal to the U. S. Supreme Court.

Directors of the Mississippi Council on Human Relations, according to Jachnson's testiomy, and a letter-head he used as documentary evidence, are:

Mrs. W. H. Ratliff of Sherard, Miss., president; Mrs. C. E. Dishman, Piney Woods, vice president; Bishop Brunini, secretary-treasurer; Charles T. Morgan of Mathiston; Alexander FitzHugh of Vicksburg; Miss Alma Hickman, Mrs. E. E. Dean, Rabbi Charles Mantinband, all of Hattiesburg;

Rev. Duncan M. Hobart, Meridian; F. W. Miller, Jackson; Mrs. D. S. Wheatley, Greenwood; Dr. H. G. Williamson, Grenada; and Dr. Thomas L. Zuber, West Point.

Associate directors listed are Mrs. J. A. Burt Jr., and Mrs. C. A. Williams, whose addresses were not listed on the letterhead.

A printed program announcing the annual meeting of the council at the Jackson YWCA and introduced as evidence in the hearing, identified 13 persons as "Who's Who" in the council.

There are Mrs. C. C. Clark of Jackson, supervisor of group services Mississippi State Library Commission; Miss Jamie Turnage, executive director of the Jackson YWCA; Ernest Borinski, NAACP member and head of the sociology department, Tougaloo College; Sam Barefield, director of the Wesley Foundation, Mississippi Southern College; J. J. Bolden, principal of Campbell College High School, Jackson;

Harold Fleming, associate director Southern Regional Council, Atlanta; Mrs. A. Charles Hunter, Columbus; Ruby Lyells, executive director of the Missisippi Council on Human Relations; Rev. John Mangum, chaplain, Tougaloo College; Rabbi Mantinband, Hattiesburg; Rev. M. G. Prueitt, district superintendent, Upper Mississippi Conference Methodist Church; Mrs. Ratliff and Bishop Brunini.

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EX-RED BLASTS NEGRO PASTORS

Times-Picayune 3-9-57

Probe Witness Accuses Segregation Leaders

By JAY HALL
(Times-Picayune Staff Correspondent)

BATON ROUGE, March 8—A Negro ex-Communist said Friday that Rev. Martin Luther King is "leading the Negroes in the South down the road to bloodshed, violence and revolution."

Manning Johnson, Washington, D. C., a former Communist, also said that the intelligent Negroes should "stop" Rev. T. J. Jemison, Negro Baptist minister of Baton Rouge, and Rev. A. L. Davis Jr., who seeks to start a similar movement in New Orleans.

He said the anti-segregation movement led by Rev. King, Montgomery, Ala., minister, "could lead to Communism in the South."

King, he said, is handing out explanations for his actions that are "the same as that of the Communist party . . . I think Rev. King should stand a thorough investigation."

Mortgage Loans

Already in Montgomery, Johnson said, Negroes going to banks for loans when the mortgage comes due are being asked, "why don't you go to Rev. King and let him finance your mortgage?"

"If the homes of 5000 Negroes are wiped out through violence, is Rev. King going to replace these homes?" he asked.

Where are the "victims of colonialism and oppression in this country that Rev. King talks about?" Johnson asked. "That is Communist talk. That is their language."

Rev. Jemison was in the audience when Johnson made his reference to him.

Johnson also declared that "the only thing the NAACP knows is the threat and the sword. They will turn white against black and black against white."

Earlier he described the NACP as ripe for becoming a Communist stronghold and said one of its top names recently was elected to a top post in the Communist party.

'Reds of Note'

Johnson said he was a Communist of high national note from 1930 to 1940 and quit when he saw he was only a tool for Communists who practice deceit and never had the interest of the Negro at heart any more than they have ever had the interest of the working class at heart.

He was one of two witnesses heard by the Louisiana joint legislative committee, undertaking what Chairman W. M. Rainach, state senator from Summerfield, described as the first official investigation in the nation into Communist influences behind racial disturbances.

He accused Congress of being afraid to tackle the issue and said congressional committees are advised against bringing it up in fear of "the voting blocks of the North."

Preceding Johnson on the witness stand was another Negro ex-Communist, Leonard Patterson of New York.

Rainach said the committee will reconvene at 8:30 a. m. Saturday and hopes to wind up the probe with witnesses by noon "who will bring the Communist picture even closer to Louisiana."

A development as Friday's

Continued on Page 2, Column 5

EX-RED BLASTS NEGRO PASTORS

Continued from Page 1

testimony neared an end was Johnson's disclosure that a Mississippi organization known as the Mississippi Council of Human Relations is an "affiliate of the Southern Regional Council." He previously had identified the Southern Regional Council as having been formed by Communists.

Johnson named about 20 persons from what he said was the official letterhead of the Mississippi organization.

Names Dubois

Johnson said W. E. Dubois, an honorary national chairman of the NAACP and the first Negro to become a member, was recently elected to the national committee of the Communist party at a convention of the party in New York.

He called Dubois "an evil, frustrated, wicked old man sucking at the teats of the Red bear and looking to the devils of the Kremlin for vindication and salvation."

From a publication, Johnson read the names of some members of the Southern Regional Council which he said was organized by a Communist named James E. Jackson, convicted under the antisubversive Smith act but currently awaiting appeal.

Among names read as members was that of Dr. Albert W. Dent, president of Dillard university in New Orleans.

Johnson stated, "I'm not saying all these people are Communists even though it was formed by the Communists."

He said the council has its headquarters in a building occupied by "Bishop Arthur Moore of the Methodist church," a Negro.

Communism in the religion of Negroes was developed extensively by W. M. Shaw, of Homer, special counsel for the investigating committee.

Both Johnson and Patterson declared that religion is a principal tool of the Communists in proselyting Negro members.

Hotbed of Reds

Asked if there are any Negro ministers who are Communists, Patterson said, "I know some in New York who were."

Johnson described the church as "the best place for hiding" by Communists and added, "The fact that they are using the church as a cover does not faze the Communists" as long as they feel in the long run they come a step nearer to their dream of world conquest.

Johnson, whose testimony consumed most of the day, branded Howard university in Washington, D. C., as "a hotbed of communism, and its Negro president, Mordecai Johnson, an expounder of Communist doctrine.

"It is unfortunate," the witness said, "that he is that type of man. It does not speak so good for the race."

Shaw asked, "Is it a fact that Howard university is the only institution of higher learning that is supported by the US government?" Johnson replied that it was.

The extent of the Communist influence in the NAACP next claimed attention.

Johnson said, "The Communist party has been very successful in infiltrating into the foremost Negro organization in the country—the NAACP.

"They have infiltrated and working through the NAACP to become one of the most influential mixed-breed organizations in the country."

Rebellion Seen

The ex-Communist, declaring that most NAACP units are in the South, continued, "They see the possibility of developing a 'national liberation movement.' As I see it, that means a national Negro rebellion in the South . . . extending from Maryland to Texas, where they speak of setting up a black republic."

Johnson warned, "Step by step, they are raising issues to the level of political conflict, involving city mayors and councilmen and state representatives and other local or higher level officials in these conflicts to the point that they reach a mass psychosis of hate the Communists would mould into the national rebellion."

Later, Johnson said, he would like to "clear up whether the NAACP is for communism or against communism or what have you."

He said it is an organization of both white and Negro members comprised of "liberals, philanthropists, Communists, fellow travelers, eggheads, idealists, socialists, Trotskyites and more."

In the final analysis, however, "they all have one thing in common. That is their teachings are all the teachings of Marx."

He ascribed most statements of denouncement of communism by NAACP members to a constant factional fight within the NAACP for control of the top command.

Johnson said, "At any time they could come together and cease their recriminations" and unite toward the ultimate Communist goal, "the overthrow of the US government."

Names read by Johnson as members of the Mississippi Council on Human Relations were:

Mrs. W. H. Ratliff, Sherard, president; Mrs. C. E. Dishman, Piney Woods, vice-president; Charles T. Morgan, Mathiston, secretary-treasurer, and directors Msgr. Joseph B. Brunini, Jackson; Mrs. E. E. Deen, Hattiesburg; Alexander Fitz-hugh, Vicksburg; Miss Alma Hickman, Hattiesburg; Rev. Duncan M. Hobart, Meridian; Rabbi Charles Mantinband, Hattiesburg; S. W. Miller, Jackson; Mrs. D. S. Wheatley, Greenwood; Dr. H. G. Williamson, Grenada, and Dr. Thomas L. Zuber, West Point.

He also named Mrs. R. S. Lyells, Jackson, as executive director and Mrs. J. A. Burt Jr. and Mrs. C. A. Williams, addresses not given, as staff members.

—Associated Press WIREPHOTO.

LEONARD PATTERSON, of Jamaica, N. Y., a former Communist, testifies Friday in Baton Rouge at the legislative committee hearing on racial unrest.

Says Reds Stirred Up 'Incidents'

N.O. Item 3/9/57

BATON ROUGE, (UP)—Another ex-Communist Party member told a Louisiana legislative committee Saturday that the Reds have deliberately stirred up race incidents to gain new party members.

Mrs. Martha Edmiston, a reporter for the Waynesville, Ohio, Journal, said she and her husband were instructed in 1940 to take two Negro girls into Ohio restaurants while on a trip to Chicago and to raise a "fuss" if they were not served.

* * *

MRS. EDMISTON, who said she and her husband joined the party in 1940 for the FBI, was the fourth witness to tell the committee that the Communists have worked on the Negroes in their drive to take over the government.

But, she commented, only a small percentage of the Ne-

(See HEARING, Pg. 4, Col. 5)

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1)

groes in Ohio fell for the line.

Mrs. Edmiston said she and her husband ceased being party members when they testified before a House un-American activities committee in 1950.

Friday an ex-Communist testifying before the hearing claimed that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is "nothing more than a vehicle for the Communist Party."

Manning Johnson, a Negro who quit the Communist Party in 1940 and now works for the government in Washington, also told the committee that the Rev. Martin Luther King is leading the Southern Negro "on a road to bloodshed and violence."

King, Montgomery, Ala., Negro, is a leader of the integration movement in the Deep South.

* * *

"I AM NOT saying King is a Communist, but I am saying he is doing the Negro considerable harm," Johnson said under questioning.

The 49-year-old Negro ex-Communist told 70 spectators and the investigating committee that King does not have the age and experience to lead the Southern Negro.

In his testimony during the proceedings, Johnson said Communists are working through Negro organizations in the South, principally the churches, to incite Negroes into open rebellion.

The witness said he had been a member of the Communist Party from 1930 to 1940 and had been a member of the party's Negro Commission.

He named several members of the NAACP board of directors who he said had been working "hand-in-glove" with the Communists.

JOHNSON DECLARED that the Reds have always infiltrated the NAACP. And he charged NAACP was "never even founded by Negroes. They were all whites — do-gooders, philanthropists, and so on."

Some of the top NAACP leaders have made certain pronouncements against Communism, Johnson continued. "But it is a family fight." He said the Socialists, social Democrats and Trotskyites have attacked the Reds, but they all want the same thing—overthrow of the U. S. government."

Johnson said there are other organizations than the NAACP which work on the Negroes. He named specifically the Southern Conference on Human Welfare and the Southern Regional Council, which he said was inspired by the Communists and used for transmission of the party line.

* * *

ANOTHER NEGRO ex-Communist, Leon Patterson, New York City, gave similar testimony, alleging that Communist front organizations had infiltrated the NAACP.

Tells of Negro Exploitation by Communists

N.O. States 3-9-57

BATON ROUGE (AP)—An attractive, brown-haired, former Communist for the FBI today told of the "pitiless exploitation of the Negro people" by the Communist party.

Mrs. Martha Edmiston, a reporter for the Middletown, Ohio, Journal, testified as legislative hearings designed to show Communist influences behind racial disturbances began the third and final day.

A New York Negro ex-Communist yesterday termed Rev. Martin Luther King of Montgomery, Ala., "a megalomaniac seeking power."

Manning Johnson, husky former Red, testified the Negro minister heading an antisegregation movement, was a "dastardly misleader, leading the Negroes of the South down to destruction."

Reprimanded for Aid

Mrs. Edmiston told the legislators how she and her husband entered the Communist party in 1940, at the request of the FBI, remaining in for about 10 years.

"I saw with the party the pitiless exploitation of the Negro people," she said. "But actually it was only a small percentage of the Negroes, surprisingly small, who fell for the Communist party line."

She said she was reprimanded severely once for "slipping some money to an old Negro couple.

"You do not give money to the poor, you give them pamphlets so you can incite them," she was told by the party secretary.

King is president of the Southern Leadership Conference and has been emphasizing nonviolence after leading the Montgomery bus bocycott.

Only to Violence

"Civil disobedience," the witness said, "will lead only to bloodshed and violence. It will lead to the Negroes losing their homes and jobs and create a psychosis of hate."

Johnson was a star witness for the joint legislative committee on segregation, probing influences behind racial strife. The group closes its three-day hearings in the state capitol today.

Sen. W. M. Rainach, chairman, called the Louisiana probe because he said the civil rights hearings now being held in Washington were painting "only half the picture."

"The true picture of the Communist penetration and utilization of Negroes in this country has been carefully skirted by investigating committees in Congress," Rainach said. "The two national parties advised them to do so because they were afraid of the bloc voting in Northern cities dominated by the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People."

Johnson said "the Communists have infiltrated and are working through the NAACP. The reason is because the NAACP has become one of the most influential, mixed breed organizations in the country. It's not a Negro group but a sort of mixed breed group, organized originally by Whites."

Cook Orders Transcript of Red Inquiry

Atlanta Constitution 3/12/57

Atty. Gen. Eugene Cook said Monday he has ordered a transcript of hearings by a Louisiana legislative committee investigating subversive activities because "some Georgia names were mentioned."

Cook, who attended the hearings in Baton Rouge, La., last Thursday and Friday, said the committee heard sworn testimony that certain organizations had been infiltrated by Communists.

One of these organizations, he said, was the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

"These hearings brought out positive subversive infiltration in fronts existing in Georgia," Cook said. "I feel it is my duty to get this information and transmit it to the governor, the Georgia Education Commission and the General Assembly for their study."

Cook said he is not proposing at this time a similar investigation in Georgia. He said he would merely report "without recommendation" on what he had heard "for the purpose of study."

The past General Assembly authorized the Georgia Education Commission to conduct investigations similar to the Louisiana probe. The commission was armed with subpoena powers.

New Orleans States 3-9-57

Times - Picayune — New Orleans States 3-10-57

H 10, 1957

Educator Labels Ex-Red Witnesses 'Lamn Diars'

University Head Raps Probe Testimony

By JAY HALL
(Times-Picayune Staff Correspondent)

BATON ROUGE, La., March 9—A Negro educator Saturday called two ex-Communists testifying at a legislative investigation into racial discord a pair of "lamn diars."

Dr. Rufus E. Clement, president of Atlanta university, pinned the label on Negro ex-Communists Manning Johnson and Leonard Patterson after reciting a humorous anecdote about dyeing lambs.

Clement was principal speaker at Southern university in a program climaxing a week-long tribute to Dr. J. S. Clark and others who helped found the school 43 years ago.

He made only brief reference at the conclusion of his address to the open hearing of the Louisiana joint legislative committee which Saturday wound up a three-day look into influences behind racial disturbances.

Both Johnson and Patterson were trained in Communist techniques in the Lenin school in Moscow and were practicing Communists and leaders of Communists in this country for the decade of 1930 to 1940.

Friday Johnson told the committee the Southern Regional Council was organized by a Communist named James E. Jackson, currently appealing a conviction under the antisubversive Smith act.

Clement proclaimed himself "one of the four incorporators" of the council and said the name of Jackson has never been connected with it.

Johnson had also cloaked Dr. Ralph Bunche, Negro secretary to the president of the United Nations General Assembly, and Dr. Mordecai Johnson, Negro president of Howard university, in Communist tendencies. He also had spoken out against Rev. Martin Luther King of Montgomery, Ala., Negro minister who has been a Southern leader in the racial integration vast new fields of opportunity for the Negro.

He said leading national industrialists have made it clear to him they want to hire men of ability "regardless of race or creed."

Already some great industries are employing Negroes in highly technical jobs and such new industries as television have laid open new opportunities for Negroes, opportunities that already are being utilized.

At the time of Southern's founding, Clement said, the South had just gone through the "first reconstruction period and Negroes were set back in the realm of second class citizens." Now, Clement s aid, "we find ourselves in the period of the second reconstruction."

He recalled that in the "first period," which he defined as 1865 to about 1900, Negro and white passengers had separate seating sections on public transportation vehicles.

In this "second period of reconstruction," he predicted that Negroes would find themselves well-placed in all walks of life.

However, he warned them, they must prepare themselves for the opportunities that lie ahead and must earn their way into higher positions by a display of genuine ability, experience and character.

He urged them not to "worry" about wealth or fame. "Achievement comes when you are most interested in making a contribution. If you make a contribution, you will have something priceless — you will have inner satisfaction."

Dr. Felton G. Clark, Southern president and son of the founder, introduced Clement and paid tribute to other founders.

These included Mrs. Octavia Head Clark, wife of the founder, who was the first registrar and the first director of music; J. S. Jones, the first dean; Mrs. E. N. Maberry, first director of home economics; and J. B. Moore, former faculty member for 30 years with Southern.

Witnesses 'Lamn Diars'

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Clement said, "Any person who misrepresents and smears people like Dr. Ralph Bunche and Rev. Martin Luther King and Dr. Mordecai Johnson is really a lamn diar.

"There are other things I could say," he added, "but I won't."

In the capacity-filled new gymnasium of Southern, largest all-Negro institution of higher learning in the country, Clement delivered some pointers on "motivation and achievement."

Of national prominence in the education field, the 57-year-old university president is an elected member of the city school board of Atlanta.

"Who will credit the word of a pair of ex-Communists," he asked, "against such decent, upstanding leaders as Rev. Martin Luther King, Dr. Ralph Bunche, and Dr. Mordecai Johnson?"

He told the student body and visitors, after urging them to become the best citizens that is within their power, "there is enough potential in this student body to change the history of this nation and the world."

Then followed a warning that "unless we in the United States can finally make good in our practice of democracy as much as we make good in the preaching of it, we are doomed to have the greatest war the world has ever had—World War III."

That war will come, he said, unless the races in America are reconciled in harmony to the conviction of the rest of the world.

To emphasize the brink of annihilation inherent in World War III, Clement recalled having seen a picture sketched in which a weapon was shown over the caption, "the weapon of World War IV." The weapon, he said, was a bow and arrow.

The educator said his close touch with the national education picture has left him confident of vast new fields of opportunity for the Negro.

He said leading national industrialists have made it clear to him they want to hire men of ability "regardless of race or creed."

Already some great industries are employing Negroes in highly technical jobs and such new industries as television have laid open new opportunities for Negroes, opportunities that already are being utilized.

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Times-Picayune - New Orleans State

12[illegible]st YEAR—No. 45 Asso

3/10/57

REDS INFILTRATE NAACP, HEARING TOLD BY POLICE

Rainach Suggests Red Team After Hearing

(Times-Picayune Capital Bureau)

BATON ROUGE, La., March 9—Sen. W. M. Rainach said Saturday that he will consider possible legislation for setting up a state "Red squad" in Louisiana.

Chairman of the Louisiana joint legislative committee, Rainach made the statement after adjournment of the group's three-day look into influences behind racial unrest.

If such a squad of Communist-flushes materializes, it will be the first state police squad of its type in the nation, according to New Orleans Police Sgt. Hubert Badeaux, a witness in the hearing.

Rainach said a Red squad is only one of a large number of possibilities his committee will consider after a thorough study of testimony taken in the probe.

Cites Alleged Objectives

Adjourning the session, the senator from Summerfield summed up preliminary conclusions as follows:

1. Communism is a worldwide conspiracy, with overthrow of all non-Communist governments its object.

2. Creating racial uprisings against the existing order is a principal Communist method of aiming at overthrow.

3. Red activities through organizations, "such organizations as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People," is a principal cause of racial unrest in this country.

Says Reds Active in State

4. Such Communists and Communist fronts are now active in Louisiana and are serious threats to this state's normal peace and tranquility.

5. Louisiana and its cities should re-examine their laws governing this problem and the setup by which these laws are enforced, with a view to strengthening the laws.

6. Louisiana should make its experience in this field available to the other states, to the South, and to the nation.

Badeaux, head of the intelligence division of the New Orleans police department, in earlier testimony said he had "thousands of documents to support the charge of penetration of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People by the Communist party."

"Enough to convince even the most skeptical," added Badeaux.

Badeaux was the second witness in the final day of legislative hearings designed to show Communist influences behind racial disturbances.

Earlier, an attractive, brown-haired former Communist for the FBI told of the "pitiless exploitation of the Negro people" by the Reds.

Says Few Fell for Line

But Mrs. Martha Edmiston, a reporter for the Middletown, Ohio, Journal, added, "actually it was only a small percentage of the Negroes, surprisingly small, who fell for the Communist party line."

Badeaux told of a raid on a New Orleans Communist organizer which netted a large haul of Red literature.

He quoted from a booklet which described the NAACP as "the most influential organization in the Negro national liberation movement," which was controlled by "bourgeois reformists.

"A reformist is a dirty bird to the Communists who believe in reform for reform's sake," said Badeaux. "This was to alert the party that the NAACP was im-

Continued on Page 2, Column 5

COMMY SQUAD

Continued from Page 1

portant and now controlled by reformist groups."

Reds Pledge NAACP Defense

And he read other Communist literature in which the party pledged "to resolutely defend the NAACP. They wouldn't do that if they couldn't use it for their own interests."

Mrs. Edmiston, the only white woman witness called in the hearing told of her early party work, when she and others were assigned to take two Negro girls around Chicago creating racial incidents by seating them in white cafes.

"Those girls", she said, "only wanted to have a good time in Chicago, they didn't want to make any trouble."

The former FBI undercover agent also told of what she said were Communist efforts directed at Negro colleges, charging Lee Lorch, white mathematics professor at Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn., was "a known Communist courier."

She said Lorch refused to recognize her or questions about party connections in a 1950 investigation by the House un-American activities committee.

Saw Pitiless Exploitation

Mrs. Edminston told the legislators how she and her husband entered the Communist party in 1940, at the request of the FBI, remaining in for about 10 years.

"I saw with the party the pitiless exploitation of the Negro people," she said. "But actually it was only a small percentage of the Negroes, surprisingly small, who fell for the Communist party line."

She said she was reprimanded severely once for "slipping some money to an old Negro couple."

"You do not give money to the poor, you give them pamphlets so you can incite them," she was told by the party secretary.

'Could Lead to Communism'

King is president of the Southern Leadership Conference and has been emphasizing nonviolence after leading the Montgomery bus boycott.

Johnson, before television cameras and radio mikes yesterday testified the minister's efforts "could lead to communism in the South."

"Civil disobedience," the witness said, "will lead only to bloodshed and violence. It will lead to the Negroes losing their homes and jobs and create a psychosis of hate."

Johnson was a star witness for the joint legislative committee on segregation, probing influences behind racial strife.

Ends Three-Day Hearing

The group closes its three-day hearings in the state capitol Saturday with testimony by police Sgt. Hubert Badeaux of New Orleans, an intelligence agent who works with the FBI. Committee members said Badeaux will tell of Communist penetration in New Orleans and Louisiana.

Sen. W. M. Rainach, chairman, called the Louisiana probe because he said the civil rights hearings now being held in Washington were painting "only half the picture."

"The true picture of the Communist penetration and utilization of Negroes in this country has been carefully skirted by investigating committees in Congress," Rainach said. "The two national parties advised them to do so because they were afraid of the bloc voting in Northern cities dominated by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People."

'In Deep Water, Can't Swim'

Johnson and Leonard Patterson of Jamaica, N. Y., another Negro ex-Red, testified about Communist penetration in the South through Negro fronts and Negro churches and party at-

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'In Deep Water, Can't Swim'

Johnson and Leonard Patterson of Jamaica, N. Y., another Negro ex-Red, testified about Communist penetration in the South through Negro fronts and Negro churches and party attempts to capture the NAACP.

"The Rev. King is in deep water and can't swim," Johnson said.

"He wants President Eisenhower to come down and bail him out, but Ike is not going to bail him out. He would be a fool to come down and do it."

King had talked of a Negro mass movement in connection with the supreme court decision against bus segregation, Johnson continued. "This explanation is the same as that of the Communist party. I wonder who is giving him the party line?"

Johnson said he is not calling the Alabama Negro a Communist, "but I am saying he is doing the Negroes harm."

Southern Negroes Reject Line

Johnson said "the Communists have infiltrated and are working through the NAACP. The reason is because the NAACP has become one of the most influential, mixed breed organizaitons in the country. It's not a Negro group but a sort of mixed breed group, organized originally by whites."

Johnson said W. E. B. Dubois, Negro writer and an NAACP founder, had long-time links with the Communist party.

"Dubois is an evil, frustrated, wicked old man . . . looking to the devils in the Kremlin for vindication and salvation," Johnson said.

Patterson testified that Negroes in the South "never accepted the Communist party program." He said Negroes rejected the efforts of party workers, despite their spending as much as six months at a time in Southern towns and cities.

cient producer to stay on the job and adjust to present-day needs.

To make the soil bank most effective we think it should not be used as an emergency-relief program or crop insurance. If it is necessary to provide funds for relief let that be done with funds specifically for that purpose. Also, land put into the soil bank should not be grazed or used for hay crops.

Since an important part of the soil bank is to reduce Government held stocks of commodities, every effort should be employed to use these stocks as "payment in kind" to farmers putting acreage in the bank. We understand there are provisions for that now, but most farmers want cash payments. Those who can use grains for feed should have special inducement as this would be attacking the problem two ways at little cost to the public.

Since support prices have some responsibility for our surplus stocks the Government should require a farmer who expects to use price supports to put from 10 to 20 percent of the acreage going into the price supported crop into the soil bank.

In Mifflin County as a further example of how much or little we use some Government action programs we had only one person apply for supports last year; this was a warehouse loan on wheat.

The confusion that some of these action programs cause among some of our conservative people remind me of the difficulty that Pat and Mike were having in getting to their destination after imbiding too freely. After an hour or so of weaving in and out of streets and alleys and often finding themselves where they started the search, Pat said, "Mike, there just ain't no way to get there from here."

We think there is a way to get there from here but it will take time and patience and working at the problem and doing what we know must be done.

It looks as though it is a mistake to tie separate crop programs to the soil bank such as was done with corn, much to our sorrow. Since the ill-fated corn referendum last December 12 it appears that the minority won out (38½ percent). We need the compromise corn program as proposed in H. R. 4589 and H. R. 4555. This bill would allow farmers to use either acreage allotments with high supports or to use base acreage with soil bank and moderate supports. In other words everyone will get just what he wants if the Congress will pass this legislation to permit it. But, I can't stress too strongly that this legislation to be of any value this year should pass this month. Farmers must do considerable planning ahead of planting. It will take some time for the agencies of the United States Department of Agriculture to set up their procedure until it is definite what kind of corn program we will have. If we should be forced to operate under an allotment program, as we will without a compromise or a change, some livestock farmers would not have enough acres in their allotment to fill their silos without harvesting any for grain.

Another problem which faces some livestock farmers is restricted acreage in planting grain crops under allotments which would all be used for feed on their own farm. Allotments should not be enforced where crop is all fed on the farm producing the crop.

To summarize, here is how we see the present and pending farm legislation:

We support the soil bank to reduce surpluses. We want to encourage use of CCC stocks as payment in kind to farmers. Keep away from the use of soil bank as "crop insurance."

We need the corn compromise bill. The farmer vote last December leaves no doubt about it. The bill should be passed now to be effective this year. We believe that you Congressmen in this room should have the influence to get this accomplished. We hope we can count on all of you to get the job done while there is still time.

Negro Ex-Red Says NAACP Is Vehicle of Communism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN L. McMILLAN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 12, 1957

Mr. McMILLAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I include a news item appearing in the News and Courier which is one of our leading newspapers in the South.

I hope that everyone in the House will take time to read this article:

NEGRO EX-RED SAYS NAACP IS VEHICLE OF COMMUNISM

(By Phil Stroupe)

BATON ROUGE, LA., March 8.—A New York Negro and former Communist for 10 years today testified under oath that the NAACP has "outlived its usefulness and has become a vehicle of the Communist Party designed to overthrow the Government of the United States."

Manning Johnson, 49, who left the Communist Party in 1940, told the Louisiana Legislature investigating committee the Communist Party has infiltrated dozens of Communist-front organizations including the NAACP.

He said the Reverend Martin Luther King, Negro preacher of Montgomery, Ala., "is a dastardly misleader who is creating a psychosis of hate, leading southern Negroes down the road to bloodshed and destruction.

NEGRO PROGRESS

"Any policy that advocates the destruction of 100 years' progress of the American Negro, such as King is supporting, cannot be anything but wrong. If he is not stopped soon the good Negroes will suffer."

Johnson is the fourth witness to testify before the Louisiana group investigating the cause of racial unrest in the South.

W. M. (Bill) Shaw, chief counsel for the committee, has probed into Communist activities through testimony given by W. Guy Banister, assistant chief of police of New Orleans, Joseph Z. Kornfedder of Detroit, former member of the central executive committee of the Communist Party of the United States, and Leonard Patterson, New York Negro, who spent 10 years in the Communist Party before leaving it in 1937.

Johnson, a highly educated man now employed as director of research for the Department of Justice in Washington, electrified the audience, composed of Negroes and whites, who heard his firsthand revelations of Communist activities in the southland.

"A big family quarrel is going on in the upper echelon of the NAACP," Johnson said, "between the white liberals, eggheads, Socialists, and Communists for the control of the Negroes of the United States."

Johnson said whatever the brand of party label the NAACP may adopt is not important, "but they are all anti-American, against capitalism, and are based on the doctrines of Marxism."

HAND IN HAND

He said the Communist Party and the NAACP "stand hand in hand" aimed at wrecking the security of the United States.

Johnson said Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt is among the strongest leaders of Communist-front organizations.

"Somebody ought to muzzle her and put her in a cage," he said. Testimony Thursday established that she is a member of 33 such front organizations.

He said "somebody told this Reverend King he is a modern Moses, chosen to lead his people across the river to safety. I don't say King is a Communist, but I say he is wrong. He has not the ability to lead his race."

Johnson introduced literally dozens of pieces of documentary evidence to show the Communists are infiltrating southern organizations and seeking to disturb the racial transquility of the South.

"The Communist sees the NAACP as a national liberation movement from Maryland to Texas, through the Nation's black belt," Johnson testified. "They have pounced upon the NAACP because it is one of the most influential mixed-breed organizations in the country."

He called Howard University for Negroes in Washington, D. C., "a hotbed for Communists."

He said the Southern Regional Council and the Southern Conference of Human Welfare "are transmission belts" for communism in the Southland.

"They are trying to get at the southern Negro, but the average Negro knows a red light when he sees one," Johnson said.

"It reminds me of the man who killed a fly on his baby's head by using a sledge hammer," Johnson said.

Johnson testified that the Southern Regional Council was given office space in Atlanta by Methodist Bishop Arthur Moore. Members of the council include the Very Rev. Maurice V. Shean, dean of the Roman Catholic Oratory at Rock Hill, S. C.; Marion S. Wright, of Linville, N. C.; Dr. Gordon B. Hancock, professor emeritus, Virginia Union University.

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, first Negro in the NAACP, was described by Johnson as an "evil, frustrated old man, sucking at the teats of the Old Red Bear, looking to the devils in the Kremlin for vindication and salvation as he nears the end."

Both Johnson and Patterson, a New York hack driver and longshoreman, told of Communist infiltration into southern Negro churches.

"They are working specifically in the Negro churches to give a cloak of respectability to communism behind the door of the church," Johnson said. "That puts them in a position to pressure the pastor."

He told the committee that the Mississippi Council on Human Relations is a Communist-front organization that received $445,000 in 1954 from the Fund for the Republic, an agency already under investigation by Congress.

Among members of the Human Relations Council in Mississippi is Bishop Joseph Brunini, just recently elevated to the status of bishop of the Jackson-Natchez diocese.

A letter from Mrs. R. S. Lyells, of Jackson, executive director, inviting persons to attend an annual meeting in Jackson last November was introduced as evidence.

It said, "the Mississippi Council on Human Relations, affiliated with the Southern Regional Council, needs members and friends, friends among those who agree with us but prefer not to become members of the organization at this time."

Attending the 3-day hearings is the Mississippi general legislative investigating committee, headed by Senator Stanton Hall, of Hattiesburg.

Attorney General Eugene Cook, of Georgia, spent Thursday and Friday as a close observer and interested visiting official.

SOUTHERN EDITOR REPORTS REACTION TO TALK IN NORTH

In Sunday's paper Thomas R. Waring, editor of the News and Courier, reports on the reception given his recent address at Williams College, Williamstown, Mass.

Waring appeared as a guest of the Williams lecture committee and spoke on southern race relations. He called for a better understanding in the North of the southern point of view.

Last spring Thurgood Marshall, counsel for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, was a guest of the same committee.

Waring reports a cold, even hostile, reaction on the part of his audience, a reception he had been advised to expect. He points out that these people are not well informed about the position of the South and do not have a true picture of conditions.

Scrambled Phony Vision Rears Its Ugly Head

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDMUND P. RADWAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 12, 1957

Mr. RADWAN. Mr. Speaker, a recent newspaper item datelined Washington, February 27, announced that a majority of the Senate Commerce Committee is expected to recommend a full-scale trial run of pay-as-you-see television. Experimentation with this vicious proposal sounds like a first step toward total approval by the Federal Communications Commission.

Since 1955, when the greedy promoters of pay television first reared their ugly heads, I have been strongly opposed to the substitution of pay TV for the present free TV. These promoters suggest that television stations which are now broadcasting free programs—free after you pay for your set, of course—should scramble the image on the picture tube and the sound into a sort of unassembled jig saw puzzle. Such scrambled programs could be unscrambled only when a costly gadget, attached to your set at your expense, was fed a coin, a key, or a card for which you, the viewer, would pay, either in cash or as part of your phone bill.

It is no answer that you would not have to watch these pay programs if you did not want to. Since a station cannot televise two programs at once, any station broadcasting a scrambled pay-television program would necessarily have to eliminate its free program during that time period. In other words, pay television would black out the best of free television. It would render the television owner blind, and then rent him a seeing-eye dog at so much a program, to partially restore the sight he had previously enjoyed free as a natural right.

The amusing part of it all is the excuse offered for the change. They say it is needed to improve the quality of the programs. But if current programs need improvement, the answer is not in

March 12, 1957

Mr. Marion A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

Enclosed is a draft of the proposed letter to Louisiana State Senator Rainach, which we just discussed by telephone. It comes to you just as I have dictated it, without reworking. Therefore, feel free to call and indicate any and all changes that you think are desirable.

Also enclosed is a copy of the Times Picayune article reporting the offending testimony.

As you will recall, we propose to send this letter in its final form to Senator Rainach, to the Times Picayune, to Representative Francis E. Walter of the House Committee on Un-American Activities with a covering letter, and to each Board member and our affiliated state organizations.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab
Encls.

P. S. With apologies for the afterthought, I have also dictated a draft letter to Mr. Walter for your scrutiny.

Dictated by Mr. Fleming/signed in absence

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Jackson Daily News 3/2/59

State Human Relations Group Linked To Reds

Well-Known Persons Named As Directors

By PHIL STROUPE
Daily News Staff Writer

BATON ROUGE, La.—Bishop Joseph B. Brunini and 15 other Mississippians are listed as directors of an organization described by a former Negro Communist as a "transmission belt of Communist infiltration in the South."

Manning Johnson of New York City, consultant to various government agencies and a Moscow trained former Communist, told a Louisiana legislative committee under oath here Friday, the Mississippi Council on Human Relations is a subsidiary of a Communist-created organization, the Southern Regional Council.

The Southern Regional Council received $443,000 from the Fund for the Republic, an agency already under investigation by Congress, Johnson told the committee In answer to a direct question by chief counsel Bill Shaw, Johnson said the Mississippi Council on Human Relations was one of 12 created with the money received from the Fund for the Republic.

A spokesman for the Mississippi Council on Human Relations said Saturday that Johnson's statement is just "another crazy accusation that pops up in hearings such as this."

The spokesman flatly denied the organization has any link whatsoever with the Communist Party.

The Council was first organized approximately 30 years ago under the leadership of Bishop Bratton of the Episcopal Church as an inter-racial group to improve race relations in Mississippi.

It is an organization of Mississippi citizens with no connection with the Communist Party, the spokesman said.

Johnson said headquarters for the Southern Regional Council "has its offices in the little church building Atlanta occupied by Bishop Arthur Moore of the Methodist Church."

Johnson and Leonard Patterson of Jamaica, N. Y., another Negro who said he was an ex-Red, testified at length about what they described as Communist penetration in the South through Negro fronts and Negro churches and party attempts to capture the NAACP.

Johnson branded the Rev. Martin Luther King of Montgomery, Ala., "a megalomaniac seeking power." The witness testified the Alabama Negro minister heading an anti-segregation move was "a dastardly mis-leader, leading the Negroes of the South down to destruction and bloodshed."

Johnson introduced as documentary evidence into the bulky record of the three-day hearing into segregation problems, a letter from Ruby Lyells of 1104 Lynch St., Jackson, Miss., inviting "members and friends" to the annual meeting of the council at the Jackson YWCA Nov. 5, 1955.

Johnson's documentary evidence followed the name-calling of at least 21 Mississippians who are members of the board of directors of the Council on Human Relations or who participated in its annual meeting.

The council's parent organization, the Southern Regional Council, was founded by one James E. Jackson of Atlanta, and others identified by Johnson as Communists.

Jackson later was arrested by the FBI and convicted under the Smith Act for subversive activity. He is free on bail pending appeal to the U. S. Supreme Court.

Directors of the Mississippi Council on Human Relations, according to Jachnson's testiomy, and a letter-head he used as documentary evidence, are:

Mrs. W. H. Ratliff of Sherard, Miss., president; Mrs. C. E. Dishman, Piney Woods, vice president; Bishop Brunini, secretary-treasurer; Charles T. Morgan of Mathiston; Alexander FitzHugh of Vicksburg; Miss Alma Hickman, Mrs. E. E. Dean, Rabbi Charles Mantinband, all of Hattiesburg;

Rev. Duncan M. Hobart, Meridian; F. W. Miller, Jackson; Mrs. D. S. Wheatley, Greenwood; Dr. H. G. Williamson, Grenada; and Dr. Thomas L. Zuber, West Point.

Associate directors listed are Mrs. J. A. Burt Jr., and Mrs. C. A. Williams, whose addresses were not listed on the letterhead.

A printed program announcing the annual meeting of the council at the Jackson YWCA and introduced as evidence in the hearing, identified 13 persons as "Who's Who" in the council.

There are Mrs. C. C. Clark of Jackson, supervisor of group services Mississippi State Library Commission; Miss Jamie Turnage, executive director of the Jackson YWCA; Ernest Borinski, NAACP member and head of the sociology department, Tougaloo College; Sam Barefield, director of the Wesley Foundation, Mississippi Southern College; J. J. Bolden, principal of Campbell College High School, Jackson;

Harold Fleming, associate director Southern Regional Council, Atlanta; Mrs. A. Charles Hunter, Columbus; Ruby Lyells, executive director of the Missisippi Council on Human Relations; Rev. John Mangum, chaplain, Tougaloo College; Rabbi Mantinband, Hattiesburg; Rev. M. G. Prueitt, district superintendent, Upper Mississippi Conference Methodist Church; Mrs. Ratliff and Bishop Brunini.

Immediately upon hearing Johnson's testimony, and seeing the six-member legislative investigating committee, who is attending the hearing, rushed to the secretary of the Louisiana committee to inspect personally the list of names and to check evidence introduced. Members of the Mississippi committee headed by Sen. Stanton Hall of Hattiesburg requested photostatic copies of the letter, declaring "we want this to take home with us."

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Human Relations Group Closes Office In Jackson

JACKSON DAILY NEWS 3/12/57

The Mississippi Council on Human Relations has mysteriously closed its offices at 1104 Lynch St

The organization ceased doing business at its location last Tuesday night, March 5, on the eve of the explosive three-day hearings held in Baton Rouge, La., to "determine the cause of racial unrest in the South."

During the hearings seven witnesses who had been subpoened by a Louisiana legislative committee testified to Communist infiltration into Southern states.

Documentary evidence at the hearing listed the Mississippi Council on Human Relations as an affiliate with the Southern Regional Council of Atlanta, claimed to be a Communist-created organization.

Ruby Lyells, a Jackson Negro woman, was listed as executive director of the Mississippi Council on Human Relations in documentary evidence introduced into the record at the Louisiana hearing.

She was among 16 Mississippians listed as directors or assistant director of the organization. She told the Jackon Daily News Monday she has "no authority to speak for the Council."

Tuesday, however, she released a statement regarding the Council which she said was founded 30 years ago under the leadership of Bishop Theodore D. Bratton of the Episcopal Church in Mississippi.

"From the beginning the policies and program have been determined by its members—all Mississippians—who represent all religious faiths," her statement said.

"Though not currently affiliated with the Southern Regional Council, the Mississippi State Council has a statement dated Aug. 30, 1956, of Francis E. Walter, chairman of the House Un-American Activities Committee that 'the Southern Regional Council has not been cited as subversive or un-American by this committee nor by the attorney general'."

She said the Council has attempted a year-round program with a paid stfaf, whose major function was to promote good human relations at the community level.

"At a called meeting March 1, the board of directors did not elect officers and voted to operate temporarily on a very limited basis with a secretary-treasurer and consultant committee."

She said she was elected secretary-treasurer and the consultant committee consists of Bishop Joseph B. Brunini and S. W. Miller, both of Jackson.

J. Hall Bolden, head of the high school division of Campbell College for Negroes in Jackson, a former classmate at Alcorn A&M College with Ruby Lyells, was listed as a program consultant for the Council's meeting at the YWCA in Jackson on Nov. 5, 1955.

Bolden called the Jackson Daily News Monday to make this statement:

"I was invited as a guest to the Council on Human Relations meeting. I did go there and attend, out I did not participate in the program. I am not now nor have I ever been a member of the Council on Human Relations. I have not contributed financially in any way to the council's operations."

YWCA Denies Participation In Human Relations Council

Miss Jamie Turnage, executive director of the Jackson YWCA, told the Daily News today she is "not a member of the Mississippi Council on Human Relations, and have never attended one of its meetings."

Miss Turnage was listed among 13 names shown as "Who's Who" on a program of the annual meeting of the Council held at the YWCA on Nov. 5, 1955.

"I did not attend the meeting even as a guest, and did not participate in the program," she said.

The program of the meeting, including Miss Turnage's name, was introduced as documentary evidence in a Louisiana legislative committee hearing at Baton Rouge last week looking into the cause of racial unrest in the South.

Ruby Lyells of Jackson, executive director of the Council, invited Miss Turnage to appear on the program, but Miss Turnage said she declined the invitation to lead the singing of the group.

Miss Turnage said she rejected the invitation, explaining that the YWCA "had a meeting of its own that I had to attend."

The council meeting was held in the downstairs section of the YWCA where it has met on many occasions, but the YWCA has not permitted any meetings of the Council in its building since the Nov. 5, 1955 session.

Mrs. Ernest Spivey of 3738 Crane Blvd., president of the board of directors of the YWCA, said she "concurs in and agrees with" Miss Turnage that she did not "in any way" participate in the program of the Council on Human Welfare even though Ruby Lyells listed her on the program.

Jackson Daily News March 11

The Clarion-Ledger

Mississippi's Leading Newspaper For More Than A Century

JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI, THURSDAY MORNING, MARCH 14, 1957 VOL. CXVII NON 324

Says Shot Was Result Of Hearing

Greenwood Woman Reported Member Of Human Council

GREENWOOD — (AP) — A prominent Greenwood woman Wednesday blamed a shot fired into her home Tuesday night on the fact she has been publicly identified as a member of the Mississippi Council on Human Relations.

Mrs. Elizabeth Wheatley said she has been a member of the council 20 years and "its purpose through the years has been to work for better human relations."

At a Louisiana legislative committee hearing in Baton Rouge last Friday, a witness called the council a "transmission belt of Communist infiltration into the South."

Neither Mrs. Wheatley nor her husband, Greenwood cotton buyer D. S. Wheatley Sr., was hurt by the bullet which Police Chief R. R. Shurden said pierced two walls before its power was spent. Shurden said newspaper publicity about the Baton Rouge hearing "was what caused it."

BELONGED 20 YEARS

Mrs. Wheatley said in a formal statement that both she and her husband have been council members 20 years or more, that the group was known as the Mississippi Inter-Racial Commission when they joined, and that the council "is entirely a Mississippi group and has no communist connections whatever."

"Bishop Theodore Bratton of the Episcopal Church was president when we joined," she said. "The organization never engaged in any political activity whatever."

Mrs. Wheatley said the council was for some time affiliated with the Southern Regional Council and said that on Aug. 30, 1956, chairman Frances E. Walter of the Un-American Activities Committee formally notified the council it "has not been cited as subversive or un-American by this committee nor by the attorney general."

GOT FORD MONEY

Manning Johnson of New York City told the Louisiana legislative committee that Mrs. Wheatley was a director of the council, which he called a subsidiary of the Southern Regional Council, which in turn he testified received funds from the Fund for the Republic Johnson said Congress is investigating the Fund for the Republic.

Other council spokesmen already had denied it has any subversive or Communist affiliation.

Johnson is an admitted former Communist who says he has split with the Reds and served several government agencies as a consultant.

Police Chief Shurden said the bullet went through two walls before its power was spent. He said his investigation is underway and that he expects to seek help from George Everett, resident FBI agent.

The bullet did not strike anyone.

Meanwhile it was disclosed that the Mississippi Attorney General's Office two years ago denied a charter of incorporation to the council. Asst. Atty. Gen. Dugas Shands said the council made its application April 23, 1955 when Gov. J. P. Coleman was attorney general. Shands said the application was not approved and on Nov. 15, 1956, was withdrawn.

Shands, who acted on the application, said it was not approved because "I was not satisfied that it complied with the Mississippi law."

The MORNING STAR — GREENWOOD, MISS. 3/14/57

Bullet Fired Into Wheatly Home; Communist Affiliation Is Denied

A shot was fired into the home of Mr. and Mrs. D. S. Wheatley Sr., 112 West Adams about 10:20 p.m. Tuesday and police are investigating. Chief R. R. Shurden said yesterday he believes the shooting was the result of publication of articles in Jackson newspapers regarding Mrs. Wheatley's connection with the Mississippi Council on Human Relations a biracial organization which was under investigation at Baton Rouge last week.

The shot, evidently fired from a .44 or .45 calibre pistol, passed through the upper part of a rear window passed through a partitian and hit the front wall and fell to the floor. Mrs. Wheatley was reading in another portion of the house at the time and Mr. Wheatley was in bed. Evidently the shot was fired from their back yard.

The Wheatley's first thought it was a firecracker but police and neighbors gathered quickly and no trace of the gun toter was found.

The Wheatleys are long time residents of Greenwood. Mr. Wheatley is in the cotton business and Mrs. Wheatley has taken an active part in church and women's affairs.

Statement

Mrs. Wheatley made the following statement:

"On Tuesday night, March 12 at about 10:20 p.m. a shot was fired into our home. No one was hurt and Police are investigating. As far as we know there is no reason for the shooting unless it could have been inspired by recent news articles in which I was named as one of the directors of the Mississippi Council on Hunman Relations

"I an a member of the Mississippi Council on Human Relations and have been for 20 years or more. My husband has also been a member for the same length of time.

"The organization was originally known as the Mississippi Interracial Commission. Bishop Theodore D. Bratton of the Episcopal Church was president when we joined.

"The organization was for some time affiliated with the Southern Regional Council whose parent body was the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, founded in 1919 by a group of the South's leading church men and women.

"Under the dateline of August 30, 1956, Dr. George S. Mitchell, then executive director of the Southern Regional Council received the following statement from the Hon. Frances E. Walter, chairman of the U.S. House Committee on UnAmerican Activities. For your information the Southern Regional Council has not been cited as subversive or unAmerican by this committee nor by the Attorney General."

The Mississippi Council on Human Relations is entirely a Mississippi group and has no communist connections whatever. Its purpose through the years has been to work for better human relations. The organization never engages in any political activity whatever.

The Morning Star

"Northwest Mississippi's Only Morning Newspaper"

WEATHER
Scattered showers
High—77
Low—49

Volume XI, Number 205 | Single Copy FIVE CENTS | GREENWOOD, MISSISSIPPI | Thursday, March 14, 1957

FBI Arrests Union Leader For Bribery

By John A. Goldsmith
United Press Staff Correspondent

WASHINGTON, March 13 UP FBI agents tonight arrested James R. Hoffa, vice president of the Teamsters union, on charges of bribery in connection with securing data from files of the special Senate Committee on Racketeering.

The FBI said the complaint was filed before U.S. District Judge Richmond B. Keech here.

The complaint charges that Hoffa bribed John Cye Cheasty, a New York attorney, to secure data from the files of the committee.

When Hoffa was arrested, the FBI said, he had in his possession documents from the committee files.

Hoffa is accused of having hired Cheasty on Feb. 13 in Detroit to secure a Job with the committee, the FBI said. At that time it said, Hoffa paid Cheasty $1,000 and offered to pay him a total of $18,000 to report to him during the committee's investigation.

Hoffa Arraigned

Hoffa was to be arraigned here tonight before U. S. Commisioner James Splain.

FBI agents said they had recovered possession of the documents.

Atty. Gen. Herbert Brownell Jr. stated that from the beginning of the committee's investigation the committee and the Justice Department have worked in close cooperation.

In this instance, Brownell said Sen. John L. McClellan committee chairman, notified the department as soon as the information about Hoffa's activities came to his attention. Cheasty cooperated fully with the FBI from the beginning the FBI said.

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"Under the dateline of August 30, 1956, Dr. George S. Mitchell, then executive director of the Southern Regional Council received the following statement from the Hon. Frances E. Walter, chairman of the U.S. House Committee on UnAmerican Activities. 'For your information the Southern Regional Council has not been cited as subversive or unAmerican by this committee nor by the Attorney General.'"

The Mississippi Council on Human Relations is entirely a Mississippi group and has no communist connections whatever. Its purpose through the years has been to work for better human relations. The organization never engages in any political activity whatever.

File

WHEATLEY & COMPANY

COTTON

GREENWOOD, MISSISSIPPI

March 14, 1957

RECEIVED MAR 15 1957

Mr. Harold E. Fleming Executive Director
Southern Regional Council Inc.
Room 432 63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3 Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

For your information and use there are enclosed three copies of an article in one of our local papers in Greenwood in which the name of the Southern Regional Council is mentioned.

You will no doubt have received press clippings from the Louisiana Human Relations Council on the subject of the legislative hearings. In one of these the Southern Regional Council and the Missippi Council on Human Relations were accused of being communist infiltrated.

The happening told in the papers enclosed is, we think a result since the Jackson Miss papers have carried several articles on the above subject.

My statement was given to the press here to the Jackson Daily News and to Mr. Parker of the Associated Press. I have asked in each case that it be used exactly as given and in the "Morning Star" it is quoted exactly.

Very sincerely yours

Elizabeth D. Wheatley

Mrs. D. S. Wheatley

N.B. If it should come to your attention that our office at 1104 Lynch Street was "mysteriously closed" on March 5 - I wish to tell you that at a Board meeting on March 1, 1957 the Board ordered the office closed and telephone taken out for the simple reason that we did not see funds ahead to maintain it. We have retained Mrs. Lyells as Secretary-Treasurer and the Post Office Box is 9096 Jackson 3 Miss.

March 14, 1957

The Editor
Times-Picayune
New Orleans, Louisiana

Dear Sir:

The enclosed copy of a letter from our President to State Senator W. M. Rainach concerns certain charges made against our organization during the recent hearings of the Joint Legislative Committee and publicized in your newspaper. In the interest of fairness, I am sure you will wish to publish the text of Mr. Wright's letter.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab
Encl.

Mailed to Bd. members & State affiliates 3/19/57

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

JAckson 2-8764

HAROLD C. FLEMING
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

March 14, 1957

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

COPY

The Honorable W. M. Rainach
State Senate
Baton Rouge, Louisiana

My dear Senator Rainach:

I have just read an account of hearings conducted by the Joint Legislative Committee under your chairmanship, as reported by the Times-Picayune of March 9, 1957. According to this account, a witness named Manning Johnson made numerous allegations of communist influence in organizations active in the South, among them the Southern Regional Council. It is not my province here to evaluate Mr. Johnson's charges against other groups, but I can say unequivocally that the statements which he is quoted as making about the Southern Regional Council are utterly false. If this witness made the statements attributed to him under oath, he is guilty of the grossest kind of perjury.

Mr. Johnson is quoted as saying that the Southern Regional Council was "formed by the communists," and he is further quoted as naming specifically one James E. Jackson as "having founded the organization." These allegations are fantastic, as even a casual inquiry into the facts would establish at once. The Southern Regional Council was founded in 1944 by some of the South's most distinguished leaders, white and Negro. The details of its founding were public knowledge, having been reported fully in reputable newspapers throughout the nation. The incorporators were Bishop Arthur J. Moore of the Methodist Church, the late Dr. Charles S. Johnson of Fisk University, the late Dr. Howard W. Odum of the University of North Carolina, Dr. Rufus E. Clement of Atlanta University, and Mr. Ralph McGill of the Atlanta Constitution. Neither the James E. Jackson in question nor anyone else bearing that name was involved in this organization at its founding or at any other time. The Council has never been influenced by communists or had the slightest sympathy for communist doctrine. Any sober scrutiny of its record will confirm this fact.

The uninformed and generally irresponsible nature of Mr. Johnson's testimony is illustrated by his reference, in connection with the Southern Regional Council, to Bishop Arthur J. Moore. According to the Times-Picayune story, Mr. Johnson inaccurately identified Bishop Moore, one of the leading and most widely known bishops of the Methodist Church, as a Negro. This inaccuracy characterizes his testimony on the larger and more important matters mentioned above.

It is distressing to see a legislative body of the State of Louisiana used as a forum for false and abusive charges against responsible and patriotic citizens, made by an ex-communist who apparently puts little value on the truth.

If, as one might hope, you should wish to rectify this abuse of your Committee, I am sure that you will find the true facts readily ascertainable.

Sincerely yours,

/s/
M. A. Wright
President

MAW/eab

March 14, 1957

March 14, 1957

Mr. Milton C. Vigo
303 Board of Trade Annex Building
New Orleans, Louisiana

Dear Milton:

Here is a copy of our letter to Rainach. We are sending a copy of it to the Times-Picayune, with the suggestion that they publish it.

I appreciate your advising us on this matter and hope you will keep us posted on any subsequent developments, including the publication of our letter.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eah
Encl.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

March 14, 1957

Mr. Ralph McGill
The Atlanta Constitution
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Ralph:

Since Gene Cook has announced his intention of giving some local circulation to the transcript of the Rainach hearings in Louisiana, I thought you would be interested in seeing copies of the two letters enclosed.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab
Encls.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

March 14, 1957

Mr. Arnold Forster
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
515 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Arnold:

Enclosed are a clipping from the Times-Picayune and a copy of our letter of protest to Louisiana Senator W. M. Rainach. As you will see, one Manning Johnson testified wildly about the NAACP and other groups, including the Southern Regional Council.

In and of itself, this circus in New Orleans is of little importance and wouldn't warrant much attention. However, Georgia's Attorney General Gene Cook has been quoted in the Atlanta paper as saying that he is going to circulate transcripts of the testimony given in New Orleans since "several Georgia groups" were "exposed."

I have some recollection, which I can't pin down, that Manning Johnson got pretty thoroughly discredited for some of his earlier professional witnessing. Do you have background on Johnson in your files or readily available to you? If so, I would greatly appreciate your sharing it with me.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab
Encl.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

3/4/57

Mr. Albert W. Dent
Dillard University
New Orleans, Louisiana

Dear Al:

Enclosed are copies of two letters -- one to State Senator Rainach and one to U. S. Representative Francis E. Walter. I conferred with Marion Wright and Rufus Clement about Manning Johnson's wild charges and we concluded that it would be well to set the record straight in this fashion. A copy of the letter to Rainach is being sent to the Times-Picayune.

One reason we are giving the matter this much attention is that Georgia's Attorney General Eugene Cook, who was present for some of the hearings in New Orleans, has announced that he will distribute the transcripts to state officials and legislators of Georgia. Fantastic as the charges are, we want to be prepared to deal with them vigorously.

We won't give our letter any wider publicity than the Times-Picayune unless Johnson's charges against SRC receive more general publicity.

I trust that this handling of the matter will meet with your approval.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab
Encl.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

March 14, 1957

The Honorable Francis E. Walter
The House Committee on Un-American Activities
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Walter:

I am taking the liberty of sending to you, in your capacity of Chairman of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, the enclosed copy of a letter to State Senator W. M. Rainach of Louisiana.

It is our understanding that on occasion the House Committee on Un-American Activities incorporates into its files material developed by state legislative committees concerned with these matters. We thought that it would be both proper and desirable, therefore, for you to be alerted to the demonstrably false and irresponsible testimony discussed in the attached letter.

If this testimony or similar charges should at any time come within the purview of your Committee, we respectfully urge that you make your own determination of the facts. In this way, responsible and patriotic citizens will be spared needless injury, and your Committee will safeguard itself against victimization by an uninformed and unscrupulous accuser.

The Southern Regional Council will be glad at any time to cooperate in sober efforts to establish the truth of its origin, history, and activities.

Sincerely,

M. A. Wright
President

MAW/eab
Encl.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Times-Picayune
Tuesday May 19 57

WRIGHT DEFENDS REGIONAL GROUP

Hits Johnson Statement as Fantastic

Testimony of a witness who told the Louisiana joint legislative committee investigating Communist influence behind racial disturbances that an organization known as the Southern Regional Council was formed by Communists was termed "fantastic" Monday by M. A. Wright, president of the organization.

The witness was Manning Johnson, Washington, D. C., who described himself as a former Communist. He testified at the joint committee hearing March 8 in Baton Rouge that the Southern Regional Council was formed by a Communist named James E. Jackson.

In a letter to Sen. W. M. Rainach, chairman of the joint committee, Wright stated, "It is not my province here to evaluate Mr. Johnson's charges against other groups, but I can say unequivocally that the statements which he is quoted as making about the Southern Regional Council are utterly false. If this witness made the statements attributed to him under oath, he is guilty of the grossest kind of perjury."

Lists Incorporators

Referring to the testimony concerning Jackson, the letter says, "These allegations are fantastic, as even a casual inquiry into the facts would establish at once. The Southern Regional Council was founded in 1944 by some of the South's most distinguished leaders, white and Negro. The details of its founding were public knowledge, having been reported fully in reputable newspapers throughout the nation.

"The incorporators were Bishop Arthur J. Moore of the Methodist church, the late Dr. Charles S. Johnson of Fisk university, the late Dr. Howard W. Odum of the University of North Carolina, Dr. Rufus E. Clement of Atlanta university, and Mr. Ralph McGill of the Atlanta Constitution."

Wright wrote that neither the James E. Jackson in question "nor anyone else bearing that name was involved in this organization at its founding or at any other time. The council has never been influenced by Communists or had the slightest sympathy for Communist doctrine. Any sober scrutiny of its record will confirm this fact."

The letter called Johnson's testimony "uninformed" and "irresponsible" in nature. In connection with the witness' reference to Bishop Arthur J. Moore, Wright said, "According to The Times-Picayune story, Mr. Johnson inaccurately identified Bishop Moore, one of the leading and most widely known bishops of the Methodist church, as a Negro. This inaccuracy characterizes his testimony on the larger and more important matters mentioned above.

"It is distressing to see a legislative body of the state of Louisiana used as a forum for false and abusive charges against responsible and patriotic citizens, made by an ex-Communist who apparently puts little value on the truth," Wright wrote to Rainach.

Regional Council Head Denies Group Pro-Red

Jackson Daily News
3/19/57

Calls Accusations Fantastic and False

NEW ORLEANS, LA. (AP)—M. A. Wright, president of the Southern Regional Council, says that a charge that his organization was formed by Communists was "fantastic."

Wright was referring to testimony by Manning Johnson of Washingtn, D. C., before a Louisiana joint legislative committee investigating Communist influence behind racial disturbances.

Johnson, who described himself as a former Communist, told the committee the Southern Regional Council was formed by a Communist named James E. Jackson.

In a letter to state Sen. W. M. Rainach, chairman of the joint committee, Wright said:

"It is not my province here to evaluate Mr. Johnson's charges against other groups, but I can say unequivocaly that the statements which he is quoted as making about the Southern Regional Council are utterly false.

"If this witness made the statements attributed to him under oath, he is guilty of the grossest kind of perjury."

Wright said the Southern Regional Council was founded in 1944 by "some of the South's most distinguished leaders, white and Negro."

The details of its founding, he said, "were public knowledge, having been reported fully in reputable newspapers throughout the nation."

He listed the incorporators as Bishop Arthur J. Moore of the Methodist Church, the late Dr. Charles S. Johnson of Fisk University, the late Dr. Howard W. Odum of the University of North Carolina, Dr. Rufus E. Clement of Atlanta University, and Ralph McGill of the Atlanta Constitution.

Wright said neither the James E. Jackon named by Johnson "nor anyone else bearing that name was involved in this organization at its founding or at any other time.

"The council has never been influenced by Communists or had the slightet sympathy for Communist doctrine. Any sober scrutiny of its record will confirm this fact," he wrote Rainach.

Atlanta Constitution March 20, 1957

Red Cry 'Fantastic,' Says Dixie Council

NEW ORLEANS, March 19 (AP)—M. A. Wright, president of the Southern Regional Council, said yesterday that a charge his organization was formed by Communists was "fantastic."

Wright was referring to testimony by Manning Johnson of Washington before a Louisiana joint legislative committee investigating Communist influence behind racial disturbances.

In a letter to State Sen. W. M. Rainach, chairman of the joint committee, Wright said:

"It is not my province here to evaluate Mr. Johnson's charges against other groups, but I can say unequivocally that the statements which he is quoted as making about the Southern Regional Council are utterly false.

"If this witness made the statements attributed to him under oath, he is guilty of the grossest kind of perjury."

Wright, who said the Southern Regional Council was founded in 1944, listed the incorporators as Bishop Arthur J. Moore of the Methodist Church, the late Dr. Charles S. Johnson of Fisk University, the late Dr. Howard W. Odum of the University of North Carolina, Dr. Rufus E. Clement of Atlanta University, and Ralph McGill of The Atlanta Constitution.

"The council has never been influenced by Communists or had the slightest sympathy for Communist doctrine. Any sober scrutiny of its record will confirm this fact," Wright wrote Rainach.

In Atlanta Ralph McGill said Johnson obviously confused the Southern Regional Council with the old Southern Conference for Human Welfare. He said it was an error "commonly made by uninformed persons."

WHEATLEY & COMPANY
COTTON
Box 307
GREENWOOD, MISSISSIPPI

March 19, 1957

Mr. Harold Fleming Executive Director
Southern Regional Council Inc.
Atlanta Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Mr. Wheatley and I both thank you for your recent letter on our shooting affair, and we are very glad indeed to get two copies of your statement on the Louisiana investigation.

Since you have sent a copy to the Jackson Daily News, I mention that there are two other papers in Jackson which might use it: The Clarion Ledger, and the Jackson State Times.

Your statement together with two brief histories of SRC I will keep carefully by me.

We have had no further disturbance at our house, and we have discovered a great number of friends who have been most kind to us.

I will let you know of further developments.

With repeated thanks,

Sincerely yours
Elizabeth D. Wheatley
Mrs. D. S. Wheatley

LOUISIANA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

303 BOARD OF TRADE ANNEX BLDG. • NEW ORLEANS 12, LA.

MILTON C. VIGO
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

MAGNOLIA 4295

March 19, 1957

RECEIVED MAR 20 1957

Mr. Harold Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I presume that the Times-Picayune received the copy of Marion Wright's letter to Senator Rainach yesterday when I also received the copy from you.

This morning the Picayune published parts of the letter in the clipping in which I am enclosing with this letter.

I will let you know about any further developments.

Sincerely,

Milton

Milton C. Vigo
Executive Director

MCV:bt

Enclosure

March 19, 1957

Mr. Joseph Haas
1116 First National Bank Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Haas:

Since Attorney General Cook has announced that he is requesting a transcript of the Louisiana hearings dealt with in the attached material, I thought I should send you a fairly complete set of the newspaper clippings and letters which we have written.

The copy of Mr. Wright's letter to Louisiana Senator Rainach was sent for publication to the Times-Picayune.

This is the grossest example yet of false charges against the SRC. It may well be that Mr. Cook would not wish to use testimony that can be shown so clearly to be perjured and irresponsible. But I thought it best to keep you fully informed of these developments.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab
Encls.

March 21, 1957

(Dictated March 20)

Mr. Milton C. Vigo
303 Board of Trade Annex Building
New Orleans, Louisiana

Dear Milton:

Thanks for the clipping from the Times-Picayune. I thought they did a very fair job with our letter to Rainach. Enclosed is a copy of the AP story, based on the Times-Picayune article, as it appeared in this morning's Atlanta Constitution.

I appreciate your keeping me posted of developments there.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab
Encl. - Atl. Constitution March 19, 1957

March 21, 1957

Mr. Charles T. Morgan
Wood Junior College
Mathiston, Mississippi

Dear Mr. Morgan:

You should have received by now a copy of our President's letter to Louisiana State Senator Rainach. A story based on this was published in the Times-Picayune and also sent out by the Associated Press.

I am enclosing the account of the Council's origin and aims. Do let me know if more detailed information along these lines would be helpful to you.

This attack upon the Southern Regional Council and the Mississippi Council is the most shameful and unprincipled one to date. We stand ready to assist you and the other fine people there who have had to bear the brunt in Mississippi.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab
Encls.

Atl. Constitution 3/20/57
Times Picayune, 3/19/57

WOOD JUNIOR COLLEGE

MATHISTON, MISSISSIPPI

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
CHARLES T. MORGAN

UNDER AUSPICES OF
WOMAN'S DIVISION OF CHRISTIAN SERVICE
OF THE BOARD OF MISSIONS OF THE
METHODIST CHURCH.

March 18, 1957

Mr. Harold Fleming
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I understand you have a mimeographed booklet on The Southern Regional Council: a brief account of its origin and aims. Will you please forward one or more copies of this to me at your earliest opportunity.

You have heard, no doubt, of the attack upon the Council here in Mississippi.

Sincerely yours,

Chas. T. Morgan

Chas. T. Morgan

March 21, 1957

Miss Helen Fuller
The New Republic
1244 Nineteenth Street, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Helen:

Thanks for trying on my query. If your further efforts produce any results, I will be most grateful.

I thought you might want to see the enclosed record of this dismal affair.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab
Encls:
Clip from The Morning Star, 3/14/57
Times-Picayune, 3/9/57
Times-Picayune, 3/19/57

The New Republic
1244 19TH STREET, NW WASHINGTON 6, D.C.

Helen Fuller, MANAGING EDITOR

RECEIVED MAR 14 1957

Dear Harold —

Thus far we have drawn a blank on your query — and I have exhausted the most likely sources. But we are continuing to try.

Regards

Helen

Telephone: REpublic 7-8656
Cable Address: NEWREPUB

File

DILLARD UNIVERSITY

NEW ORLEANS 22, LOUISIANA

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

March 25, 1957

Dear Harold:

The letters to Senator Rainach and to Congressman Walter were very appropriate. The Times-Picayune as you probably know by now, gave good coverage to the letters. You and Mr. Wright did a good job on this.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

A. W. Dent
President

AWD:db

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

FBR ✓
JC —
PA ✓
EV ✓
DT ✓

RECEIVED MAR 27 1957

EAB (file)

March 26, 1957

The Reverend Cornelius Tarplee
1641 Link Road
Lynchburg, Virginia

Dear Neil:

I have just returned from Mississippi where an incident came to my attention of which I felt you should be informed.

Mrs. D. S. Wheatley, daughter of a deceased Episcopal clergyman and sister of Dr. Philip Davidson, President of the University of Louisville, is chairman of the Mississippi State Council on Human Relations. Her husband is a cotton broker in Greenwood and has also been active with her in interracial activities. They are leaders in the local Episcopal church and well known in the diocese. About a week ago, their home was fired into by what police described as being 44 caliber pistol bullets. No one was injured and their friends in the town have been quite cordial. Although their spirits are high, I believe that a letter from you would be helpful and meaningful. They appreciated letters and calls which they have received already and perhaps this has come to your attention.

The address is:
Mr. and Mrs. D. S. Wheatley
112 West Adams Street
Greenwood, Mississippi

Cordially yours,

Will D. Campbell
Associate Executive

WDC/jf

cc: H. Fleming

STATE OF LOUISIANA

JOINT LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEE

BATON ROUGE

REP. F. W. GRAVOLET, JR., VICE-CHAIRMAN, POINTE-A-LA-HACHE, LA.
REP. CARROLL L. DUPONT, HOUMA, LA.
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SEN. W. M. RAINACH, CHAIRMAN
COMMITTEE ADDRESS:
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REP. L. D. NAPPER, RUSTON, LA.
SEN. A. L. STEWART, DE RIDDER, LA.
SEN. ALVIN T. STUMPF, GRETNA, LA.
W. M. SHAW, GENERAL COUNSEL, HOMER, LA.

March 26, 1957

Mr. M. A. Wright, President
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Wright:

In reply to your letter of March 14, 1957, a sound and stenographic record was made of the testimony and documentary evidence submitted to our Committee during the recently concluded hearings on subversion in racial unrest.

Following is a verbatim excerpt from Manning Johnson's testimony relative to the Southern Regional Council, which is taken from the transcript of the entire testimony prepared and certified to by Mrs. Janet L. Parker, Court Reporter, Parish of East Baton Rouge, Baton Rouge, Louisiana:

> In the Daily Worker of Wednesday, December 1, 1954, in an article written by S. D. Rock, entitled "J. Jackson's Fortieth Birthday" he wrote some of the Negro people.. The writer states, and I quote, "Jim Jackson was there as an officer of the Southern Negro Youth Congress, spearheading the movement, rallying his fellow Negro veterans to take advantage of their poll tax exemption and vote." Then, the article goes on to say--and this is very significant--to show who organized and who inspired these movements but here that are causing all of this chaos and confusion. It says up here that "For a period of 15 years he took part in every important general movement for advancement which involved Negro and white labor and progressive forces in the south. In addition to serving as a founder, vice-president and principal organizer of the Southern Negro Youth Congress, he participated in the formation and building of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, The Southern Regional Council, and many other movements which

in any important way challenged the status quo of Negro oppression and southern social backwardness." This is clear and convincing evidence. I am not saying it. This is the official organ of the Daily Workers, which tells you who was the architect and who was the founder of these organizations that are so-called--to help the Negro.

MR. SHAW: Mr. Chairman, I would like to offer this photostatic copy of the Daily Worker in evidence and ask that it be marked WJ-2 for identification.

SENATOR RAINACH: The Chair orders that the exhibit WJ-2 be made a part of the records of this committee.

The statements that I can find in the transcript concerning Bishop Arthur Moore do not contain any reference at all as to his race.

Very truly yours,

W. M. Rainach

WMR:jsl

cc: Mr. Marion A. Wright
Linville Falls
North Carolina

Wle

WOMAN'S DIVISION OF CHRISTIAN SERVICE
OF THE
BOARD OF MISSIONS OF THE METHODIST CHURCH

150 FIFTH AVENUE NEW YORK 11, N. Y.

MRS. J. FOUNT TILLMAN, PRESIDENT
PALMETTO FARM, R.F.D. 1
LEWISBURG, TENN.

April 1, 1957

Hef:
For your information
Je

Mr. M. A. Wright, President
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E. - Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Wright:

A copy of your letter to Senator Rainach has been sent to me. I was glad to get from the office of the Southern Regional Council the news releases about it.

This refutation of false witness is needed and should have a far-reaching effect in its influence.

Yours sincerely,

Sadie W. Tillman

Mrs. J. Fount Tillman
President

SWT:rd

cc: Mr. John Constable

The New Republic
1244 19TH STREET, NW WASHINGTON 6, D.C.

Dear Harold —
This may be
of interest.
Regards,
Helen

RECEIVED APR 1 1957

Mr. Kenneth M. Birkhead
Executive Director
American Veterans Committee, Inc.
1830 Jefferson Place, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Mr. Birkhead:

This will acknowledge your letter of March 13, 1957, addressed to the Attorney General. In your letter you make reference to a news item which reported the testimony of Manning Johnson before the Louisiana State Legislature Investigating Committee and which identified Mr. Johnson as "director of research for the Department of Justice" in Washington. Since Mr. Johnson was identified in this news item as an official of the Department of Justice, you inquire as to whether he was speaking for this Department in his testimony before the Louisiana Committee.

I am enclosing herewith a copy of the pertinent portion of Johnson's testimony before the Louisiana State Legislature Investigating Committee on March 8, 1957, which is self-emplanatory with reference to the newspaper statement that Johnson was a director of research for the Department of Justice.

As Mr. Johnson testified, he was at one time a consultant with the Immigration and Naturalization Service of this Department. This contractual relationship ceased in September 1954. Mr. Johnson was not, and apparently did not testify that he was, an official, an employee or a spokesman for the Department of Justice at the time he appeared as a witness before the Louisiana State Legislature Investigating Committee.

Sincerely,

WILLIAM F. TOMPKINS
Assistant Attorney General

Question: What is your present occupation?

Answer: At the present time I am working as an Assistant Research Director. At every opportunity I cooperate with various agencies of the Federal Government in investigating andprosecuting Communists.

Question: Since you have left the party have you worked with any of the Federal Agencies combating Communism?

Answer: Yes, I worked with the FBI in its investigation of Communists. In fact, except for the short period when I was in the U.S. Navy during the war, I have continuously cooperated with the FBI and with the Criminal Division of the Justice Department and with the Immigration and Naturalization Service in the investigation and prosecution of aliens.

Question: What specific type of work did you do for th Department of Justice or the Immigration and Naturalization Service of that Department?

Anser: I was an analyst and consultant in the Immigration Service, and that concerned itself primarily with investigation and denaturization and deportation of subversive reds (correction subversive aliens).

cc to MAW
Mailed 4/17/57
Eop

WOMAN'S DIVISION OF CHRISTIAN SERVICE
OF THE
BOARD OF MISSIONS OF THE METHODIST CHURCH

150 FIFTH AVENUE NEW YORK 11, N. Y.

MRS. J. FOUNT TILLMAN, PRESIDENT
PALMETTO FARM
LEWISBURG, TENN.

April 1, 1957

Mr. M. A. Wright, President
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E. - Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Wright:

A copy of your letter to Senator Rainach has been sent to me. I was glad to get from the office of the Southern Regional Council the news releases about it.

This refutation of false witness is needed and should have a far-reaching effect in its influence.

Yours sincerely,

Sadie W. Tillman

Mrs. J. Fount Tillman
President

SWT:rd

cc: Mr. John Constable

April 4, 1957

Miss Alma Hickman
2509½ Pearl Street
Hattiesburg, Mississippi

Dear Miss Hickman:

Many thanks for your recent letter and for the enclosed copy of your letter to State Senator Hall. I admire the way in which you have presented your views to him. Certainly you have given him a great deal to think about.

I needn't tell you how distressed we are here by the unfair and dishonest methods that have been used to cause embarrassment and difficulty to the people in Mississippi who have been trying against such odds to improve race relations. Similar pressure has been brought to bear on people in South Carolina and are expected soon in Georgia, as a result of the Louisiana hearing. It is good to know that your outstanding reputation and many friendships in Mississippi have placed you above these petty attacks.

If at any time you see ways in which the Council can assist people who are confronted by scurrilous charges of this sort, please let me know. Meanwhile, best regards and good wishes.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab

RECEIVED MAR 25 1957

2509½ Pearl Street
Hattiesburg, Mississippi
March 22, 1957

Dr. Harold Fleming, Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

My dear Dr. Fleming

Thank you for the letter from President Wright to Senator Rainach, a copy of which I am sending to Senator Hall of Hattiesburg and in turn am sending you a copy of my letter to Senator Hall. I hope later to make the letter a little stronger by revision and may send it to Governor Coleman and several other legislators, but will wait till I get Senator Hall's reply.

It, perhaps, serves us of the M.S.H.R. right that the publicity which we feared has come upon us with a vengeance. I am enclosing two clippings from the Jackson Daily News. This paper published the names of Mrs. C.C. Clark and others connected with the program of the meeting at Jackson. The H'bg paper carried only the names as published in the Times Picayune. I am especially sorry about Mrs. Clark as she is an employee of a state agency. You may have read that Mrs. D.S. Wheatley of Greenwood has been the victim of an attack, her home being shot into after her name came out as a member of the M.C.H.R. However, neither she nor her husband was hurt.

I remember very pleasantly meeting you at Jackson and Mrs. Tilly at Hattiesburg. Please give her my kindest regards. Do not worry about me. My friends at the Mississippi Education Association last week in Jackson were never more cordial. I think good may come out of all this publicity and that we should have had publicity all the time.

Cordially yours,
Alma Hickman
Alma Hickman

2509½ Pearl Street
Hattiesburg, Miss.
March 22, 1957

Senator Stanton Hall
212 Fifteenth Avenue
Hattiesburg, Miss.

Dear Stanton,

Since, as chairman of the Mississippi Legislative Committee, you were present in Baton Rouge Louisiana and expressed an interest in the "Mississippi-tie-in" part of the testimoney of the witness, Manning Johnson, before the Louisiana Committee, and since you may have missed the statement of the Southern Regional Council, a part of which appeared in the March 19 issue of the Hattiesburg American, I am enclosing a copy of the complete defense which the Council sent me as one of the Mississippians mentioned in that testimony.

I hope you have known me too long and too well for me to make any defense to you of my membership in the M.C. H.R. but since you are chairman of the investigating committe, I think you will be interested in what I know of that organization. As I said in my letter of resignation as a member of the Board of Directors, my chief reason for resigning was fear of public opinion. I had learned too that the attorney generals office had refused to grant the group a charter. I felt uneasy belonging to a group that could not secure a charter from the state of Mississippi. I also stated frankly that that same fear had made me an abject failure as a member of the board of directors; that I had not attended a single meeting of the board and had not recruited a single member. I sensed too that the other women on the Board, especially the lady whose name was listed in the report as the president of the Board. Representatives of the Regional Council had complained of the lack of publicity of the Mississippi group, a lack I said was due to that same fear. This complaint along with others, ceused the Regional Council to withdraw its support from the M.C.H.R. and it was this lack of financial support chiefly which closed the office in Jackson several weeks before the testimony in Baton Rouge became public.

were afraid

While the Southern Regional Council was still giving financial aid to the M.C.H.R. I was asked to let my name go before the Board of Directors for a position with the M.C.H.R. with a salary of $4,000 guaranteed for fifteen months. For many reasons I declined to do so, but I recommended a young man, whom I knew, a young man who had been secretary of the Truman-Barkley Committee in 1948, but who broke with the group shortly after Truman's victory and was in no way connected with the scandals of the Truman Committee. I was not surprised when the Board of Directors failed to give him the position. He had been too prominently connected with politics. It was stressed in the group that it was strictly non-legislative, and non-political, its main purpose being to get the better class of intelligent, educated white and negro leaders together to discuss their mutual problems. At the two meetings I attended everything was kept on this high plane. I did begin to feel, however, that the Southern Regional Council was more integrati minded than I was at that time or now. However, I do not agree with Fred Sullens that the New South is a "nasty magazine." Nevertheless, as I also stated in my letter of resignation, I was not too sure about the ultimate objective of the Southern Regional Council.

If to belong to a bi-racial group is to be a traitor to Miss-

issippi, then I have been a traitor. A recent letter to the editor of the Jackson State Times stated that the negroes of Mississippi had no place to go except to the N.A.A.C.P. The editor in the same issue took the position that Professor King of Alcorn should take the lead in organinzing a group of negroes who agree with Professor King's views. Ib my opinion the Mississippi Council of Human Relations was just such a group except that it was composed oB both races instead of one. A good old colored woman, who once served me occasionally as a maid and cook, said to me the other day that folks from other places were certainly working among the colored people of Hattiesburg and that they were making the colored poeple here feel that they were fools for not taking up for themselves when peole elsewhere were trying so hard to help them. She added that she knew the white and colored children could not go to school together because there were too many mean children of both colors. Of course, I agree that the average Mississippi negro is not interested in integration in the schools and elsewhere, but there are a considerable number who feel otherwise or at least are halting between two opinions. Are they to be forced to go to the N.A.A.C.P?

Of course, politics, national and international, have had a great part in bringing about the pressure on the South. This pressure seems likely to continue and even to grow greater as Southern negores continue to go north and add to the negro voting blocks. The late Joe Cook in his memoirs tells of an experience his father, a slave plantation over-seerer had with a run-a-way slave, a strong young negro. The father, being a strong man himself, was able to overcome the resistance of the slave, but it occurred to him that he must overcome the slave also spiritually. This evidently meant that he must make the colored man agree in his mind to remain as he was. I do not believe it would be hard to get the Mississippi negroes to agree to remain socially as they are, but educationally and economically they want to be different.

Several weeks ago the Clarion Ledger carried a news item concerning the amount of money Mississippi was spending to equaliz e education. One of the counties cited was Sunflower. I remember a study by the research department of the University Of Mississippi's College of Education in 1939,40. This study was of Schools in Sunflower County and showed that while 75% of the school enrollment of that county was negro, the negro schools received only 35% of the total school income of that county and that the Sunflower County School Board at that time did not own a single school building, the teaching being done in churches, lodges, or any building that could be used for negro schools. Is it any wonder that negroes in Mississippi doubted the good faith of the Mississippi white people some fifteen years later when Governor White called on them to agree to voluntary segregation? I think Mississippi is doing a good job proving that Governor White and the legislature were sincere, but such a voluntary change, all so sudden, is, you must admit, hard to believe.

Last week a high state official, to whose office I had gone on purely personal business, told me that this whole integration problem was a communist plot and that, unless it was stopped, around the turn of the century Mississippi and the nation would be so mongrelized and weakened that we would be easy prey for our communist enemies. I refuse to believe that members of the Supreme Court, prominent Congressmen of the East and North, some leaders of both political parties are communists. That idea simply does not square with my faith in America or with any exercise of common sense. I do believe that communists are taking every possible advantage of the racial situation as they are of the Suez-Israeli conflict. It is my honest opinion that we should have had this race problem in the latter half of the nineteenth century had there never been any communism to threaten a free world. I believe any one who gives serous and honest thought to this problem will come to the same conclusion.

As to the second proposition concerning the dange of integration causing the downfall of America at the turh of the century,now not quite fifty years away, that also seems to me an unreal proposition. As a student at the University of Chicago and at Colunbia University,New York City though I had negroes in my classes,I saw very little fraternization betwe en the races. So far as I myself was concerned,there was none what soever. At Columbia there was a graduate club supper every Sunday night,students from the various states taking turns in providing supper and the program. Though I attended most of these suppers as I found them enjoyable and educational, I never saw a colored person attending. Now,I do not believe even if we had full integration in the South,we would have much interracial intermingling socially.

Certainly, I do not believe in integration in the public schools or the undergraduate college. Our schools,especially in small towns and rural areas,are the social centers. Educationally and socially both white and colored children will be better off in their own schools with teachers of their own race. I think Governor Coleman is doing a grand job in keeping things as they are, but,from time to time,problems,such as arose recently at Alcorn, wukk arise again and we must have the whole-hearted support of our negro leaders in order to meet them. We must also have a racial philosophy based upon good feeling and truth rather than hate and misinformation.

These two I have loved: people and truth. I was told that in your Saturday night broadcast of the week you so effectively helped to pass the bill creating a new board of control for the training schools at Columbia and Oakley,you praised me for the unselfish work I had done in also helping to pass the bill. Mrs. Sarah Ricks Caldwell, head of the child welfare division of the Public Welfare Department, the woman legal consultant for the department, and I wrote the bill. The legal consultant had maneuvered its passage through the house, but had been put to bed with a heart attack,of which she later died, when the bill was up in the Senate. I was reluctant to lobby being then a member of the faculty of Mississippi Southern College,but I was tremendously interested in that bill. As a trustee of Columbia Training School,I had seen things that almost broke my heart, things that could not have been corrected under the old Board set up. In spite of what has happened there recently I still believe the system set up is all right. As you so truthfully said the other day in M.M. Robert's office,the trouble with Columbia is the state of Mississippi. I would add that conditions have not yet let the Board act free from political interference. Maybe the unfortunate incident will bring the change needed a little closer. I loved those poor,unfortunate children at Columbia so well that I was willing to do anything I could to help them achieve a better life.

When I say I have loved people and truth above all else,my life is my warrant that I am speaking the truth. I remember my country home when I was about twelve years old, a visiting preacher,my uncle,a large homely man with less than a fourth-grade education; my younger brother about twenty,better educated but by no means well educated, an eager reader of every book he could possibly find. He was showing off his knowledge found in some book. "The negro"he said ,"has no soul. He is nothing more than a high-grade ape; his head formation is more like that of a Chimpanzee than that of a white man." My uncle sat quietly seeming to think of what my brother had propounded,"Well,Lonzo,I want to ask you a question,if the white man has a soul and the nigger aint,how about the mulatto?" My brother has not yet answered that question.

We no longer argue that the negro has no soul, but we make many other statements about him just as unscientific and just as foolish as that of my brother more than fifty years ago. True, I have heard of evils in Washington and elsewhere between the whites and blacks that make one sick at heart. I know too of the irregular lives lived by many negroes here in Mississippi but I know too of colored peeople who are morally as good as any white person. Many y ears ago, we had some race trouble here in Hattiesburg. A humble maid at that time said to me that if all the white people would do just as they ought to and if all the colored people would do just the way they ought to, then we would not have noarrce trouble. I never heard a better solution to the race question, only it is difficult to say just what each race should do in certain cases.

Once long years ago, some young negroes brushed past me and a man companion on the streets of Columbus, Mississippi. His face turned red at their discourtesy in almost knocking us off the sidewalk and he sputtered his disapproval, probably being unable to say in the presence of a young lady just what he wanted to say. Then an old darkey passed, tipped his hat and got off the side walk to give us plenty of room. " That," said my friend emphatically, "is the kind of nigger I like to see." I reminded him that the young negroes were the children of the old negroes, to which he agreed, though reluctantly and said he supposed they were creatures of circumstance. When I asked who made the circumstances, he could not or did not answer.

Do we have to discuss this problem always on the basis of the lowest estimate of both white and black? This problem now confronting us is the greatest since the Emancipation Proclamation. I do not know the road ahead. I have no doctrinaire statements to make as to what should be done. Like every one else in the South, I am sorry that this has been thrust upon us now. I do know, however, that settlement will not finally come until it is settled on the basis of truth and good will to all mankind. That does not mean that we must change our segregated way of life to any appreciable extent if at all. There are types of segregation between whites and whites. I certainly, do not have any social contacts with thepoor, illiterate old white man who helps with my yard work any more than I do with the colored man who mows my lawn. To eat with the white man, crude as he is, would be almost as distatsteful as to eat with the colored man. Yet for both men I have the highest regard since they are both honest, sincere, humble, and hard-working. I do not, of course, have the same kind of regard for them as I do for my men friends on the faculty at Southern and men of the same social and cultural rank elsewhere.

A miracle may happen, but otherwise this pressure of politics, national and international, will get stronger. I thought at first when the Interposition Resolution was introduced in Crongress that the South at last had something to fight with, but when the legislature of Georgia passed a resolution asking their Congressmen to attempt to secure the impeachment of Supreme Court Justices, I decided Interpostion, and States Rights must be considered to have failed. Failing the miracle of which I spoke, the Decision will not be reversed or "interposed." It may be that the federal government will not attempt to enforce their several anti-segregation decrees. It may be the South will be able to keep ahead in the legal battle. It is, however, a somewhat precarious future we face at the best.

I am a poor typist, but I cannot take time off to rewrite this letter, now too long or to revise it making it better. From here on out I stick to my one job: writing the history of Mississippi Southern, a history I hope to make the best yet written. This is my last word on the present segregation issue.

Sincerely,

Aubrey Hickman

April 4, 1957

Mr. H. G. Williamson
The Board of Education
North Mississippi Conference
The Methodist Church
P. O. Box 721
Grenada, Mississippi

Dear Mr. Williamson:

Since Mr. Wright is absent for an extended period, I am taking the liberty of acknowledging your good letter of March 26th for him.

We did see the Jackson Daily News story and were unpleasantly struck by the unfairness and distortion of the story. As you may know the Jackson Daily News and other Southern papers carried an Associated Press story based on Mr. Wright's letter to Senator Rainach.

A copy of the letter was sent to all of the persons named in the newspaper accounts, and we have been in touch with Mr. and Mrs. Wheatley. It was good to know that responsible people in the community rallied to them.

Do let us know if at any time there are ways in which we can be helpful.

Meanwhile, all good wishes.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab

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The Board of Education

NORTH MISSISSIPPI CONFERENCE
THE METHODIST CHURCH

H. G. WILLIAMSON, Executive Secretary

P. O. Box 721 -- Telephone 1346

GRENADA, MISSISSIPPI

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MISS WILLIE FRANCES COLEMAN
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(JOINTLY WITH THE MISSISSIPPI CONFERENCE)

JOHN D. HUMPHREY
DIRECTOR OF ADULT WORK

MISS LOUISE DYKES
MISS MARY ALICE GRUBBS
OFFICE SECRETARIES

March 26, 1957

Mr. M. A. Wright, President
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

My dear Mr. Wright:

I thank you very much for your letter of March 14 addressed to The Honorable W. M. Rainach, State Senate, Baton Rouge, Louisiana. This was a real service to me personally, though you may have not been aware of it.

I am wondering if you have seen a copy of the "Jackson Daily News" for Saturday, March 9, 1957. In this issue of this paper there occurs an article under the caption, COUNCIL IN STATE LINKED TO COMMIES, by Phil Stroupe, Daily News staff writer. Mr. Stroupe begins his article with these words:

> "Bishop Joseph B. Brunini and fifteen other Mississippians are listed as directors of an organization described by a former Negro communist as a 'transmission belt' of communist infiltration in the South."

Then he goes on to say that the Moscow trained former communist told a Louisiana legislative committee that the Mississippi Council on Human Relations is a subsidiary of a communist-created organization, the Southern Regional Council.

Mr. Stroupe seems to have gotten hold of some out-of-date stationery of the Mississippi Council on Human Relations and then lists the names of the officers and members of the Board of Directors when the State Council was affiliated with the Southern Regional Council.

I happen to know that this publicity has been very damaging to at least one member of the Board of Directors, Mrs. D. S. Wheatley of Greenwood whose home has been fired into by some irresponsible person. Mr. Wheatley is a cotton broker in Greenwood.

It seems to me that Mr. Stroupe, Daily News staff writer, demonstrates very poor professional responsibility in his article in the "Jackson Daily News". It may not be possible, but I am wondering if a copy of your letter could be sent to him with the suggestion that he in some way make an effort to rectify the damage he has done to the reputations of the people whose names he uses in his article.

If a copy of your letter has not been sent to all the people listed in his article, it would be a service to them if this could be furnished.

Again thanking you for your letter, I am

Sincerely,

H. G. Williamson

H. G. Williamson

HGW:ld

8657 APR 9 '57

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

WASHINGTON, D. C.

Address Reply to the
Division Indicated
and Refer to Initials and Number

April 9, 1957

WO:MWH:sbh
146-7-51-136

FILE COPY

Mr. Roy Wilkins,
Executive Secretary,
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored
People
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Mr. Wilkins:

This acknowledges your letter of March 28, 1957 referring to testimony recently given by a witness, Manning Johnson, before a joint legislative committee of the State of Louisiana. According to your letter, Manning Johnson has been quoted in several news organs, including the Charleston, South Carolina NEWS AND COURIER, issue of March 9, 1957, as having testified that he is "now employed as Director of Research for the Department of Justice in Washington" and that the NAACP "has become a vehicle of the Communist Party designed to overthrow the Government of the United States." You request that we inform you whether Manning Johnson is employed by the Department as Director of Research or otherwise, and whether, in the testimony as quoted, he spoke for this Department or reflected its views.

Manning Johnson is not employed by the Department of Justice as Director of Research or in any other capacity. In fact there is not nor has there ever been any such position as Director of Research in this Department. Further, with respect to any testimony Manning Johnson may have given before the above mentioned committee, he had no authority to speak for or on behalf of the Department of Justice. You may be assured that his testimony

concerning the alleged relationship between the NAACP and the Communist Party does not, in any manner, reflect the views of this Department or any findings it has made.

We have advised THE NEWS AND COURIER of Manning Johnson's non-employment with this Department. We understand that this newspaper published a corrective article in its issue of March 12, 1957.

Sincerely,

WARREN OLNEY III
Assistant Attorney General
Criminal Division

By: Arthur B. Caldwell
ARTHUR B. CALDWELL
Chief, Civil Rights Section

THE FIRING LINE
April 15, 1957

a United States delegation to the World Youth Festival. Formally identified as the Midwest Festival Committee of Room 403, 189 West Madison Street, Chicago 2, Illinois, the ultimate goal of the group was reportedly "a plane-load of 70 Americans bound for Moscow-with some kind of official United States approval behind them." The newly formed Committee held its first meeting at the Hamilton Hotel in Chicago, Illinois on March 8, 1957, for the ostensible purpose of attracting "interested youths". (See "National Guardian", 2-25-57, page 2 and 11.)

In efforts to acquire official United States Government approval of American participation in the World Youth Festival, MISS PERRY appealed directly to the Legislative and Executive branches in Washington, D. C. Replying to one of MISS PERRY's inquires, a Department of State official said "the United States regards the International Youth Festival as an instrument of Communist propaganda which serves the purposes of the Soviet Union and its orbit. The State Department would strongly urge you not to engage in any effort to encourage participation in (the Festival)." (See "Chicago Daily News", 2-23-57, page 5.)

LE ROY WOLINS is Administrative Secretary of the Chicago Council of American-Soviet Friendship, Inc., which temporarily houses the Midwest Festival Committee at the aforementioned Madison Street address. According to testimony before the Subversive Activities Control Board (SACB), the Chicago Council of American-Soviet Friendship was identified as a "branch" of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship. Testimony also reflected that both the Chicago and National organizations had "interlocking directorates." On February 7, 1956. the SACB found the "National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, Inc...is a Communist-front organization" and ordered its registration under Section 7 of the Subversive Activities Control Act of 1950. (See SACB, Recommended Decision, Docket No. 104-53, 1955, page 15; Report and Order of the Board, 1956, page VIII; and "Chicago Daily News", 2-23-57, page 5.)

One LE ROY WOLINS of Chicago, Illinois, signed an Amicus Curiae brief which was filed on February 6, 1950 with the United States Second District Court of Appeals. The brief was on behalf of six lawyers convicted of contempted of court by Judge HAROLD R. MEDINA after defending the top 11 Communist Party leaders in Foley Square, New York City, in 1949. According to the Daily Worker of June 8, 1956, page 4, WOLINS contributed a letter to that paper's "Speak Your Piece" column concerning the subject of Marxism. (See Amicus Curiae Brief, United States Second District Court of Appeals, 2-6-50, page 18.)

The Midwest Festival Committee is apparently operating on a nation-wide basis. Legionnaires should alert school and state authorities in the event other festival committees are activated in your community.

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC - TAX EXEMPT - WHY?

The Southern Regional Council of Atlanta, Georgia, recipient of a $445,000 grant from The Fund For The Republic, Inc., was identified as a "Southern Red front" by MANNING JOHNSON on March 8, 1957 before the State of Louisiana Legislative Committee On Segregation. Formed by JAMES E. JACKSON, a southern organizer of the Communist Party, JOHNSON revealed that the Council is affiliated with the Mississippi Council On Human Relations. (See "Morning Advocate", Baton Rouge, Louisiana, 3-9-57, pages

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1 and 8; and The Fund For The Republic's "Three-Year Report", 1956, page 22.)

JOSEPH Z. KORNFEDER, another witness testified on March 7, 1957 "the whole force of the Communist Party is concentrated on the National Association For The Advancement of Colored People" (NAACP) and has infiltrated the organization. Although the NAACP claims "it is fighting Communism", KORNFEDER revealed that their efforts are not serious since the NAACP still continues to advertise and sell Communist literature. Legionnaires will recall the March 1, 1957 Firing Line exposure of the NAACP, which directed attention to the $50,000 grant it received from The Fund For The Republic, Inc. (See "Morning Advocate", Boston Rouge, Louisiana, 3-8-57, page 1.)

In expressing a personal view on March 7, 1957, MEYER KESTNBAUM, Presidential Assistant For Intergovernmental Relations and a Director of The Fund For The Republic, Inc., said the United States "should make clear that Red China, under suitable conditions, can look forward to recognition and admittance to the United Nations." KESTNBAUM stated "he doesn't think there is any hope that Nationalist CHIANG KAI-SHEK will ever again lead China. We are going to have to deal with the people who actually run China." (See "The Washington Post and Times Herald", 3-10-57, page 10; and The Fund For The Republic's "Three-Year Report", 1956, page 6.)

This statement, which shocked many Americans, was immediately challenged by Senator STYLES BRIDGES. He said that KESTNBAUM "surely does not represent the feelings of the American people generally or the American Congress" and indicated KESTNBAUM "should be called before the (Senate) Foreign Relations Committee to explain the background of his views." Quickly repudiating KESTNBAUM, Secretary of State JOHN F. DULLES declared on March 12, 1957 "it would not be in the United States' interest" to recognize "Communist China and seating it in the United Nations." (See "The Washington Post and Times Herald", 3-10-57, page 10; and "The New York Times", 3-13-57, page 1.)

MORE ON ZELLERBACH

On March 5, 1957, a Federal Trade Commission examiner "ordered the Crown Zellerbach Corporation of San Francisco to sell St. Helens Pulp and Paper Company, a West Coast compatitor it acquired in 1953." The examiner charged "acquisition of St. Helens by the corporation violated the anti-merger law." JAMES DAVID ZELLERBACH, former Director of The Fund For The Republic, Inc. and newly appointed United States Ambassador to Italy, was president of Crown Zellerbach Corporation from 1938 until late last year. The Federal Trade Commission's decision is the seond recent allegation of violation of the anti-trust laws against the Crown Zellerbach Corporation. The first was terminated in November 1956 through a judgement granted the Department of Justice in a United States District Court. The February 1, 1957 issue of the Firing Line, pages 1 and 2, presented readers with a detailed summary of the background of the corporation's former top official. (See "The New York Times", 3-6-57, page 41.)

EVENTS IN WISCONSIN

In a resolution adopted by the Rose Wilcox American Legion Post last month, the Department of Wisconsin was asked to publicly reprimand

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BEST COPY AVAILABLE

April 24, 1957

The Honorable W. M. Rainach
State Senate
Baton Rouge, Louisiana

My dear Senator Rainach:

This is to acknowledge your letter of March 26th. I have delayed replying until now so that we might have an opportunity to check the quotation from the Daily Worker cited in your transcript of Manning Johnson's testimony.

We are glad to have identified the source of this baseless charge made by Mr. Johnson against the Southern Regional Council. As I wrote you on March 14, the allegation that Communists were in any way responsible for the founding of the Council is clearly refuted by contemporary newspaper accounts and other responsible documentation. It is strange, indeed, that a self-serving statement in the Daily Worker in 1954, ten years after the event, should be accepted as reliable evidence to the contrary.

We do not share the unquestioning faith which Mr. Johnson -- though we hope not your committee -- has in the accuracy and truthfulness of the Daily Worker. It is well established that the Communist Party and its press have no scruples about claiming credit for any achievement when it suits their purpose of the moment to do so. To slur the reputations of a thoroughly patriotic organization and reputable individuals on the basis of this kind of "evidence" -- particularly when there is an abundance of reliable evidence in refutation -- would hardly become a responsible official body.

We note in the newspaper account of Manning Johnson's testimony that he is quoted as saying the Southern Regional

Council is a "transmission belt of Communist infiltration in the South." This statement does not appear in the portion of the transcript reproduced in your letter of March 26th.

This charge is as false and unfounded as the one concerning the origin of the Council. We would be interested to know whether it was, in fact, made by Mr. Johnson, and, if so, whether it was also based on the false reference to the Council in the Daily Worker of December 1, 1954.

Sincerely yours,

M. A. Wright
President

La

April 24, 1957

Mr. Rufus E. Clement
President
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Clement:

You will be glad to know that Marion Wright is fully recovered and back at Linville Falls. In a telephone conversation today, we agreed on the text of a further letter to Senator Rainach, a copy of which will be sent you shortly.

He made the further suggestion that a statement giving the accurate history of the founding of the Council and refuting Manning Johnson's charge, signed by the surviving incorporators of the Council, would be a valuable document. I think the suggestion has obvious merit.

Would it be possible for you to dictate a suitable statement of this kind and send a copy to Bishop Moore and Ralph McGill asking them to join you in signing it? We will be glad, of course, to assist in the drafting or clerical work if you wish us to.

It is worth recalling that there are two charges concerned with the founding of the Council that we have had occasion to refute. One is to the effect that the Council is the de facto successor to the Southern Conference on Human Welfare, and the second is the James E. Jackson business. A joint statement by the incorporators might simply take notice of the fact that the founding of the Council has been misrepresented in these ways and then proceed to recount the accurate history.

I think Bishop Moore would be willing to do this, particularly at your request, though I feel that he would prefer to restrict the statement merely to the factual details of the founding of the Council rather than including any comment on its subsequent or current activities. But that would serve our immediate purpose.

I shall look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab

WEBSTER SHEFFIELD & CHRYSTIE
ATTORNEYS AND COUNSELLORS AT LAW
40 WALL STREET

NEW YORK 5

April 24, 1957

Hon. Clyde Doyle
Room 1030, New House Office Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Doyle:

The information requested in your letter of April 19 has now been assembled.

The Fund for the Republic makes a careful and thorough investigation of all proposed grantees. Its investigation of the Southern Regional Council, which included interviews with many leading citizens in the South, was supplemented by conferences with the responsible officials of the Council over a period of many months before the first grant was made. If there was any truth in the charge made by Manning Johnson that the Council was formed by one James E. Jackson, the investigation would have revealed it. On the contrary, the Fund's inquiries demonstrated conclusively that the Council was not at its inception, and had never been, influenced or infiltrated by the Communist Party. Attached as Appendix A to this letter is a summary of the Fund's investigation of the Council, as presented to its Board in March of 1954. It seems to me that this report speaks for itself both as to the thoroughness of the investigation conducted and as to the impeccable auspices under which the Council was formed.

The Southern Regional Council (a tax-exempt organization) is generally regarded as the most responsible and moderate organization working to improve race relations in the South (see editorial comments, Appendix B). As I am sure you will understand, the Council has frequently been under attack by those who believe that any effort to bring about improved understanding between the races is a part of the "Communist line". The Council's refutation of the particular charge contained in "Firing Line' is attached as Appendix C.

Although the Fund's first major grant to the Council was made in April, 1954, there had been previous experience with the Council dating from 1951, as described in Appendix D. Since the first grant there has been a continuous follow-up on the programs conducted by the Council. Each additional grant has been made only after a determination by the Board of the Fund that

the Council has made proper use of funds previously granted. Detailed financial statements, independently audited, have been rendered quarterly. Representatives of the Fund have attended meetings sponsored by the Council, at which representatives of major religious groups and national organizations, such as the National Conference of Christians and Jews, the National Urban League, and the YMCA and YWCA, have been present. Representatives of the Fund have also made extensive field trips through the South to assess the work of the Council and to appraise the caliber and integrity of the Council's personnel both in its Atlanta office and in its state chapters. The Officers and Directors of the Fund have been convinced through these extensive contacts with the Council that its work is vitally important and that it is, as an editorial in the Asheville Citizen put it at the time of the Fund's first grant, "a spokesman for the area's best traditions of tolerance, humanity, dignity and freedom."

It should also be noted that although the Fund conducted extensive independent investigations, the Council was at the time of the Fund's first grant so well regarded by responsible organizations that in 1953 a major part of its income was derived from contributions from five church organizations, eight foundations in addition to The Ford Foundation, and four national labor unions. In 1953 the Council's Executive Director, George Mitchell, received an award from the Catholic Committee of the South for his contributions to improvement in racial understanding.

Mr. Harold Fleming, the present Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council, expects to be in Washington next Monday, April 29, on his return from an address at Rutgers University. If your crowded schedule would permit, I am sure that Mr. Fleming would be delighted to drop in and make your acquaintance, and I plan to phone your office later this week to determine whether such a meeting might be arranged. If you think well of the idea, Mr. David Freeman, Vice President of the Fund, who has been most directly concerned with the grants to the Council, would be glad to join Mr. Fleming in such a visit.

I am most appreciative of the friendly tone of your inquiry, concerning as it does a grave charge leveled against one of the Fund's major grantees. If there is anything further that I can do to demonstrate the completely false nature of this charge, please let me know.

Sincerely yours,

Bethuel M. Webster

May 10, 1957

Mr. Marion A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

We have just received, as you must have, the letter from Mr. Rainach stating that the copy of your last letter to him was unsigned. This was a most grievous lapse on our part, and sackcloth and ashes are the order of the day.

I suppose that a letter directly from you assuring Mr. Rainach that you did in fact write the letter and that the omission of the signature and stenographic initials was an oversight, will be the proper remedy.

If you would like it handled in some other way, let us know.

My apologies and good wishes.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab

Criticism

May 17, 1957

Senator W. M. Rainach, Chairman
P.O. Box 450
Homer, Louisiana

Dear Senator Rainach:

Replying to your letter of May 7, please be advised that there was an inadvertent omission of my signature to the letter dated April 24, 1957 on Southern Regional Council stationery and addressed to you. The letter is mine and I assume full responsibility for its contents.

Please accept my thanks for your courtesy in calling this omission to my attention.

Yours very truly,

M. A. Wright

President

MAW:ejg

b. c. to Harold Fleming

STATE OF LOUISIANA

JOINT LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEE

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P. O. BOX 450, HOMER, LOUISIANA

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DE RIDDER, LA.

SEN. ALVIN T. STUMPF,
GRETNA, LA.

W. M. SHAW, GENERAL COUNSEL
HOMER, LA.

May 7, 1957

Mr. M. A. Wright, President
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Wright:

I have received a letter dated April 24, 1957 on Southern Regional Council stationery relative to the testimony of Manning Johnson before our Committee.

The letter bears your name typed in the signature space. It does not carry any signature, however, nor does it carry any stenographic initials.

I am calling this matter to your attention so that you may advise me whether or not you wrote the above letter.

Sincerely yours,

W. M. Rainach

W. M. Rainach

WMR:jsl
cc: Mr. M. A. Wright
Linville Falls
North Carolina

To The People of New York City

The Position of the South on Race Relations

Recent tragic events in the integrated schools of Washington, D. C., Kansas City, Little Rock, and your own New York City, suggest that an accurate presentation of the views of Southern people on the race question might receive sympathetic consideration in the North and might even contribute to the solution of a problem in which we are now all concerned.

A PROBLEM UNIQUE WITHIN OUR NATION

Here in the United States, we are witnessing an unprecedented attempt by certain white and Negro leaders to force the Negro people of our country to abandon their own culture and mores, lose themselves physically and culturally within other races, and commit racial suicide.

Meanwhile, outside of the United States, every dynamic racial group in the world pridefully promotes its own culture. In view of their examples, should we not look twice before we leap?

In looking, we do not propose here to review the influences behind the "integration" movement. (For detailed analysis of a major influence we recommend that you review "Subversion in Racial Unrest," a documented study recently released by this Committee). Rather, let us here consider the logic of the movement and its ultimate effect on a country that we all love and cherish.

THE AMERICAN MAJORITY: A BLEND OF HOMOGENEOUS PEOPLES

You may ask: Doesn't this great country of ours represent a melting pot of different races? From a scientific standpoint, the answer is an unequivocal – NO!

The vast majority of this nation represents a blending of like peoples

THE SOLUTION NORTH AND SOUTH

This method of adjustment, which has been loosely referred to as "Segregation", enabled both the Negro and white people in the South to overcome the devastating effects of the War Between the States and pile up a record of progress second to none in history.

We believe it will, in practice, enable our Northern friends to adjust themselves to the more than one-half of the Negroes in this country who will live in the North by 1980.

A DANGEROUS PARALLEL

Now we are told that this is all wrong – that each community must conform to one unvarying racial pattern – complete integration – prescribed and enforced by a central governmental authority. But, the disastrous results of this policy are causing Americans to ask themselves: **Is forced racial integration the answer?**

At one time the belief was prevalent that all must attend the same church to prosper in the next world, as well as in this one. Many futile

attempt by certain white and Negro leaders to force the Negro people of our country to abandon their own culture and mores, lose themselves physically and culturally within other races, and commit racial suicide.

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THE AMERICAN MAJORITY: A BLEND OF HOMOGENEOUS PEOPLES

You may ask: Doesn't this great country of ours represent a melting pot of different races? From a scientific standpoint, the answer is an unequivocal – NO!

The vast majority of this nation represents a blending of like peoples of common European ancestry, rather than a mixing of divergent races. But the energy and vitality which made America a great nation arose neither from racial self-idolatry nor racial suicide – it was an outgrowth of a passionate love of individual liberty, balanced by a sense of justice and individual responsibility which makes this liberty possible. On such a foundation, a new nation was created, capable of winning and retaining the love and loyalty of peoples of different races, different cultures and different religions.

WHAT ABOUT THE AMERICAN NEGRO?

We in the South think of our colored friends as Negro Americans, rather than as American Negroes. The normally cordial relationships between Southern white and colored people are regulated by a set of conventions or customs, the product of years of experiment and experience in adjusting to a bi-racial society.

RACIAL PATTERNS--A COMMUNITY MATTER

These customs vary widely from state to state and indeed from community to community. Until May 17, 1954 each community in the South was a laboratory in which many of these customs were being constantly examined and revised to meet changing conditions. Each community adapted itself to the problems which confronted it.

It is significant that all of the communities in the South and, indeed, many of the communities in the North, agreed that separation of the races in the fields of elementary and secondary education was essential.

This method of adjustment, which has been loosely referred to as "Segregation", enabled both the Negro and white people in the South to overcome the devastating effects of the War Between the States and pile up a record of progress second to none in history.

We believe it will, in practice, enable our Northern friends to adjust themselves to the more than one-half of the Negroes in this country who will live in the North by 1980.

A DANGEROUS PARALLEL

Now we are told that this is all wrong – that each community must conform to one unvarying racial pattern – complete integration – prescribed and enforced by a central governmental authority. But, the disastrous results of this policy are causing Americans to ask themselves: **Is forced racial integration the answer?**

At one time the belief was prevalent that all must attend the same church to prosper in the next world, as well as in this one. Many futile attempts of powerful groups in Europe to force their religious views on others only succeeded in dividing the continent into hostile camps. Ghastly wars and senseless massacres occurred in the conflicts over the rights of mankind to individuality, **this time in the field of religion.**

Today peoples of different religions may attend different churches without "degradation" or "psychological injury" to their personalities. Indeed, no one questions the right of a great religion to prohibit nonmembers from participating in certain of its rituals or partaking of its sacraments. **"Experience keeps a dear school, but fools will learn in no other!"**

THE BEACON OF THE FUTURE

The trend to differentiation, racial and religious, represents a natural law, as well as a basic human right. Any attempt to force a rigid conformity in such matters of human relations must inevitably result in a repetition of the deadly European pattern of religious conflict.

Upon the establishment of workable race relations hinges the very fate of our great country. In the Talmud is a saying to the effect that **time may, in some situations, resolve problems which cannot be solved by human intelligence at the moment. Now is the hour for Americans of all races to heed the wisdom of this counsel.**

The Joint Legislative Committee
State of Louisiana
Baton Rouge

REP. E. W. GRAVOLET, JR., Vice-Chairman
Point-a-La-Hache, La.

REP. CARROLL L. DUPONT
Houma, La.

SEN. LOUIS H. FOLSE
Arabi, La.

REP. JOHN S. GARRETT
Haynesville, La.

SEN. H. W. JONES
Minden, La.

SEN. W. M. RAINACH, Chairman
Committee Address:
P. O. Box 450, Homer, Louisiana

REP. FORD E. STINSON, Secretary
Benton, La.

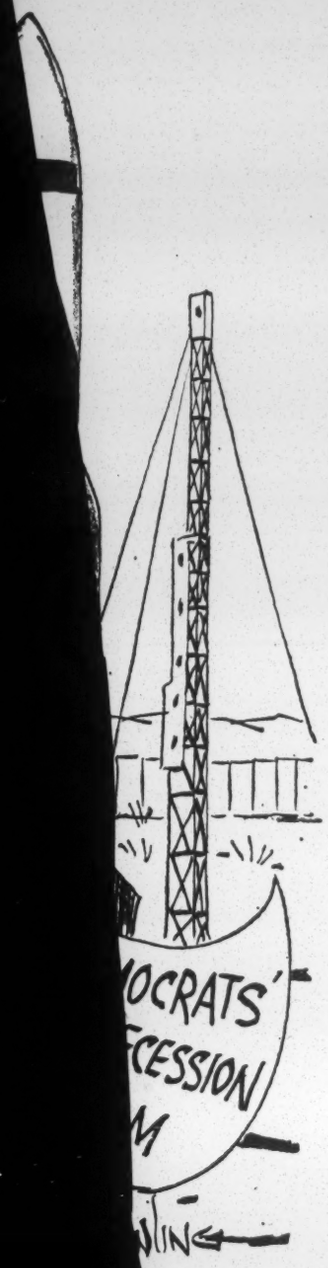
REP. L. D. NAPPER
Ruston, La.

SEN. B. R. PATTON
Farmerville, La.

SEN. ALVIN T. STUMPF
Gretna, La.

W. M. SHAW, General Counsel
Homer, La.

N. Y. Herald-Tribune
March 11, 1958



rk Herald Tribune Inc.

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Our Readers Speak

Arms and the Summit

To the N. Y. Herald Tribune:

A summit conference would be worse than useless, we are told on highest authority, unless its agenda is so well prepared as to afford genuine belief that "real progress toward easing of tensions can be accomplished."

The predominant source of such tensions indisputably is the terrifying race in armaments. Yet on March 5 Secretary of State Dulles declared it "at least of dubious wisdom" to hold any summit meeting that excludes the question of German reunification.

We are pledged to work for reunification, but by exclusively peaceful means—means that do not require armaments. Then why prejudice the success of a conference whose supreme purpose is to ease tensions through reducing arms by injecting into its agenda a worthy but clearly secondary issue?

Could anything contribute more to the cause of ultimate German unity in freedom than substantial progress toward universal disarmament, with its inevitable moderating effect upon the more fanatical element in the Kremlin and its concurrent acceleration of humanizing processes even now slowly but surely at work among the better-educated throughout the Soviet Union?

ROBERT S. FIELD.
Vineland, N. J.

Dissent in Dixie

To the N. Y. Herald Tribune:

In reference to the racial ad placed in the New York Herald Tribune by a Louisiana group, I would like to say that it is "hogwash." I resent the fact that loud-voiced segregationists are using the terms "we believe" and "we in the South think" as inclusive of all Southerners. This is certainly not the case. I was born and raised in Atlanta, of Southern parents, and I am not included. There are many, many Southerners who believe that the Constitution of the United States includes ALL Americans, not just white Protestants, but we can rarely be heard above the roar of small-minded politicians. *E pluribus unum?* Let's pray that the loud-mouths won't prevent it.

MRS. T. M. MURPHY.
Atlanta, Ga.

Morale and the Mails

To the N. Y. Herald Tribune:

It may be necessary to raise the price of first-class mail, as the President has indicated. But I wonder how much of the cost of mail transportation goes toward advertising material, the greater part of which everybody consigns to the wastebasket unopened. I don't believe I open one out of ten second-class letters. A letter carrier must be aware that the greater part of his load, now vastly incr over former times, is pure bish, and this in itself is moralizing. He ought to allowed to feel that wha brings is important.

The general demoraliza of the mails is shown in even air mail letters are returned to the sender w there is the slightest error in address. The urgency of an a mail letter, together with time lost in returning it proper address, ought, o would think, to outweigh t effort of the clerk to look up number in the local directo But such is not the case.

I am all for restoring t dignity and the promptitude the mails. Whoever wishes profane it with trash, let hi pay for it with added charges.

ERNST BACON.
Syracuse, N. Y.

Forty-Cent Dollars

To the N. Y. Herald Tribune:

Some six thousand elder retired New York City teache struggling to exist on stati forty-cent pension dollars stan ready to co-operate with ou President to end the slump b buying. I suggest he page ou Mayor.

As it is, these retirees liv from hand to empty pockets If our Mayor will put the mone into these empty pockets, tha money will find immediate circulation.

JACOB THEOBALD.
Asst. Supt. of Schools, retired.
Jackson Heights, N. Y.

Build a Better World

To the N. Y. Herald Tribune:

I do not cease to be amaze at the thinking of the Ameri cans who continually and bitterly oppose American foreign economic aid for a few billion dollars, but at the same time support without question our military budget of over ten times this amount.

Foreign economic aid, at worst, is money wasted, and at best, will help build a better, safer world for Americans to live in.

Our military budget, at best, will temporarily preserve an undesirable status quo, and at worst, will lead to our utter destruction, together with most of Western civilization and much of mankind.

We desperately need to find a new basis for American policy which will help cure the national schizophrenia which allows us to support the enormously expensive evils of the arms race almost without question, but raises violent objections to modest expenditures for the constructive task of world economic development.

CHARLES C. PRICE.
Director, John Harrison Laboratory of Chemistry, Univ. of Pennsylvania.

Shreveport, La. Times

FEB 18 1958

Sen. Rainach Contacted by N. Y. Times

The New York Times yesterday asked Louisiana segregation leaders to consider using that paper in presenting to New York people the "position of the South on race relations." A representative of the New York Times contacted Sen. W. M. Rainach, head of Louisiana's segregation fight, by long-distance telephone yesterday morning.

The representative asked Rainach to use his paper in purchasing any future advertisements such as the ad which appeared yesterday in the New York Herald-Tribune. This ad pointed to recent racial troubles in New York as a condition which should "cause sympathetic consideration" of Southern views on the "race question."

Rainach told the New York Times representative the Herald-Tribune had been selected to run the advertisement because, althought both papers have been unsympathetic toward the South's position, the New York Times has been the "more unsympathetic." Too, he said, the Herald-Tribune reaches a larger percentage of the Conservative people, the people segregation forces here wanted to see the ad.

"The interest shown by the New York Times points out that the position of the south is receiving serious and almost competitive attention in the Northern Press," commented Rainach, who said the New York Times representative is sending him that paper's ad rates and other information. "They are waking up to the fact that their racial problems are more explosive than our own."

He said he is convinced that the average New Yorker is "thoroughly sympathetic to the South and is looking to the Southern social system for a solution to racial conflict throughout the nation." But he said they are powerless to act because of a "powerful political combine directed by the NAACP, the Urban League and other leftist organizations." Rainach added that he believed the "reign of this combine" is now starting to end."

This was sent to Popham for forwarding to WVT

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

ADL

SOUTHEASTERN OFFICE
41 Exchange Pl., S. E., Atlanta 3, Ga.

For your information

7/15

Paul Anthony

Returned for your files. Thank you

Regards

Art Levin

UNDOCUMENTED INFO.

August 25, 1958

Senator Willie Rainach, until 1946, was one of the least known and inactive men in political life in this state or his parish. For example, the Negro high school principal, John S. Davis, who has been in the community since 1914 says he never heard of Rainach until about 5 years ago. He still would not recognize him if he saw him. Negro leaders in church and community affairs within a mile of his home near Summerfiels stated that they know of him but rarely ever had contact or knowledge of his activities prior to the last few years.

The Negro neighbors I contacted say he treats Negroes (personally) with politeness and I did not turn up evidence of his ever mistreating anyone. There is no parish courthouse record of criminal or civil suit either by or against him. A Jewish merchant in Homer (the only Jewish family in the parish for over 50 years), Marx Moritzky, says Rainach has always been well thought of. He described Rainach as "a person with possibly high political ambition but personally honorable in his political and business dealings". His wife, Moritzky said, is also a very fine person. Moritzky also termed W. M. Shaw, ~~xxxxxxxxx~~ his next door business friend, as an able attorney with good principles. He has many business dealings with Shaw on property they own together and with Rainach from whom he purchases gas and appliances. (It was found that Moritzky is listed as a Citizens Council member in the Secretary of State's official file.)

Negroes in Claiborne resent Rainach's actions on segregation. They attribute it primarily to "playing politics". Nevertheless it is

leading, in Claude Davis' words, to "bad race relations. Makes me want to hate you as a white man."

Though the Negroes I contacted are not aware of the connection Rainach must be concious of and active in some of the activities that have been going on in his parish. Of the 12, 8000 Negroes, only 16 are registered to vote. There was no concerted move on their part to register until about 3 years ago. Probably individuals made attempts but were discouraged. John Davis registered about 3 years ago. He and a group of colored ministers decided they would test the registration to see if more could get on the books.

A group of about 5 met at the courthouse and he and another minister went in to register. The woman registrar was very polite, assured them it was all right, helped them to fill out their cards and was extremely polite about the procedure. During this time a white couple was also in there registering. Obviously, he said, they must have carried the tale outside to the "right" parties. Davis and his friend notified the other members of the group and they registered without difficulty.

The next day they planned to register some more. By the time the others got to the courthouse opposition was arranged. They were asked to interpret the constitution, have "proper" white people witness them as with good character. The woman registrar was no longer running the office but was there while some men did the interrogating and turning down requests. (I have not yet obtained the names of the men, but W. M. Shaw conducted similar activities in Monroe.)

Another incident Rainach must be familiar with took place last year. Rev. Battle called a meeting at his church within 1 mile of Rainach's home, to organize an NAACP chapter. More than 350 people turned out

turned out (considered to be a large number). Lawless, the organizer from New Orleans, told them the idea; a large number joined. Lawless then went back to New Orleans and reported the facts with names, etc. to the Negro paper, The Louisiana Weekly. The paper reported all the information in detail.

When the newspaper story was released ~~xxxxxx~~ economic and personal pressures were used against the individual Negroes to quell the movement. Davis was told that unless he withdrew and put the pressure on others he would lose his position and everyone's name would be published in the local paper. He was threatened by the colored supervisor, John S. Lupo. The local school superintendent, Haley, is noted for his extreme radical segregation policies. Others were threatened with loss of jobs.

The movement for NAACP was killed.

Battle also organized Negro workers into a sawmill union. He was threatened but was successful in the effort to organize. This happened a few years ago and the workers are still organized, he says.

Some general observations about Sen. Rainach are stated by people who are competent in analyzing the situation. Ed Clinton, state capitol reporter for the Baton Rouge State Times believes that Rainach is just a "front man" for Leander Perez. (Perez is officially the D. A. of St. Bernard Parish. Actually he is the most powerful political factor in the state outside of Gov. Long. He is known to be immensely wealthy and ambitious. There is no thought of his wanting to be Governor but he has had a strong hand in all past elections. He is opposed to the Long forces. He is listed on the Board of Directors of the Citizens Council of Louisiana. He will be the most important person in naming the next Governor, for that will probably be an anti-Long man. Perez was one of 4 principal witnesses at the Subversive

Committee hearings headed by Rainach two years ago.)

Clinton believes that because of Rainach's unreliability and lack of basic intelligence that Perez is switching over to Garrett to head up his activities. (Rep. John "Red" Garrett of Haynesville, Claiborne Parish. Garrett has been very close to Rainach. They, with Shaw and "Frankie" Mims, run the Citizens Council. Garrett is considered a smart and shrewd individual and of the group, the one with the most brains.)

- State Sen. J. D. deBlieux, of Baton Rouge, the only man to openly oppose Rainach, believes Perez is the man behind the scenes. Kenneth Walker, legislative representative for the newspapers of this state believes that Perez is really the man who pulls the strings. So does Vernon Dowdy, legislative representative for the oil industry. Dowdy is credited as being the man who knows more about what goes on in the legislature than any other individual outside of the Governor. I have drawn on Dowdy's files, contacts, and knowledge extensively. He is the one that pointed out the possible McCarthy connection through Mrs. Mims and directed me to the official material at L. S. U. Jim Maddox, L. S. U. public relations director, also points to Perez. He terms him as the "Svengali who is manipulating Trilby". He Also termed Frankie Mims as a "classic Machiavellian character".

Clinton points out that in some of the instances where Rainach has gone off half-cocked it was when he reacted rapidly to a situation. Usually he waits, sees what the "Perez line" will be, and then acts.

This could be correct. One case in point is in front of me now. A reprint was made of the Shreveport Journal article of June 20, 1958

about "Natchitoches Editor Draws Fire of Jury". This is when the police jury denied me the legals because I signed the petition to the Rainach committee asking that they not close schools because of integration. I lost the police jury legals because of this. Rainach had the reprint made and sent to all P. J., school board and other official body members in Grant Parish, Colfax, and wrote "The attached may give you a suggestion for the solution of your own problems in connection with your local paper. (signed) W. M. Rainach, Homer, La." The quoted remark is hand written. It was given to Walker by a Police Jury member as soon as it arrived in his home town, Colfax. No man expecting to stay in public life would allow this many items to get out over his personal signature. Only in an unthinking moment would he fail to realize that it could be used against him in the near future if he had any state-wide ambitions. There is now a suspicion, on my part, that Frankie Mims sent these out, but if so, Rainach is still a "small fry" if he doesn't realize the danger of having someone else sign his name to this type of dynamite.

At public meetings, especially those of Citizen Council groups, he makes wild and ridiculously inaccurate charges. It is very probable that he is being "used", but if so, he is a willing tool. He is not saying anything but that white people in his parish almost unanimously approve. He has never had real political opposition at home or in the legislature, so he is not an "experienced" politician as such.

It has been said that Rainach does not stand a chance for Governor for many reasons. First, other than Long, north Louisiana does not elect the Governor. The big votes are in south Louisiana and they are far more liberal. The race issue will not elect a man from

that area. The one exception is an incident like Little Rock. Timed right (if by design or accident) it could elect Rainach. It would elect anyone else identified as a rabid segregationist.

An example of half-cocked attacks are contained in the enclosed news clipping against the Independent Women's Organization. It was quite a hassle and caused a lot of women to be opposed to him.

An interesting opinion of the Senator was given on March 13, 1955. The following is substantially what was said be Charles D. Pierce in a by-lined Times-Picayune story:

T-P March 13, 1955
"Sen. Rainach ~~xxxxxx~~ Gradually of Taking Political Spotlight"
by Charles D. Pierce

"Although he is mentioned frequently as a possible candidate for Governor, Rainach told the T-P that he is not a candidate and does not plan to run for this office.

"The state political spotlight first focused on him when he spearheaded a drive for the right to work. After success here, he carried the ball through the Senate on the Constitutional amendment on segregation.

"As the chairman he feels it is the committee's function to maintain segregation." He says that the joint committee is also interested in the problem of encroachment of the federal government on states and ind.

"The integration of races movement is just part of the whole picture." He says "The Tidelands situation is also a part of the encroachment"

Discussing segregation he said that "It is our feeling that we should preserve segregation but we think that in preserving segregation the state has a high moral obligation to provide adequate and equal facilities for every child, both white and Negro."

"Provision of facilities for that educational opportunity is a part of our program of work."

"The 41-year-old Senator is carrying the ball for most of the educational interests in Louisiana.

"Governor Kennon on more than one occasion has indicated that he will give greater interest to the report on highways than to the report on segregation.

"This has been termed a snub."

ARK. GAZETTE 12/20/58

Report From Richmond

The Real Truth About The Regional Council

The Southern Regional Council, and its affiliate the Arkansas Council on Human Relations, were smeared by innuendo at the Legislative Council hearings on Communism by J. B. Matthews, the Council's hired professional witness. The following review of the history of the Council was published by the strongly segregationist Richmond Times-Dispatch after similar charges had inadvertently appeared in its columns.

Inaccurate statements as to its origins of the Southern Regional Council of Atlanta appeared recently in The Times-Dispatch, and should be corrected. They appeared—inadvertently, we are sure—in one of the series of articles by Edward B. Simmons of the New Bedford, Mass., Standard-Times concerning Communist efforts to incite racial strife in the United States.

Mr. Simmons stated in the article appearing in our paper on August 5 that the Southern Regional Council, established in Atlanta in 1944, was an "offshoot of the old Southern Conference for Human Welfare, which was dissolved in 1948 after twice being described by the federal government as 'Communist front'." He also said: "The Communist Daily Worker openly boasted that James E. Jackson, chief of the Southern branch of the United States Communist Party, was a co-founder of the Regional Council."

Taking these two charges in order, the Southern Regional Council was not an offshoot of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. It was established in response to an appeal from respected Southern Negro leaders, who met at Durham, N. C., in October, 1942, on the call of Dr. Gordon B. Hancock, of the Virginia Union faculty here, and Dr. P. B. Young, of Norfolk, publisher of the Norfolk Journal and Guide. These Negro leaders did not ask for the elimination of segregation in the schools or anywhere else; they asked that "separate but equal" be made a reality.

★ ★ ★

Responding to their appeal, a group of white leaders met in Atlanta in the spring of 1943, and expressed a desire to cooperate. Out of this grew the Southern Regional Council. The Council was the successor to the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, founded in 1919 by leading churchmen. To repeat, it not only was no "offshoot" of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare; it was criticized in some quarters because it was more conservative than that organization and suspected of being in competition with it.

We must remember, too, that when the Southern Conference for Human Welfare was established in 1938, it was not suspected of having any Communist connections, and many well-intentioned and patriotic Southerners participated in its early meetings. A number of these later joined the Southern Regional Council when they discovered the true purposes of the Conference for Human Welfare.

As to the allegation of the Communist Daily Worker that James E. Jackson, chief of the Southern branch of the United States Communist party, was a "co-founder of the Southern Regional Council," there is nothing to support this.

★ ★ ★

A James E. Jackson is listed as having attended the Durham meeting of Negro leaders in October, 1942, but is not mentioned by the Norfolk Journal and Guide as having been on the committee which drew up the statement then issued. Jackson did not participate in the meetings of white and Negro leaders in 1943 and 1944 which led to the establishment of the Southern Regional Council, and he was not at any time an officer, director, or member of that agency. The Daily Worker's statement that he was a "founder" is as unreliable and inaccurate as nearly everything else in that Communist sheet.

The late Dr. Howard W. Odum, noted and respected member of the University of North Carolina faculty, was the first president of the Council. He was succeeded in 1945 by Paul D. Williams, prominent Catholic layman of Richmond and co-founder of the Catholic Committee of the South, who served until 1951. Mr. Williams was succeeded in that year by Marion A. Wright, South Carolina Library Board and past president of the University of South Carolina Alumni Association.

It should be emphasized that SRC worked within the framework of "separate but equal" for seven years, and did not announce for integration until 1951.

While we disagree strongly and completely with its present position on this issue, we feel obligated to point out, in fairness, that it was in no sense Communist in its origins. The Southern Regional Council was established because of a sincere desire on the part of white and Negro leaders in the South to eliminate many of the disabilities and discriminations from which Negroes were suffering.

It was hoped that if these could be substantially lessened, the colored South would not look to the colored North for leadership. Insufficient progress was made, unfortunately, and the NAACP moved in and launched its drive for the complete elimination of segregation—sooner than it probably would have done if SRC's accomplishments had been larger.

That is where we stand today.

Washington Beat

ADL

SOUTHEASTERN OFFICE
41 Exchange Pl., S. E., Atlanta 3, Ga.

For your information

Harold Fleming
Attached returned for your files.
Seems to me there was another, more chatty report too. If you can find it, I would like to borrow.
Thanks + Regards

Art Levin

RECEIVED JUN 12 1959

CONFIDENTIAL REPORT

August 25, 1958

The survey herewith submitted on one W. R. Rainach is information obtained within the last week and is not complete, but I believe all pertinent information could be completed with another check of records in Homer, La. and a personal interview with Rainach.

William R. (Willie) Rainach (also legally known as Willie Odum Rainach); age 44[1]; home--Summerfield, La. Phone 2157[2]. Office--Clairborne Butane Co., Inc., Haynesville Highway, Homer, Louisiana. Phone 3575[3]. (The above two telephone numbers are also listed in the Homer telephone directory as alternate "If no answer, dial" phone nembers for the Citizens Council of Louisiana Incorporated., 514 East Main Street, Phone 3522.)[4]

Legal Transactions

1/24/33-----Succession Judgement
A.M. Rainach (foster father) to Mrs. Hannah Rainach
½ Estate to surviving spouse
¼ Estate to Willie Odum Rainach
¼ Estate to Leona Aaron Rainach
836 acres - 27 acres plus household items[5]

3/3/55------Oil Lease
W.M. Rainach to T.J. James and Co., Inc.
For $1,000[6]

3/3/55------Sale of Mineral Rights
W.M. Rainach to T.J. James and Co., Inc.
For $3,000[7]

1/24/58-----Sale of Mineral Rights
W.M. Rainach to T.J. James and Co., Inc.
(Nominal amount)[8]

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(1) Public Affairs Research Council of La. Citizens Guide.
(2) Southern Bell Telephone Directory for Homer and Lisbon, La.
(3) and (4) Ibid.
(5) Clerk of Court, Clairborne Parish; Book 88; p. 167; Entry 86234.
(6) Ibid., Book 213; p. 2.
(7) Ibid., Book 202; p. 632.
(8) Ibid., Book 230; p. 267.

In all cases R. (Rainach) is listed as the husband of Mabel Rainach, nee Fincher.

12/20/54----Succession Judgement
Mrs. Hannah Rainach to heirs
½ to W.M. Rainach
¼ each to Julia Faye Davidson and Donald Elkins Davidson, minor children. Executor - W.M. Rainach.
320 acres - 80 acres - 408 acres plus household and other items(9)

No criminal listing is noted on the parish records against any Rainach. The above legal transactions are almost, but not quite complete parish record information.

R. represents District 27, Bienville and Claiborne Parishes in the Louisiana Legislature. He was the State Representative from 1940 to 1948 and the State Senator from 1948 until the present.(10)

He was a member of the La. Legislative Council, the technical branch dealing with research statistics and bill preparation from 1952 to 1956. (The director of the branch is Dr. Emmett Asseff.)(11)

R. has attended Magnolia A. & M., a two-year prep school, George Washington University, and Louisiana State University. He has no military service record. He is married, has three children, is listed as religion. Church of Christ.(12)

Legislative Committees

1948 --- Standing Senate Committee
Judiciary A
Joint Judiciary (Vice-Chairman)
Conservation and Natural Resources
Education
Federal Relations (Vice-Chairman)
Fish, Game, and Wildlife

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(9) Ibid., Book 208; p. 348.
(10) Op. cit. (1).
(11) Ibid.
(12) Confidential Oil Industry File

1950 --- Judiciary A
Joint Judiciary (Vice-Chairman)
Conservation of Natural Resources
Education
Federal Relations (Vice-Chairman)
Fish, Game, and Wildlife

1952 --- Auditing and Super. of the Expenses of the Senate (Vice-Chairman)
Capital and Labor
Conservation of Natural Resources
Finance
Judiciary B
Penitentiary
Joint Judiciary

1955 --- Finance
Industrial Relations
Judiciary B
Local and Municipal Affairs

1958 --- Judiciary Section A (Vice-Chairman)
Agriculture
Finance
Industrial Relations[13]

The above information on R.'s membership of Legislative Committees is incomplete.

Legislation Offered During Political Career

Note: Amend or re-enact or amend and re-enact may only mean a minor technical change in a law - as little as a word, sometimes.

Note: A & R means Amend and re-enact.

Note: When offered as the only sponsor it is not noted. When offered with one or two others they are also mentioned. When offered as sponsor with others supporting they are noted as "R. with others". When he is one of several sponsors, it is so noted.

Note: The Governor's vetoes of any bills is not noted.

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(13) Roster of the Senate

House of Representatives - Calendar for 1940

H. B. 64 --- Act changing the election date of the State and Municipal officers --- Withdrawn.

H. B. 90 --- Mineral rights --- Returned to calendar.

H. B. 132 -- R. with Bolun - Taking over a highway in Claiborne and Webster Parishes for the State Highway Department --- Adopted.

H. B. 147 -- Exempting power lines from taxation --- Adopted.

H. B. 186 -- One of several - General Fund Appropriation --- Referred to Committee.

H. B. 193 -- To repeal and act on Funds --- Withdrawn.

H. B. 353 -- Bacque, R., and Pearce - Re-enact housing authority sectors 2, 3, and 4 --- Approved.

H. B. 354 - 355 - 356 --

H. B. 375 -- One of five - A & R bill on bottled beverages --- Approved.

H. B. 468 -- one of five - A & R . of Severance Tax --- Approved.

H. B. 487 -- R. and 5 others - A & R on education --- Approved.

H. B. 841 -- Unlawful to refuse to accept insurance policies as collateral --- Withdrawn.

Eleven bills offered - six adopted.

House of Representatives - Calendar for 1942

H. B. 133 -- Relative to mineral rights, giving a period to exercise these rights --- Adopted.

H. B. 196 -- Bolun and R. - Assistant D. A. for Webster and Bossier Parishes --- Adopted.

H. B. 208 - 209 - 210 -- R. and Vincent - A & R tax for TB hospital --- Adopted.

H. B. 303 -- Amend bill on high lines --- Adopted.

H. B. 304 -- R. and 3 others - Change salaries of public officers --- Withdrawn.

H. B. 305 -- Bolun and R. - Provide for Webster P. J. pay from General Fund --- Withdrawn.

H. B. 371-372 - 381-382 -- R. with 5 others - Resolution of Constitutional Amendment --- Withdrawn.

H. B. 389-390 -- R. with 6 others - A & R holding of elections --- Withdrawn.

H. B. 663 -- R. with 5 others - A & R for pay for extra military force --- Withdrawn.

H. B. 751 -- A & R R. E. A. operations --- Adopted.

H. B. 797 -- R., Jock, and Bolin - Completely pave Highway 115 --- Adopted.

Eleven bills offered - six adopted.

House of Representatives - Calendar of 1944

H. B. 223-6 and many others -- Parish funds for Schools. Provide compulsory school attendance --- One withdrawn; others adopted.

H. B. 316 -- R. and Smith - Create State Penitentiary --- Adopted and ordered to Senate.

H. B. 317 -- Prescription mineral rights --- Adopted.

H. B. 477 -- Entire House — Mineral rights --- Adopted.

H. B. 772 -- A & R motor vehicle tax --- Referred to Committee.

H. B. 773 -- A & R regulating L P installations --- Adopted.

Seven bills offered - six adopted.

House of Representatives - Calendar for 1946

H. B. 28 --- R. and 5 others - Create and establish N. La. Hill Experimental Station --- Adopted.

H. B. 68 --- R. with many others - Licensing of motor vehicle operations --- Adopted.

H. B. 76 --- A & R reserve for Highway Department --- Adopted.

H. B. 77 --- Joint resolution proposing amendment to Constitution Section 6A changing tractor fuel or distillate definition in great detail --- Adopted.

H. B. 78 --- A & R gas tax --- Adopted.

H. B. 277 -- R. with many others - Relative to Confederate Memorial Hospital in Shreveport --- Withdrawn.

H. B. 396 -- Mineral rights --- Referred to Committee.

H. B. 397 -- Evidence before consuls, etc. --- Adopted.

H. B. 407 -- P. J. to resurvey parish boundaries --- Adopted.

H. B. 408 -- A & R relative to building contractors --- Adopted.

H. B. 431 -- R. with 5 others - A & R funds for Highway Department --- Adopted.

H. B. 465 -- Highway in state system --- Adopted.

H. B. 466 -- R. and many others - Creating Inland Rating Commission --- Adopted.

H. B. 531 -- Uniform insurance rates --- Referred to Committee.

H. B. 564-565 -- One of many - Joint Resolution on meetings of Supreme Court --- Returned to Calendar.

H. B. 569-571 -- R. and Madden - Amendment to the Constitution on gas tax --- Referred to Committee.

H. B. 743 -- A & R protect wildlife and birds --- Referred to Committee.

Seventeen bills offered - eleven adopted.

Senate - Calendar for 1948

S. B. 36 --- One of 5 - Repeal act for money for T. B. hospital --- Referred to committee.

S. B. 61 -- R. and Barham - Deed O. K. after 22 years is legal and court trial admissable --- Adopted.

S. B. 181 -- Transfer of Experiment Station to L. S. U. --- Adopted.

S. B. 218 -- Entire Senate - Amendment to the Constitution exempting fishing and farm on gas tax --- Referred to Committee.

Four bills offered - two adopted.

Senate - Calendar for 1950

S. B. 60 --- One of 5 - Designate Iris as state flower --- Adopted.

S. B. 74 --- One of 5 - Designate Magnolia as state tree --- Adopted.

S. B. 150 -- One of 5 - Use prison labor to repair church and parsonages --- Withdrawn.

S. B. 211 -- Entire Senate - A & R increase Legislative pay --- Adopted.

Four bills offered - three adopted.

Senate - Calendar for 1952

S. B. 56 --- MacHeuer and R. - Certificates for minors for street trade --- Withdrawn.

S. B. 191 -- One of many - Joint resolution - amendment to the Constitution. Exemption from gas tax --- Referred to Committee.

S. B. 230 -- A & R prescription for 30 years --- Referred to Committee.

S. B. 331 -- P for keeping excessive alcoholic beverages --- Ordered to House.

S. B. 332 -- A & R "Blind Tiger" seizures --- Referred to Committee.

Five bills offered - None adopted.

Senate - Calendar for 1954

S. B. 48 --- Entire Senate - A & R minimum teacher's salaries --- Referred to Committee.

S. B. 127-128 -- Right to work - Yeas 22; Nays 14 --- O. K.; sent to Governor.

S. B. 179 -- Payment to judge spouse --- Withdrawn.

S. B. 226 -- R. and others - A & R non-profit funeral houses --- Referred to Committee.

S. B. 227 -- A & R Prescription of 30 years --- Withdrawn.

S. B. 228 -- A & R right of usufruct --- Withdrawn.

Eight bills offered - three adopted.

Senate - Calendar for 1956

NONE (no bills offered by R.)

(See House Calendar.)

Senate - Calendar for 1957

S. B. 10 --- A & R on old age assistance --- Approved.

One bill offered - adopted.

Senate - Calendar for 1958

S. B. 84 --- One of 6 - Supplement and amend milk marketing --- Approved.

S. B. 139-140 -- One of many - Clerks of court retirement fund --- Approved.

S. B. 141-143 -- One of several - Docket in clerk's office and other changes --- Approved.

S. B. 164 -- One of 5 - A & R increase unemployment compensation--- Referred to Committee.

S. B. 180 -- A & R old age teacher retirement --- Approved.

S. B. 338 -- A & R right of accused to have testimony taken down --- Referred to Committee.

Seven bills offered - five adopted.

House of Representatives - Calendar for 1956

H. B. 434-439 -- By Garrett and many others including R. - Segregation --- Approved.

H. B. 1447-1450 -- Proposed by Garrett and others including R. - Segragation --- Approved.

The above are unusual situations where ligislature that originates in the other house is joined by the opposite house member as a sponsor. (R. was a Senator not representative)

Two bills offered - adopted. (14)

R. is the president of the Association of Citizens Councils of La., Inc., domiciled in Homer, Louisiana. (15)

---

(14) Calendar of the House of Reps. and Calendar of the Senate.
(15) Official publication "The Councilor" Newsletter.

Ancestry

Paternal Grandfather --- Levi Odum
Father ---------- Hampton Odum (who had a twin brother, Norman)
Uncle ---------- O. O. Odum, Livingston Parish
Aunt ---------- Mrs. W. A. Hausey, Comite Drive, Baton Rouge[16]

When R.'s mother and father died he was adopted by the Rainachs who were "very wealthy people".[17] His ancestry is not generally known in Claiborne Parish.

According to the 1950 census the population of Claiborne Parish is 12,8000 non-white and 12,000 white; the population of Homer is 46% non-white, and the population of Haynesville is 25% non-white.

The total membership of 15,728 of the Citizens Councils of La. is divided among 62 council groups.[18]

Frances Perry Mims (Mrs.)

Editor of Newsletter (The Councilor) official publication Cit. Council of La
Born 7/3/11 in Easley, South Carolina
Worked for the State Planning Commission
Came to L. S. U. in July of 1940
Assistant Secretary of the Board of Supervisors
Secretary of the Board of Supervisors in 1944
Resigned 1/15/49 after and extended sick leave to accept a position with the Southern Regional Educational Board in Atlanta
Reads French
Presbyterian faith
Husband, Sam S. Mims, author of "Leave us Alone" pamphlet whish was just released on a review of "cordial" race relations in Claiborne Parish.
Presumed to have worked on the McCarthy committees after leaving Atlanta and prior to joining Rainach in 1956
Joined Senator Rainach as legislative assistant in 1956
Received her education as G. S. C. W. in Georgia from 1925-1928, where she majored in history. She took commercial courses from 1928-1929 in Greenville, South Carolina.
She may have two children
She is 5' 6" tall and weighs 128 pounds.[19]

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(16) From "Col." Frank Slocum, B. R. - Obtained by Senator J. D. deBlieux, B. R. - confirmed in part by Mrs. James Wethey and Mrs. W. A. Hausey.
(17) Mrs. James Wethey.
(18) Official records of the Secretary of State in Baton Rouge.
(19) Personnel records from L. S. U.

Her references to the L. S. U. position were:

Roland Cocrehan -------- Governor's office[20]
J. Y. Sanders, Jr. ----- Baton Rouge
J. Newt Ogden ---------- Baton Rouge
Frances J. Whitehead --- State Capitol[21]

In August 1953, Mrs. Mimb's became Roy Cohn's private secretary. She was involved in minor testimony during Army-McCarthy hearings in relation to the #doctored" picture involving attorney Stevens, Pvt. Schine and Col. Bradley. (A)

---

(20) One of the Louisiana Legionnaire "king-makers".
(21) Author of Implications of the Segragation Decision. La. Bar Journal, October of 1956. Pro-Segregation quasi-legal brief.
(A) N.Y. Herald-Tribune May 1, 1954

M. Johnson, Red Fighter, FBI Agent

SAN BERNARDINO, Calif., July 25 (AP)—A sparsely attended military funeral yesterday ended the career of Manning Johnson, Negro leader, onetime Communist organizer who later became an FBI undercover agent.

Mr. Johnson, 51, died July 2 of a heart ailment. But a spokesman for **Mr. Johnson** the mortuary which conducted the burial said interment was delayed because consent was needed from his wife, Mae Johnson of New York City.

Mr. Johnson testified in numerous un-American Activities Committee hearings and state anti-Communist legislative sessions.

He was a key witness in the 1949 perjury trial of Harry Bridges, president of the International Longshoremen-Warehousemen's Union, accused of lying at his 1945 naturalization hearing.

Mr. Johnson, a native of Washington, D. C., joined the Communist Party in the 1930s. He became a Party organizer in Buffalo, but later expressed disillusionment with the Party's methods and goals.

He tried to quit the Party but was persuaded to remain a member by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, which used him as an undercover agent. He finally broke with the Party during World War II and joined the Navy.

Shortly after his discharge, Mr. Johnson was hired by the Department of Justice as an "expert witness and researcher."

He had lived in relative obscurity in recent years, working as a lecturer and researcher for conservative magazines.

Mr. Johnson was an outspoken foe of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. He declared over-ardent Negro integrationists were hurting their own cause.

WASHINGTON POST
JUL 26 1959

File: Criticisms: Louisiana Investigating Ctte

LWD

NOVEMBER 19, 1963

REPORT No. 4

The Joint Legislative Committee on Un-American Activities

STATE OF LOUISIANA

"ACTIVITIES OF THE SOUTHERN CONFERENCE EDUCATIONAL FUND, INC. IN LOUISIANA"

PART I

January 14, 1970

Paul --

Late yesterday afternoon Jim got a phone call from a MR. ROBERT C. SHUMAN, APT. #7, 120 LEWIS DRIVE, MARIETTA, GA., 30060. Mr. Shuman apparently heard you on WRNG Radio and has requested documentation showing the MANNING JOHNSON'S testimonies were repudiated.

I have gone through our Defense Materials files and have come up with what I think you might want to send Mr. Shuman. As is indicated in some of the materials, Manning Johnson's testimony was found to be "tainted" by the Subversive Activities Control Board in its report of August 11, 1956. There are other items here that substantiate this fact. I looked everywhere around here, including our Research Department, trying to come up with a copy of the Subversive Activities Control Board Report. There is not one here. However, if Mr. Shuman would like to see a copy in print, he could be referred to the Subversive Activities Control Board with offices in the Lafayette Building, 811 Vermont Avenue, Washington, D. C. 20445. If you wish to send the attached I'll be glad to xerox it all for you.

Mildred

See file marked "Manning Johnson" for collection

HOME FIRED UPON

Greenwood Matron Denies Council Is Linked To Reds

GREENWOOD, Miss. (AP)—Mrs. Elizabeth Wheatley, who links a bullet fired into her home with her membership in the Mississippi Council on Human Relations, said yesterday the controversial organization "has no Communist connections whatever."

A bullet ripped through two walls Tuesday night in the Greenwood home of Mrs. Wheatley and her husband, cotton buyer D. S. Wheatley Sr.

Mrs. Wheatley, in a formal statement yesterday said, she has belonged to the council 20 years. She said its purpose "has been to work for better human relations."

Her statement said the council "is entirely a Mississippi group and has no Communist connections."

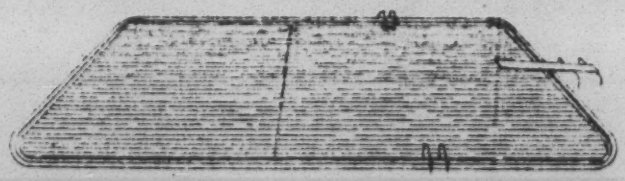
She said it was notified last year it had "not been cited as subversive or un-American by the House un-American Activities Committee or the attorney general."

Mrs. Wheatley said the group was headed by Bishop Theodore Bratton of the Episcopal Church when she joined, and that it "never engages in any political activity."

She said it was affiliated for a time with the Southern Regional Council.

A witness at a Louisiana legislative committee hearing last week said the Mississippi Council was a "transmission belt of Communist infiltration into the South." The witness, former Communist Manning Johnson of New York, said the council was a subsidiary of the Southern Regional Council which he said received money from the Fund for the Republic. Johnson said the Fund is under congressional investigation now.

In Jackson, the attorney general's office said it did not give approval to a charter of incorporation to the Mississippi Council when the charter was filed two years ago because Asst. Atty. Gen. Dugas Shands "was not satisfied it complied with the Mississippi law."

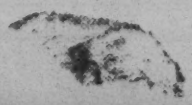


Swimming Pools - Supplies - Equipment - Design - Engineering
Gunite - Construction - Sand Blasting

Lally's Swimming Pool Company
HOME OFFICE NEWTON, MISS., PHONE 69

LI

Reg. $12.5
Reg. $13.5
Reg. $15.0
Reg. $20.0



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RELATED FACTS AND OPINIONS

The only man in the state to oppose Sen, Rainach openly up to this time is State Sen. J.D. deBlieux. He has been the only legislator to vote against the segregation bills and has made his stand perfectly clear. He does not think that hysterical legislation will do anything except to complicate the problems.

Privately he has told me that it is foolish not to give the Negroe every right to which he is entitled. Sen. deBlieux, a devout Catholic layman, is fully convinced that the time for integration is not far off. He is from a highly industrialized area (Baton Rouge). He says that as long as Negroes get good wages, and the unions will assure them of this, they are bound to become economically independent (and this is as it should be, he says). Next they are bound to seek and receive equal political and educational freedom. He stated that no longer can industrialized areas get colored domestic labor at will. Now the men are earning fair wages and the women prefer to stay at home.

Strong attempts were made to defeat him at the last election and to some extent the racial issue was used. He said it boomeranged. However, he pointed out that the issue was not a big one this last time. His real test will come in this next election as he has been very outspoken against the segregation leaders and they will use this as a weapon against him.

He has received letters from all over the state congratulating him on his stand opposing Rainach and standing firm against the hysterical legislation. Virtually every church group or some member of a church identified as such, has sent him congratulations.

The following comments are pertinent for it shows that one opposed to Rainach has support. "I am not acquainted with you personally, but I was delighted in reading the Legislative Digest from time to time and

to see the independent stand you have taken. It takes courage to stand up and give your views as you have done", Ralph M. Pons, vice-pres., Godchaux and Mayer, Ltd, insurance agents, N.O.

The Presbytery of N.O. adopted a resolution supporting the stand of those who wished to oppose closing of Louisiana schools overthe segregation issue. A copy was sent to Sen. deBlieux

"After watching you on television I had to write a fan letter to you. I must say it is a pleasure to find out there is at least one intelligent man in our legislature. Your's is the first completely honest view on 'segregation' that I have heard from a politician yet" Miss Stephanie Dennis, N.O.

"I applaud your stand on the segregation issue. You are congratulated for your intelligent foresight amongst selfish, thoughtless legislators". Mrs Marjorie von Rosenberg, Baton Rouge.

"As a minister I must support the Supreme Court decision....I want to compliment you on your firm stand on the floor of the Senate Chamber against this type of tactics....potentially dangerous to our state", Verl Underwood, First Christian Church, B.R.

"Congratulation! Have been rooting for you! Our state and our country need more men like you." John S. Hurt, chaplain, B.R. (Baptist) General Hospital.

"You will get many letters of congratulations for your standing in opposition to a fellow senator's segregation measures....." G. Avery Lee, minister, 1st Baptist Church, Ruston, La.

There were a few letters opposed to his stand. None from any identifiable religious group.

Sen. deBlieux is considered as one of the most sincere and honest people that ever got into a political office (albeit not the most brilliant). He is an attorney with a comparatively small practice.

R. is chairman of the Special Joint Legislative Committee to in-

vestigate LSU, set up after a petition was signed by 66 college professors who opposed the school closing amendments. The July 2, 1958 report found no evidence of subversion, and only rehashed old charges against the American Civil Liberties Union (whose Louisiana members circulated the petition the professors signed) about it having "front" associations and being "red tinged". Most of the "evidence" came from a former United Mine Workers report, Jan 3, ~~1912~~ 1924 and a Lusk Committee report of similar vintage.

The remark made by Rep. John Garret at a private dinner party a few weeks ago is apropos. He and R. work together on the many angles of the segregation questions. This applies to legislation, personal contact, operations within the Citizens Council and personal visits they make together to address meetings or local political bodies trying to get them to pass segregation legislation or join their movement. Garrett stated that he wished the Klan was again operating in Louisiana like it used to. There are many things the Council would like to do that would be better handled by the Klan. Sort of one take the high road and one take the low but both have the same objectives.

To sum up, it is fair to assume that R. has ambitions to be Governor. He is an arrogant person, though soft spoken---not gregarious. He is not personally disliked but politicians especially and every one else in general are afraid to oppose him. It is not quite like the fear of McCarthy, but it is known that this fellow will holler "red" and "Yankee" at the drop of a hat, if disturbed, let alone aroused. He has little real chance to make high political office on his own but can be re-elected from his district for a long time. He can be put in the Governor's chair with the combination of circumstances and Leander Perez's power and money. The Citizens Council and he personally are undoubtedly getting outside money, although through committee appropriations

thwy are doing a good job of tapping the state for financial assistance to broaden their activities.

Former McCarthy supporters may be getting to him through Mrs. Mimbs. Surely they have a good pipeline and if this segregation rabble rousing can serve their ends, they have a willing cooperator.

Rep. Garrett may actually be the man to simmer to the top as he has a lot of political "savvy" and is considered as having the intelligence. He is as pro-segregationist as R. and works in close association with him.

W.M. Shaw is a big help to keep their legal skirts clean. He would like to see the Klan effective, like Garrett, but have that operation strictly legal. He personally conducted the vote purge in Ouichta parish that led to the federal investigation.

R. because of his lack of ability may be led into a trap or fall in one before he becomes a bigger political threat or he may wind up in one if he makes the grade.

R. is considered as a spokesman in the legislature, for the LP industry. Because of his relgious convictions, he is supposedly quite opposed to the liquor interests.

He is not know to be the gregarious type. He is a "loner". He does not attend the cocktail parties, "go out with the boys". The lobbyists do not generally find him around when the liquor is flowing.

Richmond News Leader, Friday, Feb. 27, 1959

MINUTES OF THE LAST MEETING:

Integration Leaders Work Busily to Influence Public Opinion

• These minutes, which recently came into our hands through an unimpeachable source, describe a meeting of a coördinating committee of integrationist groups in New York City early this month. Readers will find the minutes an absorbing account, we believe, of how a pressure group works. Editorial comment at left. — EDITOR.

Minutes of the Mass Media Committee of the Consultative Conference on Desegregation
Wednesday, February 4, 1959

PRESENT: Arnold Aronson, National Community Relations Advisory Council; Gunther Lawrence, Union of American Hebrew Congregations; Henry Moon, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Alex Morisey, American Friends Service Committee; Guichard Parris, National Urban League; Alan Reitman, American Civil Liberties Union; Ed White, United Steelworkers of America; Chairman, Al Bernheim, American Jewish Committee; Secretary, Harry Fleischman, National Labor Service.

The next meeting of the Mass Media Committee will be held on *Wednesday, March 18, 1959 from 9.30 a.m. to 12 noon at the NAACP, 20 West 40th Street, New York, New York*

Put this on your calendar and please *call or write* to let us know whether or not you plan to attend.

1. Approximately 15,000 copies of *POGO and the SPEAKEASY SCHOOLS*, a reprint of Walt Kelly's comic strips on that subject, will be published by the National Labor Service of the American Jewish Committee, the Southern Regional Council, the Anti-Defamation League, the American Friends Service Committee, and six AFL-CIO unions. Sample copies will be distributed to CCD agencies

2. A letter was received from Herman Long, of Fisk University, Director, Race Relations Department, Congregational Christian Churches, mentioning that race labeling has begun to appear widely in wire service stories in the newspapers. It was agreed that Alan Reitman would talk with officials of *Associated Press, United Press International* and *Editor and Publisher* concerning this matter.

3. Reitman agreed to contact *Life* magazine again concerning a proposed article on the role of the clergy in the South in supporting law and equality.

4. The American Friends Service Committee is sponsoring a pamphlet on American Race Relations, which will be published by the University of Oklahoma Press. Agencies interested in quantities of the pamphlet should write to Alex Morisey, American Friends Service Committee, 1201 Chestnut St., Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania.

5. The Southern Regional Council reported that it will reprint the *Arkansas Gazette* report on the effect of the desegregation controversy on economic conditions in Arkansas. Sample copies will be sent to all CCD agencies.

6. The National Urban League has prepared an attractive 11x14 illustrated pamphlet, "Half a Life," in connection with Equal Opportunity Day. Copies are being sent to CCD agencies.

7. The Turnpike Press has just published as a 24 page pamphlet, THE TRUTH ABOUT DESEGREGATION IN WASHINGTON'S SCHOOLS, which first appeared as a series of articles in the *Washington Post* by Erwin Knoll. The series is an excellent survey of progress in the Washington schools and should be helpful in countering the vicious propaganda being spread by Governor Faubus of Arkansas and other Southern segregationist leaders. Single copies are 15c postpaid; 10 copies or more 10c each postpaid; 100 copies or more 7½c postpaid; 500 copies or more 5c each plus shipping charges. Please order from the Turnpike Press, Annandale, Virginia.

8. A group of organizations in Miami, under the leadership of the United Church Women, have conducted a Community Audit in connection with United Nations Human Rights Day. Copies of the folder describing the Community Audit are being mailed to all CCD agencies.

9. Pro-segregation ads have appeared in *The New York Times*, January 5, 1959 and in the *Wall Street Journal*, February 9, 1959 under the signature of Carleton Putnam, who describes himself as a distinguished New Englander. Putnam, a Board member of Delta Airlines, has set up a *Putnam Letter Committee* in Birmingham, Alabama to solicit contributions to reprint his letter as an ad in additional Northern newspapers. When a similar ad was placed by Louisiana segregation leaders in the *N. Y. Herald Tribune* in February 1958, we urged CCD member agencies to alert their local units to such ads and ask them to check with editors and publishers about the problem. When such ads appear in Northern papers, it would be helpful if Southerners would write dissenting letters to the editors analyzing the misstatements and errors in the ads. Where such ads appear, editors should be asked to include editorials rebutting the segregation thesis advanced in the ads, or at least run news articles (in the same issue carrying the ads) quoting opponents of segregation.

10. INTEGRATION—A CHALLENGE TO THE SOCIAL AGENCY, a 25-page report of a Workshop conducted by the National Social Welfare Assembly's Committee on Intergroup Relations, features discussion of case histories in hiring Negro social workers, establishing integrated programs, problems of loss of financial support by pro-integration agencies, achieving community acceptance, developing national and local policy on integration, etc. Copies of the Workshop Report are available at 75c each from the National Social Welfare Assembly, 345 East 46th Street, New York 17, N. Y.

11. Papers throughout the nation carried an *Associated Press* Wirephoto February 2 and 3, showing a lone Negro boy in Maury High School Auditorium in Norfolk, Va.—apparently shunned by his classmates. An article in the *New York Post* February 3 reported that the photo was phony. Photographers had beckoned the Negro boy up front and took the picture. A minute later, the seats around him were filled and other kids were asking him if he could play basketball or football. By then the photographers had gone. It was agreed that it would be useful if editors throughout the country who used the photo would query A.P. on the alleged irresponsible reporting, and also bring this to the attention of *Editor and Publisher* magazine.

12. Alan Reitman agreed to suggest to *The New York Times* that it carry a story concerning the reactions of students who have returned to desegregated public schools from private schools and tutoring classes. It was felt that such a human interest story might make the comparison more meaningful, even in the South. Henry Moon agreed to suggest the same kind of stories for the educational pages of *Time* and *Newsweek*.

13. Members of the Committee expressed great indignation over the way in which Chet Huntley had called for virtual suicide by the NAACP on his program on *The Second Agony Of Atlanta*. It was suggested that the February 8, 1959 program ought to include a genuine moderate, who recognizes the importance of the role of the NAACP in the desegregation issue. This it was felt, could effectively explode the Huntley thesis that Southern moderates were only awaiting NAACP abdication to rise up in their might to support orderly desegregation. NAACP attempts to arrange for the inclusion on the program of such a moderate were unavailing. (Fortunately, Roy Wilkins did such a tremendous job on the February 8, 1959 NBC program with Chet Huntley and Thomas Waring, editor of the *Charleston, S. C. News and Courier*, that he removed a good deal of the sting from the Huntley thesis.)

Respectfully submitted,

Harry Fleischman
Secretary
Mass Media Committee, CCD.

HF/hw
MMCCD

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RETURN to S. A. FINEBERG

Pow-Wow on 40th Street

Elsewhere on today's editorial page appear the minutes of a most interesting meeting held in New York City on February 4, at the NAACP's headquarters on West Fortieth Street. The document speaks for itself, and it should speak eloquently to white Southerners.

Until this week, we ourselves had never heard of the "Consultative Conference on Desegregation," or of its "Mass Media Committee," but the internal evidence in Minute No. 9 suggests that the committee has been in existence for at least a year. Obviously, the "conference" is composed of various organizations seeking to further the integration movement, and its "Mass Media Committee" is charged with influencing newspapers, magazines, press associations, and radio-TV networks in behalf of the integration cause. In a free country, this is certainly anybody's privilege, and we assume there is no particular secret about what these people are up to.

What are they up to? They are a busy crew.

They are distributing thousands of copies of a "Pogo" comic strip which ridicules Virginia's action in closing schools last Fall. They are repeating a series of pieces from the *Arkansas Gazette* and circulating some articles from the *Washington Post*. They direct attention to a pamphlet of the Urban League and a "workshop report" of the National Social Welfare Assembly.

Several special assignments claimed the committee's attention on February 4. A letter was at hand mentioning that the Associated Press and United Press International are engaging in "race labeling." Alan Reitman, of the American Civil Liberties Union, is instructed to talk with officials of the wire services concerning this matter. Evidently the committee had been unsuccessful in planting in *Life* magazine an article about Southern clergymen who support integration. Mr. Reitman agrees to contact *Life* again. The busy Mr. Reitman also will call upon the *New York Times* to suggest a particular article there. The NAACP's Henry Moon is to push the same kind of stories at *Time* and *Newsweek*.

To judge from the wassish tone of Minute No. 9, the famed "Carleton Putnam Letter" is beginning to hurt. This was an open letter sent by Mr. Putnam to President Eisenhower last Fall. Following its publication in the *Richmond Times-Dispatch* in October, the letter was distributed widely around the country. Subsequently, a group of Alabamians formed a committee to arrange for publication of the letter as paid advertising in major newspapers. (James F. Simpson, Attorney, 317 North Twentieth Street, Birmingham, is treasurer of the committee.) Mr. Putnam, who assuredly is "distinguished" though he has not described himself as such, had nothing to do with formation of this committee. In his letter, the New York-born historian, biographer, and businessman ringingly defends the Southern point of view on school segregation, and urges upon the President a reconsideration of civil rights agitation. The integrationists' "Mass Media Committee" finds the Putnam letter a problem, and outlines various schemes for undermining the letter's effectiveness.

There is much for the Southern traditionalist, believing in essential separation of the races, to learn from the minutes of this New York committee. Two points especially bear emphasis:

First, this is a *coordinated* effort. Nine different organizations sent representatives to the committee meeting.

Second, this is a *professional* effort. Reitman and Moon are not amateurs in public relations. They are pro's, full-time people, and when the committee members meet on West Fortieth Street in Manhattan they meet within a few minutes' taxi ride of the top men in the communications industry.

What does the white South have to match this? Let us attempt an answer in one word. *Nothing.*

Organizations that believe in the constitutional right of the States to maintain racially separate institutions have no coördination of any sort. Conservative, right-wing groups as a whole have no unity or strength. We have no "consultative conferences," no "mass media committee," no skilled and personable representatives to call upon magazine editors and network officials. Is it any wonder that the South continues to take a terrible licking?

Let us ponder these revealing minutes more in sorrow than in anger, more in honest concern than in resentment. We live in a day of the pressure group, in which public opinion is molded like wax and the grass roots are fertilized from a hundred artificial sources. It is high time for the conservative South to unstuff its shirt, put up some real money, and adapt the techniques of its foes to the cause we hold to be right.

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT:

Gentry, S. L.
P. O. Drawer 429
Sumter, S. C.

REGARDING:

Ltr. of request for info. regarding CCD and SRC's relationship with it; also names and addresses of other organizations connected with CCD.

DATE
March 3, 1959

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT:

Criticisms - "Defense Materials"
See also: Attachment - Thermofaxed ltr. from Gentry to Virginius Dabney, Richmond-Times-Dispatch dtd. 10/3/58.

CCD

CONSULTATIVE CONFERENCE ON DESEGREGATION

Co-Chairmen
Rev. Eugene Carson Blake, D.D.
Very Rev. Maurice V. Shean, C.O.
Rabbi Abraham J. Feldman, D.D.

Treasurer
Lewis M. Hoskins

NEW ADDRESS:
55 West 42nd Street
New York 36, N.Y.

Secretary: Arnold Aronson
~~7 East 38th Street~~
~~New York, N.Y.~~
~~Tel. MUrray Hill 5-1606~~

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TO: Participating Organizations

FROM: Arnold Aronson, Secretary

DATE: March 4, 1959

I am sure you will be interested in the enclosed editorial which appeared in the Richmond News Leader of Friday, February 27.

Accompanying the editorial, and prefaced by the enclosed note from the Editor, was the full transcript of the minutes of the February 4 meeting of the CCD Mass Media Committee. We have been unable to ascertain how these minutes came into the hands of the Richmond News Leader. Except for the fact that the meeting was held in the offices of the National Urban League rather than of the NAACP, however, the minutes were reproduced accurately.

As you will note, the editorial contains the following statement: "Inquiry this morning to the Associated Press elicited a few facts, drawn unwillingly from a reluctant source: The CCD is made up of 'about 40' organizations with an interest in promoting racial integration. The AP's source declined to release a list of these members."

I am the "reluctant source" referred to any my "reluctance" stemmed from our long standing policy of not issuing any statements in the name of the CCD.

There is no disposition to change that policy or to make any comment with respect to the story in the News Leader. Since the publication of the editorial, however, I have again been asked by the AP for a list of the participating organizations. It is the consensus of those members of the Executive Committee with whom I have had an opportunity to discuss this request, that continued refusal to reveal the names of the participating organizations to the AP would play into the hands of the Richmond News Leader and other segregationist organs by affording them a basis for fostering the impression that we are engaged in a clandestine and furtive conspiracy.

Accordingly, I would appreciate your wiring me permission to release a list of the participating organizations and to include your organization in such a listing. If I do not hear from you by Monday, March 9, I shall assume your assent to this procedure.

A.A.

Enc.

The Richmond News Leader
Friday, February 27, 1959

EDITORIAL PAGE

Pow-Wow on 40th Street

Elsewhere on today's editorial page appear the minutes of a most interesting meeting held in New York City on February 4, at the NAACP's headquarters on West Fortieth Street. The document speaks for itself, and it should speak eloquently to white Southerners.

Until this week, we ourselves had never heard of the "Consultative Conference on Desegregation," or of its "Mass Media Committee," but the internal evidence in Minute No. 9 suggests that the committee has been in existence for at least a year. Obviously, the "conference" is composed of various organizations seeking to further the integration movement, and its "Mass Media Committee" is charged with influencing newspapers, magazines, press associations, and radio-TV networks in behalf of the integration cause. In a free country, this is certainly anybody's privilege, and we assume there is no particular secret about what these people are up to.

What are they up to? They are a busy crew.

They are distributing thousands of copies of a "Pogo" comic strip which ridicules Virginia's action in closing schools last Fall. They are reprinting a series of pieces from the Arkansas Gazette and circulating some articles from the Washington Post. They direct attention to a pamphlet of the Urban League and a "workshop report" of the National Social Welfare Assembly.

Several special assignments claimed the committee's attention on February 4. A letter was at hand mentioning that the Associated Press and United Press International are engaging in "race labeling." Alan Reitman, of the American Civil Liberties Union, is instructed to talk with officials of the wire services concerning this matter. Evidently the committee had been unsuccessful in planting in Life magazine an article about Southern clergymen who support integration. Mr. Reitman agrees to contact Life again. The busy Mr. Reitman also will call upon the New York Times to suggest a particular article there. The NAACP's Henry Moon is to push the same kind of stories at Time and Newsweek.

To judge from the waspish tone of Minute No. 9, the famed "Carleton Putnam Letter" is beginning to hurt. This was an open letter sent by Mr. Putnam to President Eisenhower last Fall. Following its publication in the Richmond Times-Dispatch in October, the letter was distributed widely around the country. Subsequently, a group of Alabamians formed a committee to arrange for publication of the letter as paid advertising in major newspapers. (James E. Simpson, Attorney, 317 North Twentieth Street, Birmingham, is treasurer of the committee.) Mr. Putnam, who assuredly is "distinguished" though he has not described himself as such, had nothing to do with formation of this committee. In his letter, the New York-born historian, biographer, and businessman ringingly defends the Southern point of view on school segregation, and urges upon the President a reconsideration of civil rights agitation. The integrationists' "Mass Media Committee" finds the Putnam letter a problem, and outlines

various schemes for undermining the letter's effectiveness.

There is much for the Southern traditionalist, believing in essential separation of the races, to learn from the minutes of this New York committee. Two points especially bear emphasis:

First, this is a coordinated effort. Nine different organizations sent representatives to the committee meeting.

Second, this is a professional effort. Reitman and Moon are not amateurs in public relations. They are pro's, full-time people, and when the committee members meet on West Fortieth Street in Manhattan they meet within a few minutes' taxi ride of the top men in the communications industry.

What does the white South have to match this? Let us attempt an answer in one word: Nothing.

Organizations that believe in the constitutional right of the States to maintain racially separate institutions have no coordination of any sort. Conservative, right-wing groups as a whole have no unity or strength. We have no "consultative conferences," no "mass media committee," no skilled and personable representatives to call upon magazine editors and network officials. Is it any wonder that the South continues to take a terrible licking?

Let us ponder these revealing minutes more in sorrow than in anger, more in honest concern than in resentment. We live in a day of the pressure group, in which public opinion is molded like wax and the grass roots are fertilized from a hundred artificial sources. It is high time for the conservative South to unstuff its shirt, put up some real money, and adapt the techniques of its foes to the cause we hold to be right.

EXCERPT FROM:

Richmond News Leader, Friday, Feb. 27, 1959

Minutes of the Last Meeting:

Integration Leaders Work Busily to Influence Public Opinion

About two and half years ago, we are advised on inquiry to the Associated Press in New York, a group of national organizations quietly established the Consultative Conference on Desegregation. This body, known as the CCD, has shunned publicity and has issued no statements. It is comprised today of "about 40" member organizations. Its purpose is to coordinate activities in support of racial integration. The officers include Dr. Eugene C. Blake, of the National Council of Churches; Rabbi Abraham Feldman, Synagogue Council of America; and Father Maurice Sheehan, of the Catholic Committee of the South, all of whom serve as co-chairmen. The executive director is Arnold Aronson, of the National Community Relations Advisory Council. Lewis Hoskins, of the American Friends Service Committee, is treasurer.

The CCD's "Mass Media Committee" met in New York on February 4. A copy of the committee's minutes recently came into our hands. It is reproduced verbatim below. Readers will find the minutes an absorbing account, we believe, of how a pressure group works. Editorial comment appears at left.

EDITOR

CCD CONSULTATIVE CONFERENCE ON DESEGREGATION

Co-Chairmen
Rev. Eugene Carson Blake, D.D.
Very Rev. Maurice V. Shean, C.O.
Rabbi Abraham J. Feldman, D.D.

Treasurer
Lewis M. Hoskins

NEW ADDRESS:
55 West 42nd St.
New York 36, N.Y.

Secretary: Arnold Aronson
~~3 East 28th Street~~
~~New York 16, N. Y.~~
~~Tel: MUrray Hill 5-1606~~
347

TO: Participating Organizations

FROM: Arnold Aronson, Secretary

DATE: March 18, 1959

SUBJECT: Follow-up to March 4 Memorandum

The response to my memorandum of March 4 regarding the editorial in the Richmond News Leader indicated that a majority was in favor of complying with the request of the Associated Press for the names of the participating organizations. Several organizatio however, suggested that before taking any action, an opportunity b afforded for full discussion of the issues involved. Accordingly, all organizations which could be reached by phone were invited to a meeting on March 10. Despite the short notice, 14 organizations were represented at the meeting.

It was recognized by all those present that publication of th names of the participating organizations might result in harassmen and intimidation of local affiliates. Nevertheless, all were agre that continued refusal to release such information was likely to prove even more damaging in the long run.

Such a course of action, it was suggested, would result in additional undesirable publicity in that it would afford the segregationist press a pretext for further distorting the nature and purposes of the CCD, and for continued attacks on the participatin organizations as being engaged in a secret conspiracy. Moreover, it was the view of those present that the anonymity of the participating organizations could, in any event, not be preserved. It was pointed out that the names of the organizations attending the Mass Media Committee meeting of February 4, as well as those represented by the officers, had already been made public. An enterprising reporter, it was suggested, would have little difficulty in ascertaining the names of other participating organizations. In the opinion of the group, an inclusive listing, reflecting the range and representative character of the participating organizations, was preferable to a partiallist, and voluntary disclosure preferable to newspaper exposure.

It was the unanimous recommendation of the meeting, therefore that the secretary undertake:

(1) To obtain authorization from as many of the participatin organizations as possible for inclusion of their name in a list to be furnished to the AP and,

(2) provide the AP with a brief description of the CCD

pointing out its consultative and advisory character.

The secretary was instructed to communicate by telephone with the officers and Executive Committee to assure that the proposed recommendations were in conformity with the CCD constitution and to secure proper authorization for their implementation.

In accordance with this instruction, the secretary contacted 14 of the 17 individuals comprising the officers and Executive Committee. The remaining 3 could not be reached. Of these 14, all but one favored the proposed recommendations as being both desirable and in keeping with the provisions of the constitution.

Consensus regarding the constitutional question was as follows:

(1) The constitutional prohibition against the issuance of public statements in the name of the CCD was interpreted as applying to the issuance of statements of policy or position on substantive issues and not to the release of factual information regarding the purpose or composition of the CCD in response to requests for such information from responsible news sources such as the AP.

(2) The proposed recommendations did not envisage releasing the names of all participating organizations, but only of those which specifically authorized such release. Thus, the proposal appeared to fall squarely within that section of the constitution which provides that "the offices of the CCD may be used to facilitate the issuance of joint statements by such of the participating organizations as desire to join in such a statement."

(3) The identical procedure contemplated by the proposed recommendations had been approved and carried out in response to requests for information by the wire services in 1957, at the time of the Plenary meeting in Washington.

On the basis of this authorization, a letter was sent to the AP on March 13, setting forth the information recommended at the March 10 meeting. (See enclosed copy). The AP has agreed not to use the contents of the letter for a general news story but will convey the information only to those member newspapers which have requested it.

Since the appearance of the original article in the Richmond News Leader, comment on the CCD has appeared in other newspapers, as well as in the Congressional Record. The text of some of these items, and relevant excerpts from others are enclosed. I would very much appreciate being advised of any such publicity which has or may come to your attention.

Enc.

CONSULTATIVE CONFERENCE ON DESEGREGATION
55 West 42nd St.
New York 36, N.Y.

Copy of Letter to Robert Farrington of Associated Press

Dear Mr. Farrington:

This is in reply to your request for information regarding the Consultative Conference on Desegregation.

The Conference was formed a little over two years ago in order to further communication among organizations committed to facilitating orderly compliance with the constitutional requirements regarding desegregation.

As its name implies, the Conference is a mechanism for interconsultation and for an exchange of information, views and experiences among the participating organizations. The deliberations of the Conference are advisory only and are not binding on any organization.

The Conference itself is not an operating agency. It does not engage in legislative activity nor does it take public actions or issue public statements.

The officers of the Conference are: Co-Chairmen; Rev. Eugene Carson Blake, Department of Racial and Cultural Relations, National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A., Very Rev. Maurice V. Sheen, Catholic Committee of the South, Rabbi Abraham J. Feldman, Synagogue Council of America; Treasurer; Lewis M. Hoskins, American Friends Service Committee; Secretary; Arnold Aronson, National Community Relations Advisory Council. The Conference has no paid staff.

In addition to the organizations represented by the officers, other organizations which participate in the consultative processes include: American Civil Liberties Union; Americans for Democratic Action; American Jewish Committee; American Jewish Congress; Anti-Defamation League; Board of National Missions, United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.; Catholic Interracial Council; Council for Social Action, Congregational Christian Churches; Department of Social Welfare, United Christian Missionary Society, Disciples of Christ; Evangelical & Reformed Church, Commission on Christian Social Action; Jewish Labor Committee; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; National Board, YWCA; National Council of Jewish Women; National Council Protestant Episcopal Church, Division of Christian Citizenship; National Sharecroppers Fund, Inc.; National Social Welfare Assembly; Southern Regional Council; Union of American Hebrew Congregations; Unitarian Service Committee; United Automobile Workers of America; United Church Women; United Steelworkers of America; and Women's Division of Christian Service of the Methodist Church.

Yours truly,

ARNOLD ARONSON
Secretary

AA:EB

PUBLIC COMMENT ON CCD SINCE RICHMOND NEWS LEADER EDITORIAL OF FEBRUARY 27, 1959

March 1 -Charleston, S.C. News and Courier

Under heading "Anti-South Tactics - How a Pressure Group Works", the paper reproduced in full the February 4 minutes of the CCD Mass Media Committee meeting. The minutes were preceded by a paragraph stating that the CCD was "quietly established" about 2½ years ago, is comprised of "about 40" member organizations, "has shunned publicity and issued no statements", and is designed "to coordinate activities in support of racial integration." Officers of the CCD and their organizational affiliation were listed.

March 3 - Richmond News Leader editorial and Mass Media Committee minutes inserted into the Congressional Record by Congressman Watkins M. Abbitt of Virginia. In his introductory remarks Congressman Abbitt said: "This editorial points out cogently the efforts of certain elements in trying to brainwash our people into accepting integration. It also points out the lack of coordination of effort on the part of the people in our area who are trying to maintain constitutional government in America. The comparison is well demonstrated and I hope that enough of our people will read this editorial and profit therefrom so as to set up some cohesive and coordinated effort to get across to the people of the Nation the truth regarding the false propaganda being carried in many elements of the press and news mediums."

March 3 -News Leader - Letter from Thomas A. Hanes, managing editor of the Norfolk Ledger-Star defending accuracy of news photo referred to in Mass Media minutes. (Copy of letter attached).

March 5 - Jackson, Mississippi Daily News Front page editorial "Publicity Peter Funks". The same issue carried an inside editorial titled "New Anti-South Propaganda Plotted at Secret Huddle". The Mass Media Committee minutes were reproduced under the heading "Here is Proof Agitators Serve as Press Censors". (Copies of editorials attached).

March 13 - Editorials and minutes from Daily News inserted into Congressional Record by Congressman John Bell Williams of Mississippi. Congressman Williams' remarks included the following:

"These editorials point up what many of us have known for years: that a concerted and highly organized conspiracy exists among much of our Nation's mass information mediums to portray the South's attitudes and position to the rest of the country in the most ridiculous and unfavorable light possible.

The information contained in these editorials should be cause for grave concern on the part of every right-thinking and patriotic American citizen:"

EXCERPT FROM:

Jackson, Mississippi
Daily News - March 5, 1959

New Anti-South Propaganda Plotted at Secret Huddle

How does a pressure group dedicated to racial agitation work?

How do these creatures continue to gag the press, magazines, and radio and television?

How do they successfully distort and discredit remarks made by honorable American people who oppose their vicious slander?

In these same columns below you will read minutes of a most remarkable secret meeting held in New York City on February 4 at the NAACP's headquarters on West 40th Street. These minutes have been brought to public attention by the Richmond News Leader, of Richmond, Va.

Efforts by that newspaper have failed to establish the identity of "about 40" organizations allegedly supporting the organization known as the "Consultative Conference on Desegregation."

It is extremely significant that news media in New York, the nerve center of world newsgathering, can send high-powered journalists into the South to dig up any facts they desire on any organization, but the group of about 40 organizations supporting the CCD remain anonymous.

Is it not extremely strange that the CCD voted to protest to the Associated Press, United Press International and Editor and Publisher regarding identifying people by race when the meeting was arranged by an organization which includes the term "colored people" in its own name. We refer to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

There is no more reason why the news media should suffer censorship at the hands of this unidentified outfit than should a judge juggle evidence in court or turn a deaf ear to defense attorneys.

After you have read the article below, we believe you will agree the Nation's press and radio and television facilities are being pressured into giving the South another double dose of ridicule in the court of last resort - public opinion - and, please, look at the professional agitators packing the court.

In the face of this evidence it is no wonder the South continues to take such a licking.

In the face of perpetual bombardment with vicious lies, it is a wonder this region has shown the ramarkable restraint it has exercised.

The falsehood peddlers yell for moderation, yet they display no regard for the word in dishing out abusive propaganda.

COPY

The Richmond News Leader
Tuesday, March 3, 1959

Editor, The News Leader:

This past Friday, you carried on your editorial page the minutes of a recent meeting in New York of the Mass Media Committee of the Consultative Conference on Desegregation, whatever that is, in which those present discussed a photograph that appeared in many American newspapers February 2 and 3.

To quote from this outfit's minutes: "The Wirephoto showed a lone Negro boy in Maury High School Auditorium in Norfolk, Va. - apparently shunned by his classmates. An article in the New York Post February 3 reported that the photo was phony. Photographers had beckoned the Negro boy up front and took the picture. A minute later the seats around him were filled and other kids were asking him if he could play basketball or football. It was agreed that it would be useful if editors throughout the country who used the photo would query AP on the alleged irresponsible reporting..."

This photograph (below) originated with the Norfolk Ledger-Star.

The subject of the Norfolk Ledger Star's integrity is not debateable, particularly when it is questioned by people whose qualifications to discuss any kind of integrity are so scanty that their acceptance would be limited to zero. However, since distorted, inaccurate and dishonest accounts of the circumstances connected with the acquisition of the widely published photograph have been circulated, truth is long overdue.

Here is what happened:

On the morning of February 2 when Norfolk schools were integrated, the Ledger - Star sent out reporter-photographer teams to every school involved. Prior to their departure, the teams attended a briefing session in which standing written instructions were reviewed. City Editor Clarence Walton placed particular emphasis upon the prohibition of posed pictures. He made it quite clear that any violation of the rule would result in immediate dismissal. So when Photographer J.T. McClenny appeared at Maury High School, he knew the score.

He simply walked into the auditorium and shot what was there. The picture showed a Negro boy surrounded by empty seats. And the reason the picture showed a Negro boy surrounded by empty seats is because the Negro boy was surrounded by empty seats.

If the New York Post, which was quoted by integrationist Harry Fleischman, knows more about the Ledger-Star's operation and its dedication to journalistic honesty than I do, it's a hell of a lot better paper than I think it is, which isn't much.

THOMAS A. HANES,
Managing Editor,
Ledger-Star
Norfolk

EXCERPT FROM:

Jackson Mississippi
Daily News - March 5, 1959

Publicity Peter Funks

The extent to which organized, professional pressure groups apply the squeeze to the Nation's large newspapers, magazines, wire services, radio and television outlets on behalf of stirring up racial hatreds and warped opinions of the South has been uncovered.

Minutes of a secret meeting held in New York recently have been obtained. This document reveals very significant background into reasons the South continues to suffer abuse and slander in the court of last resort - public opinion. The judge and jury are both stacked against millions of decent, law-abiding people who disagree with leftwing, Communist-front strife-spreaders, do-gooders, and social and publicity Peter Funks.

The minutes of the hush-hush session at which distorted stories against the South were conceived appear, along with additional editorial comment, on the editorial page in this issue of the Jackson Daily News.

You will see from the pressure techniques plus an abundance of fawning willingness on the part of journalists and television commentators that the South has no more chance of unbiased treatment than a billy goat has of winning a prize at a perfume contest.

The minutes reveal propaganda leaflets are distributed by the Mass Media Committee of the Consultative Conference on Desegregation to all CCD agencies. It is reported about 40 agencies cooperate in this the falsehood spreading, but the names of these agencies are kept secret.

Visiting newsmen can swarm into the South and get all the factual information they desire on any organization, but the nerve-center of world journalism, television and radio has not been able to get a list of these agencies.

Right-thinking southerners should study with concern the underground activities of vicious sabotage against reputable people.

It must be accepted that the South has been long-suffering in enduring the assaults.

Although it can hardly hope to cope with a secret underground of hate-pushers, the Citizens Council (there's no secret about its board of directors) is the only active organization putting up an intelligent defense against the constant barrage of smear against the South.

After reading the details on the editorial page today we believe our readers will hold renewed respect and admiration for those who stand on the forefront of this all-important fight for decency and fairplay.

To; Harold Fleming

From: Paul Rilling

file CCD

Postscript on the 'CCD'

A month ago this newspaper carried on its editorial page the minutes of a meeting held by an interesting if unknown body, the Mass Media Committee of the Consultative Conference on Desegregation. These minutes, never intended for publication, described with revealing frankness the coördinated, professional efforts being made by integrationist groups to advance their point of view.

The Consultative Conference on Desegregation was a new outfit in our book. Inquiry to the Associated Press in New York at first drew a blank. The secretary was unwilling to disclose the names of the member agencies of this conference without their consent.

Now, however, a letter is at hand from the New York bureau of the Associated Press, forwarding information obtained from Arnold Aronson, of the National Community Relations Advisory Council, who serves as secretary of the CCD.

The Consultative Conference on Desegregation was formed a little over two years ago, Mr. Aronson advises, "in order to further communication among organizations committed to facilitating orderly compliance with the constitutional requirements regarding desegregation." The CCD is a "mechanism for inter-consultation and for an exchange of information, views and experiences." It does not engage in legislative activity, "nor does it take public actions or issue public statements."

Member agencies include the following:

Department of Racial and Cultural Relations, National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U. S. A.

Catholic Committee of the South.

Synagogue Council of America.

American Friends Service Committee.

American Civil Liberties Union.

Americans for Democratic Action.

American Jewish Committee.

American Jewish Congress.

Anti-Defamation League.

Board of National Missions, United Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A.

Catholic Interracial Council.

Council for Social Action, Congregational Christian Churches.

Department of Social Welfare, United Christian Missionary Society, Disciples of Christ.

Evangelical and Reformed Church, Commission on Christian Social Action.

Jewish Labor Committee.

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

National Board, YWCA.

National Council of Jewish Women.

National Council, Protestant Episcopal Church, Division of Christian Citizenship.

National Sharecroppers Fund, Inc.

National Social Welfare Assembly.

Southern Regional Council.

Union of American Hebrew Congregations.

Unitarian Service Committee.

United Automobile Workers of America.

United Church Women.

United Steelworkers of America.

Women's Division of Christian Service of the Methodist Church.

That is the lineup: Twenty-nine organizations, including several of great wealth and political influence, working smoothly together on one coördinated drive to promote racial integration.

And the American South, whose society, culture, and institutions are the targets of this formidable assault, remains almost defenseless in a war of ideas. When will we marshal our scattered forces for an effective campaign of our own?

CONSULTATIVE CONFERENCE ON DESEGREGATION

Co-Chairmen
Rev. Eugene Carson Blake, D.D.
Very Rev. Maurice V. Shean, C.O.
Rabbi Abraham J. Feldman, D.D.

Secretary: Arnold Aronson
55 West 42nd Street
New York 36, N.Y.

Treasurer
Lewis M. Hoskins

TO: Participating Organizations

FROM: Arnold Aronson, Secretary

DATE: March 31, 1959

I am sure you will be interested in the enclosed editorial from the Richmond News Leader of March 26.

This is the first publicity which in any way takes into account the information we gave to the AP. The subdued tone of the editorial suggests that the breadth and character of the organization included in our listing may have served as a deterrent to the kind of innuendos which characterized earlier publicity.

Also enclosed are copies of two additional references to the CCD taken from the Augusta (Ga.) Courier of March 23 and the syndicated column of John Temple Graves of March 18.

It is doubtful whether Roy Harris or Mr. Graves was aware of the information given to the AP.

A.A.

Enc.

EDITORIAL PAGE

The Richmond News Leader
Thursday, March 26, 1959

Postscript on the 'CCD'

A month ago this newspaper carried on its editorial page the minutes of a meeting held by an interesting if unknown body, the Mass Media Committee of the Consultative Conference on Desegregation. These minutes, never intended for publication, described with revealing frankness the coordinated, professional efforts being made by integrationist groups to advance their point of view.

The Consultative Conference on Desegregation was a new outfit in our book. Inquiry to the Associated Press in New York at first drew a blank. The secretary was unwilling to disclose the names of the member agencies of this conference without their consent.

Now, however, a letter is at hand from the New York bureau of the Associated Press, forwarding information obtained from Arnold Aronson, of the National Community Relations Advisory Council, who serves as secretary of the CCD.

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Member agencies include the following:

Department of Racial and Cultural Relations, National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A.; Catholic Committee of the South; Synagogue Council of America;

American Friends Service Committee; American Civil Liberties Union; Americans for Democratic Action; American Jewish Committee; American Jewish Congress; Anti-Defamation League; Board of National Missions, United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.: Catholic Interracial Council; Council for Social Action, Congregational Christian Churches; Department of Social Welfare, United Christian Missionary Society, Disciples of Christ; Evangelical and Reformed Church, Commission on Christian Social Action; Jewish Labor Committee; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; National Board, YWCA; National Council of Jewish Women; National Council, Protestant Episcopal Church, Division of Christian Citizenship; National Sharecroppers Fund, Inc.; National Social Welfare Assembly; Southern Regional Council; Union of American Hebrew Congregations; Unitarian Service Committee; United Automobile Workers of America; United Church Women; United Steelworkers of America; Women's Division of Christian Service of the Methodist Church.

That is the lineup: Twenty-nine organizations, including several of great wealth and political influence, working smoothly together on one coordinated drive to promote racial integration.

And the American South, whose society, culture, and institutions are the targets of this formidable assault, remains almost defenseless in a war of ideas. When will we marshall our scattered forces for an effective campaign of our own?

COPY COPY

Augusta, Georgia Courier
March 23, 1959

"40 National Organizations Form Consultative Conference on Desegregation to Force Race Mixing on People of U.S.; Protestant Minister, Rabbi Catholic Priest are Directors of War on Southern Whites

"The wild-eyed radical race mixers are using every conceivable method to ram race mixing down the throats of decent people.

"A new one jumps up now. The Associated Press has discovered that a group of approximately forty national organizations over two years ago quietly established in New York City the Consultative Conference on Desegregation.

"This aggregation has three co-chairmen. They are: Dr. Eugene C. Blake, of the National Council of Churches; Rabbi Abraham Feldman, Synagogue Council of America; and Father Maurice Shean, of the Catholic Committee of the South.

"The executive director is Arnold Aronson of the National Community Relations Advisory Council, and Lewis Hoskins, of the American Friends Service Committee, is treasurer.

"This Consultative Conference has established what they call the 'Mass Media Committee'. The CCD's Mass Media Committee met in New York on February 4, 1959.

"Believing that a copy of the minutes of this Mass Media Committee would be of interest to our readers to show how these wild-eyed radicals operate and the names and organizations which some of them represent, we submit below a verbatim copy of the minutes of this Mass Media Committee meeting:...."

John Temple Graves' Column
March 18, 1959

FLASH! The Putnam Letter is upsetting the "Mass Media Committee of the Consultative Conference on Desegregation."

And massively!

The organization is made up of some 40 organizations interested in promoting integration. Recent minutes suggested that members "check with editors and publishers about the problem." (Apparently checking has been successful with The Washington Post and Los Angeles, which refused the letter as an advertisement.) "To judge from the waspish tone of (the minutes)," writes Editor James J. Kilpatrick in The Richmond News-Leader, "the 'Carleton Putnam letter' is beginning to hurt." The "Mass Media Committee" circulates stories and editorials from The Arkansas Gazette (Harry Ashmore), The Washington Post and The Urban League (which is still receiving over $2 million a year from community chest groups even though a number of Southern chest organizations have dropped it).

File (CCD Attack Stuff)

ADL

SOUTHEASTERN OFFICE
41 Exchange Pl., S. E., Atlanta 3, Ga.

For your information

7/22

Harold Fleming

"Strong propaganda machine" — yuk, yuk

Did you hear about the new Jewish western — FRONTIER ACCOUNTANT?

Regards

Art Levin

The State

PAGE 4-A COLUMBIA, S. C., SATURDAY, MAY 16, 1959

Strong Propaganda Machine Fights Southern Traditions

When Lewis B. Pendleton of Richmond, a leader of the forces to maintain segregated public schools in Virginia, addressed the Sumter County Citizens Council, he warned his hearers against powerful propaganda machines bent upon the destruction of school segregation in the South.

One of these anti-Southern bodies has been brought to light by *The Richmond News Leader*. It is called the Consultative Conference on Desegregation and comprises "about 40" member organizations. Known by the initials, CCD, the organization was established quietly. It shuns publicity and issues no statements. Its purpose is to coordinate activities in support of racial integration.

Among the officers are Dr. Eugene C. Blake of the National Council of Churches, Rabbi Abraham Feldman of the Synagogue Council of America and Father Maurice Sheehan of the Catholic Committee of the South. They serve as co-chairmen.

Arnold Aronson of the National Community Relations Advisory Council is executive director. Lewis Hoskins of the American Friends Service Committee is treasurer.

One of the CCD committees is charged with the responsibility of influencing newspapers, press services, magazines and radio-TV networks to propagandize their pro-integration cause. It is called the Mass Media Committee. Minutes of a meeting of this group on West Fortieth Street in New York was obtained by the Richmond newspaper.

Nine organizations were represented at that meeting. The individuals present were CCD Executive Director Aronson; Gunther Lawrence, Union of American Hebrew Congregations; Henry Moon, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; Alex Morisey, American Friends Service Committee; Guichard Parris, National Urban League; Alan Reitman, American Civil Liberties Union; Ed White, United Steelworkers of America; Ali Bernheim, American Jewish Committee, chair-

Reitman also was to contact *Life* magazine on a proposal to publish an article on "the role of the clergy in the South in supporting law and equality."

The committee called attention to a pamphlet on race relations sponsored by the American Friends Service Committee and a reprint by the Southern Regional Council of an Arkansas Gazette report "on the effect of the desegregation controversy on economic conditions in Arkansas."

Other desegregation publications cited were prepared or sponsored by the Turnpike Press of Annandale, Va., the National Social Welfare Assembly's Committee on Intergroup Relations, and "a group of organizations in Miami, under the leadership of the United Church Women."

Members of the committee, according to the minutes, expressed "great indignation" over Chet Huntley's suggestion on television "that Southern moderates were only awaiting NAACP abdication to rise up in their might to support orderly desegregation."

Evidently creating greater disturbance among the Mass Media committeemen than anything else, however, was the Putnam letter, which has been widely published in the South. It has been run as an advertisement by some Northern newspapers and refused even as an ad by some integrationist newspapers.

The Putnam letter, which THE STATE was one of the first to publish, and which it later reprinted, assails the Supreme Court for ignoring legal precedents and then arriving at a decision conforming to preconceived notions by unquestioning acceptance of psuedo-scientific theories advanced by "authorities" such as Myrdal, a Swedish sociologist, and Franz Boaz, the foreign-born "father of anthropological egalitarianism."

"We urged CCD member agencies," said the committee's minutes, "to alert their local units to such ads and

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

ices, magazines and radio-TV networks to propagandize their pro-integration cause. It is called the Mass Media Committee. Minutes of a meeting of this group on West Fortieth Street in New York was obtained by the Richmond newspaper.

Nine organizations were represented at that meeting. The individuals present were CCD Executive Director Aronson; Gunther Lawrence, Union of American Hebrew Congregations; Henry Moon, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; Alex Morisey, American Friends Service Committee; Guichard Parris, National Urban League; Alan Reitman, American Civil Liberties Union; Ed White, United Steelworkers of America; Ali Bernheim, American Jewish Committee, chairman, and Harry Fleischman, National Labor Service, secretary.

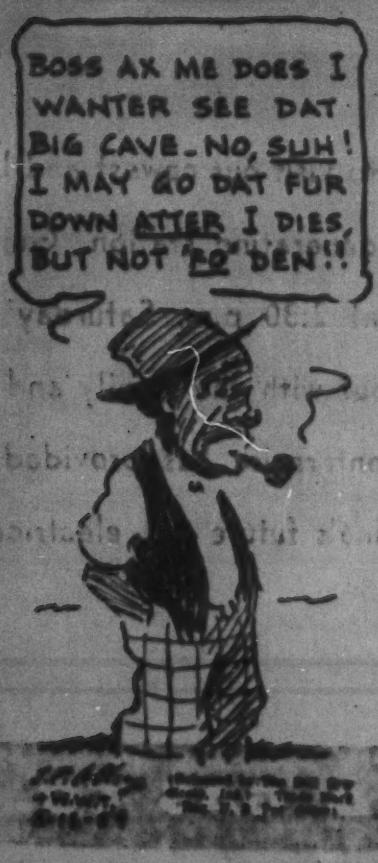
Fifteen items of business were reported in the minutes.

Among them were plans for publication of reprints of Walt Kelly's anti-segregation Pogo comic strip series, "Speakeasy Schools," by the National Labor Service of the American Jewish Committee, the Southern Regional Council, the Anti-Defamation League, the American Friends Service Committee, and six AFL-CIO unions.

It was agreed that Reitman, a paid propagandist, would try to persuade the Associated Press and United Press International to discontinue identification by race, and would pursue the matter further with *Editor and Publisher*, a newspaper trade publication.

"Alan Reitman agreed to suggest to *The New York Times* that it carry a story concerning the reactions of students who have returned to desegregated public schools from private schools and tutoring classes. It was felt that such a human interest story might make the comparison more meaningful, even in the South. Henry Moon agreed to suggest the same kind of stories for the educational pages of *Time* and *Newsweek*."

HAMBONE



was the Putnam letter, which has been widely published in the South. It has been run as an advertisement by some Northern newspapers and refused even as an ad by some integrationist newspapers.

The Putnam letter, which THE STATE was one of the first to publish and which it later reprinted, assails the Supreme Court for ignoring legal precedents and then arriving at a decision conforming to preconceived notions by unquestioning acceptance of psuedo-scientific theories advanced by "authorities" such as Myrdal, a Swedish sociologist, and Franz Boaz, the foreign-born "father of anthropological egalitarianism."

"We urged CCD member agencies," said the committee's minutes, "to alert their local units to such ads and ask them to check with editors and publishers about the problem. When such ads appear in Northern papers, it would be helpful if Southerners would write dissenting letters to the editors analyzing the misstatements and errors in the ads. Where such ads appear, editors should be asked to include editorials rebutting the segregation thesis advanced in the ads, or at least run news articles (in the same issue carrying the ads) quoting opponents of segregation."

The Mass Media minutes disclose a high powered, strongly coordinated, well financed, professional propaganda machine designed to direct the mass opinion of America against Southern institutions.

"What does the South have to match this?" the Richmond *News Leader* asks, editorially. "Let us attempt an answer in one word: *Nothing*."

"Organizations that believe in the constitutional right of the states to maintain racially separate institutions have no coordination of any sort," the Richmond newspaper continues.

"Conservative, right-wing groups as a whole have no unity or strength. We have no 'consultative conference,' no 'mass media committee,' no skilled and personable representatives to call upon magazine editors and network officials. Is it any wonder that the South continues to take a terrible licking?

"Let us ponder these revealing minutes more in sorrow than in anger, more in honest concern than in resentment.

"We live in a day of the pressure group, in which public opinion is molded like wax and the grass roots are fertilized from a hundred artificial sources. It is high time for the conservative South to unstuff its shirt, put up some real money, and adapt the techniques of its foes to the cause we hold to be right."

Russian libraries, a reporter writes, arrange their books according to size, rather than by title or author's name. This is a far cry from the smartly decorated American home, where the books are arranged according to color.

Pamphlets - Intn
#34 - Group
Orgs -

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

of the

SOUTHERN CONFERENCE

for

HUMAN WELFARE

BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA

November 20 - 23, 1938

Washington Chapter of Southern Conference for Human Welfare

Speech by
Stephen Raushenbush, Chief, Branch of Planning and Research, Dept. of Interior

October 16, 1944

INDUSTRIAL OPPORTUNITIES OF THE SOUTH

During the past few years the people of the South have come to a fairly firm agreement on what their economic situation is, and what their needs are. Briefly, that agreement is that they need more fabrication of their own raw materials at home, and need the skills, employment and wages that go with fabrication, and that do not go with the primary processing of raw materials or with one-crop agriculture. You have all participated in or followed the course and development of the analysis which has led to this conclusion. I do not need to repeat it. I agree with the results completely. The people of Tennessee are as much convinced of them as the people of Louisiana or Virginia.

Let us take this agreement on the need for more fabricating as a common basis for our discussion, and go on from there. How do you get the needed fabricating?

Current Situation

The problem cannot be separated from the current situation that extends beyond the South. It is part of that situation. Some of the main elements in the current situation are these:

1st. The war is still on, and may go on for some years. The full force of reconversion will not come at once, but may come in two parts: one part after the war in Europe, and the rest after Tokyo is taken. The war industries of the South (with the exception of shipbuilding) will have a little more time to convert to peacetime uses than the industries of some other parts of the Nation. Ten Southern states with one-tenth of the manufacturing capacity of the country got about 4% of the total war contracts and about 5% of the new plant and equipment.

2nd. The South has as yet very little independent industry outside of its tobacco and textile plants. It follows that the reconversion and expansion of Southern industry will not be considered by the industries involved solely from the viewpoint of the South. It will be part of plans made for both Northern and Southern plants in the various industrial centers.

3d. Other areas of the Nation are following the Tennessee Valley Authority example, and are getting ready for regionalization. The South will have even more competition for industries than it has had before. These areas include the Gulf Coast of Texas, the Missouri Valley, California, the Northwest and even New England. This is not equal competition. Some of these new regions have fewer people to offer as potential markets than has the Southeast. Some can offer cheap electric power as an inducement, as the Tennessee Valley Authority region can do, some cannot. Few can offer equally convenient access to water transportation. Few can offer the long growing or outdoor working season. Few can offer the low cost wood, coal or fibre materials. But they have other advantages and skills, and are going to try to make the most of them.

4th. The people of the Nation are getting to a position where they will have more concentrated spending power in their hands than they have ever had since the beginning of time. They are also becoming more aware that they need a national income level of 140 billion dollars to keep all of them employed and to keep up their standard of living. Before the election is over the people generally may be convinced that both parties have committeed themselves to produce such a high level of income, and will be ready to throw out any party that fails to deliver it up to the last dollar.

While the South does not have a full share of the accumulated savings of the Nation, it has great sums. These sums are sufficient to absorb much more Southern-made consumer and durable goods than ever before. They are even great enough to allow for a considerable Southern investment in Southern enterprise.

5th. The Tennessee Valley Authority is having a constructive influence in the South in that people are coming to realize that they can meet and overcome man-made difficulties as well as acts of God, such as floods. They have found in the Tennessee Valley Authority an instrument of unity and progress that does not upset states rights. It aids in doing regionally what none of the states could do alone. No one of them alone could have redressed the economic unbalance of the 1920's which took out the lumber and coal and young men of the South to Detroit and paid so little for them that the people of the South could not buy back the products of Detroit. It required national action and regional development to redress that balance. The result is that the income of the people in the Tennessee Valley was increasing much faster than the income of the Nation before the war (76% compared to 56%).

6th. At the same time, it is uncertain whether the South or any of the non-industrial regions can expect much more support from the Congress than they have been getting. Most of the Southern Representatives are very alive to the problems of development. Outside of some public works expenditure on rivers, roads and possibly swamp drainage, it is doubtful that the Congress is presently inclined to do anything very much to stimulate the industrial development of the regions. Possibly a continuation of industrial research by the Smaller War Plants Corporation might be secured. More accurately, let me put it this way: Unless the regions put very definite plans before the Congress and unless they also join hands in promoting those plans, the underdeveloped regions, including the South, can probably expect no major help from the Congress. That statement applies to surplus property disposal as well as everything else.

Finally, the post-war development of the South will begin to take shape in an atmosphere of uncertainty about the position of the United States as an exporting and importing nation, and that uncertainty will affect the regions desiring expansion, such as the South and West, more than the regions already heavily industrialized. At the end of the last war and again at the end of the "new era" in the late twenties, our unemployment made us panicky, and we rushed to keep out all foreign goods--and thereby to lose our foreign markets as fast as we could. Later we found out that we had cut off our noses to save our faces, but there is no real guarantee that we will not do this again. Such decisions, of course, affect the cotton-exporting part of the South directly and profoundly. But they also affect the whole great expansion of the Nation to the basis of a 140 billion dollar income, and the development of the regions depends on that expansion. It cannot be undertaken without that expansion. It may help greatly in creating that expansion, but if we are going to contract and diminish our foreign trade, we are also going to contract generally, and there will be no regional expansion, and no notable Southern expansion.

I have mentioned these seven factors in the current situation, because our task of securing fabrication for the South will be determined in part by the manner in which the people of the South utilize these factors. They are not all unfavorable.

Let us come back for a moment to the type of fabrication we want for the South. It consists of those industries for which local raw materials are available, and which have a high value added by manufacturing per wage earner, a relatively high annual wage, and a high remaining amount for profits and interest payments.

Typical of the type of industries which meet these tests are:

Drugs and medicines, vegetable shortenings, soap, flour and mill products, sugar refining, blast furnace products, feeds, evaporated and condensed milk, meat packing, industrial chemicals, paints, pigments and varnishes, petroleum refining. These are only a few.

Several basic developments in the South are already indicated. The phosphate rock of Florida will in time supersede the smaller deposits in Tennessee, and the South will be able to retain what is left of its soil. So the basic soil situation should gradually improve. Perhaps it will improve to the point where seven Southeastern states will pay as much for farm labor as for fertilizer instead of less. Similarly, the iron and steel industry of Birmingham may reasonably expect to continue as one of the lowest cost steel producers in the country -- subject only to the discovery of additional ore.

Next, the discovery of oil in Florida and the expectations for further discovery along the Eastern Gulf Coast furnish the makings for an increased chemical industry, including plastics.

Next, the recent developments in wood waste use may put the low grade Southern woods into use on a more intensive basis, including plastics. The South has a definite advantage over other forest areas because of the faster rate of growth.

Next, the recent development of lower cost driers and deep freeze appliances should affect both the dairying and vegetable growing functions of the South favorably.

New Research in the South

There are other things in the making. In South Carolina a plant to produce alumina from clay is probably also going to produce a good cement, and the split of by-product costs may make this a real development. This is also a possible industry for Georgia. In Arkansas there is a renewed interest in ceramics development, and low cost ceramics space heaters and toilet appliances may result. The U. S. Bureau of Mines' laboratory at Norris has been working on refractories of importance to the steel industry, including the substitution of South Carolina topaz for Indian kyanite. It has also been working on the possibilities of Southern production of medium-priced chinaware of the type which has in the past been largely imported from Japan.

The large tungsten deposit uncovered during the war in Northern North Carolina might come into successful competition with low-cost foreign tungsten if ways are found to produce both tungsten metal and tungsten bronzes on the spot. The Bureau of Mines' laboratory at Raleigh is working on this. In North Carolina work on sponge iron is also going on, which may help a local development of wrought iron. In Florida the beach sands are yielding rutile which is useful as a coating for welding rods, and zircon which is a refractory material.

During the war some work has been going on to produce alcohol in one case and starch in another from sweet potatoes (Ala.), new processes for rice preparation that keep the vitamins (Ark.), pulpwood from pine stumps and tannin from scrub oak (Fla.), new fibres, such as ramie (Fla.), "hardwood" from Georgia pine through new processes (Ga.), wall board from mineral products (Ky.), heating insulation with rice hulls (Lsa.), bamboo reinforcing for concrete farm buildings (S. C.), pulp from bagasse (Lsa.), alcohol from farm wastes (Miss.), high frequency electronics for boll weevil control (Tex.), cotton fibres in plastic laminates (Tex.), laminated lumber (Va.), new carding machinery for coarse cloth (N. C.), agar for lubricants and medicines (N. C.), vacuum dehydration of fruits and vegetables (Ga.), and improved transportation refrigeration (Fla.)

I wish to point out that most of the work on these processes has been carried on during the war to save the use of some critical raw material or to render unnecessary the expansion of high cost equipment in the standard process. Some of them have met strenuous opposition. Some have been stopped. In many of them the work has not been carried on as yet to a point where reliable cost figures have been obtained. In other words, the interested question of the South has not yet been answered: "Are these new processes or new uses for its raw materials competitive in quality and price?" Yet until this question has been answered, the value of the work will be lost to the South.

Industrial research is without doubt absolutely necessary if this region or any region is to find out what new uses its raw materials can serve, and at what costs and prices the new products can be produced. Yet in the main the industrial concerns that might undertake such research, already have products that are now standard products, and any new products from new sources would be competitive with them. This situation can be a greater handicap to the South than adverse rail rates, and we all know that adverse rail rates can be a real road block.

Involved in this problem is the fate of small business and industry, or of independent business and industry. These people cannot individually afford costly experimentation. New processes, new materials, new uses alone would make them independent or keep them independent, and they cannot afford the necessary technological staff and equipment to get or keep their independence. If we are to keep this and other types of research into the use of our materials going, our Southern businessmen will probably have to split the laboratory costs or call on the various Governmental research agencies to do the work for them. This might be contracted out through the Smaller War Plants Corporation, which is supposed to aid and protect small and independent business.

There are also a great number of German patents and processes now open to everyone for a small fee, and it may be that Southern businessmen can find among them a few that would be helpful to the South.

An important question immediately arises, however. All the work done by Government research organizations, including the Bureau of Mines in my own Department, immediately becomes available to everybody else in the country. Any patents taken out as a result of such research work can be licensed by anyone anywhere for a nominal fee. The Government, representing all people, can and probably should do nothing else. The people of the South, however, may want to have some exclusive rights for awhile on processes valuable to the South, so that this approach has to be considered carefully. It may be more desirable for the business people of the South to pay for their own research, and have the exclusive use of the results for a period of time sufficient for them to get started on production. But here again, a new process or a new use of Southern raw materials should not get started on such a high-price basis that will prevent widespread acceptance of the new produce, and large employment.

Major Problems

Let us look for a moment at your other major difficulties which stand in the way of securing more fabrication. The freight situation still prevails that Southern class rates put a 37% handicap on industries wishing to locate in the South and ship into Northern markets. Where a ton of freight moving between two Northern points on a class rate costs $10.00, freight moving from South to North costs $13.70 (Bureau of Investigation and Research). Where $3.70 per ton is an important part of the total cost of a product, this rate situation is a real handicap. This can be handled through the Southern Governors and the I.C.C. -- at least there are channels open, whatever the delay may be.

It is also possible for the people of the South to use the freight rate structure to prevent the worst type of industrialization, the crowding together of more hundreds of thousands of people into the large cities. That trend has been worse in the South in recent years than elsewhere. Low-cost electric power makes it possible to distribute industry throughout the smaller towns instead of piling up great industrial slums, but the freight rate structure at present does not help that development. It is possible for the people of the South to make the freight rate structure have entirely different effects, if they care to do so. (Mr. Lilienthal has made this suggestion on several occasions.)

Our other major difficulty is in securing financing for independent Southern industries. Low-cost financing is essential for industries which need some years to get going. Perhaps the simplest illustration is in turpentine gum farming. The income from 5000 workable trees averages only $180. annually during the first ten years. After several decades it goes up to $665. A man needs money to carry him through the first years or he cannot start at all, and the money must be at rates that will not sink him in the process. For example, you have to borrow $1,000 at 6% and can't pay off until after ten years, you then have to pay $1,790. At 2% you have to pay off $1,219. The lower interest rate saves you $571. or more than half as much as the original loan itself. Much development in the South can become possible at 2% interest per year that would never become possible at 6%. The ability of the REAs to bring light and power to so many Southern farms has obviously been due in a large part to their access to low-cost capital.

Here, then, are the three major hurdles, difficulty in securing access to the technological processes that might make new uses out of Southern raw materials, difficulty in securing access to markets and difficulty in securing access to low-cost capital.

These are the old handicaps. Is there anything in the current situation which makes it more possible for you to overcome them? I mentioned several such factors earlier in this discussion. The fact that more money is now available for investment is one of the most helpful parts of the new situation. The fact that other undeveloped regions are also stirring may be helpful if the South needs Congressional support. The fact that most of the South has less of a conversion problem than other areas is to the good. The Tennessee Valley Authority experience is to the good. The determination of people in the whole country to get and keep a very high level of national income is also helpful. The industrial research work already undertaken in the South is a good beginning. Added together, these probably spell as good an opportunity for the South as it will have in another fifty years, in spite of the difficulties in your way.

Let me state here my belief that the South should be developed by its own people and not by the Government. The Government can and should aid people to get started. The big automobile boom of the 1920s that picked us up after the last war was based on an expenditure of billions by Federal, State and local governments for good roads to replace the mud roads. The equivalent of that automobile boom after this war may be created by enormous regional expansion, and it would be proper for the Government to help in cleaning up the mud holes in the road of such a boom, as it did before. The freight rates are already being worked on, in part. That leaves the problems of technological research and low-cost financing.

Self-Financed Cooperative Research

I would suggest for your consideration the possibility that the businessmen and agricultural groups of the South unite in financing the necessary industrial research for the South to the extent of $1,000,000 a year for five years. They could secure laboratory and pilot plant equipment of almost every type needed from surplus property stocks at low cost. They could pick up all the War Production Board research undertaken during the war, all the Bureau of Mines, the Tennessee Valley Authority, and the Forest Service research, the alien patents, and go on from there, and see what they can develop. Each group of industries could have the things in which they are most interested tried out in laboratories and pilot plants. The results would be patented by the group and made available only to the groups participating in the expense, for use inside the South for a period of years. That would be the dividend to each group. Ten or fifteen tryouts might be failures, but each success might well pay out for the 10 or 15 failures.

There would be a high degree of risk in such a joint experiment undertaking, but people occasionally take high risks, as they did when they financed exploration for gold. Technology is the modern gold of the South. I believe that it might even be possible that if the public had confidence in the engineering soundness of the management it would invest some risk capital in the proposition. Anyone buying stock in a chemical, electrical, metallurgical, or paper company in those days is really investing in their laboratories, for their laboratories are the main hope of each company for besting the competition. This would be an investment in a laboratory for the whole South.

I realize that there are many difficulties involved in any such proposition. If the participating agricultural groups wanted research carried on in the field of low-cost motor fuel from begasse or wood waste, the oil companies might not want it carried on. Or if the oil companies wanted research on one type of plastics, the lumbering people might prefer to give priority to another type with a cellulose base. It would be necessary to have a governing board that would not stifle competition, but would give every group a full opportunity to have its technological ideas tried out and get a fair run for its money. It may be difficult, but it seems to me manageable by the business and agricultural groups of the South.

Problem of Low-Cost Financing

We come finally to the problem of low-cost financing. I think that the banks ought to do all the short-term financing. At the same time there are long-term financing needs that the banks cannot meet and yet which have to be met if the South is to be developed. The turpentine grower I mentioned before illustrates this. The Tennessee Valley Authority also illustrates it, on a larger scale. The Government will get back all the money spent by the Tennessee Valley Authority on power developments, but because so much other money was needed for flood control and navigation, the full development of the river basin would have been left undone if the Government had not financed the job.

I frankly do not know where to suggest drawing the line. I can see that the banks would do a much larger short-term loan business with a developed and thriving industrial South than they would do with a 1939 or a 1929 South. But they may not see it that way. I can also see that development of the South on a basis of 2% interest is preferable to no development on the basis of 6%. I can also see that a bank loaning money to a company producing one product would not be interested in loaning money at low rates to a company producing a competitive product. But I cannot see how that situation helps either the competition or enterprise you nee in the South.

You may wish to note the fact that some business groups are quite unaware of the importance of low interest rates on post-war development. The National Association of Real Estate Board is circulating a proposal that local community development authorities be set up to acquire land and to contract for housing developments. The proposal is that they be financed Federally either through non-interest bearing loans, or that the tax laws be amended to make any investment in the bonds a proper deduction from net income. The purpose of the proposal is to avoid public housing, and keep the housing field in private hands. The significant fact is the realization that low-cost or no-cost money has to be used as a basis for a really large housing program.

There is a possibility here that the Smaller War Plants Corporation, whose director is convinced of the absolute dependence of independent business on low-cost capital, may set the pace, not only for the South but for the whole country. The Congress seems interested in helping the small and independent businessman to keep whatever opportunities he has left, and may support developmental loans at 3% or less.

It is, I think, necessary to tie action on all these three major problems together, to have a combined developmental group for all the States of the South in which the people can have confidence. It should unify and keep the people of the region informed of all the steps undertaken and proposed in regard to all of these matters, and the results achieved. It should lay before the people and perhaps the Congress the key problems, such as those involved in low-cost financing, and try to work out the solutions which will best serve the South. The Tennessee Valley Authority would, I am sure, give leadership in this matter for part of the region, if that part so desired. The other areas might profitably unite their promotional work. The South is a region of the Nation, and in these days of great opportunity before it, should act as a region rather than as a group of separate interests. It probably never had a better chance in recent years to hurry up its future.

Advantages of Well-Tried Investment

There is a very definite financial reward to business and food farming from such combined action, if such action succeeds in concentrating both public works investment and the investment in private plant construction within a few years rather than spacing them over a longer period. This is especially true at a time when the main job is to avert unemployment. The stimulating effect on business, industry and food farming during the early years of such a period, in my personal opinion, outweighs by far the effects of staggered investment. I think that every dollar spent then has the curative effects of $2.50 invested at a more leisurely rate.

Let me illustrate. If two Southern or Western states can each reasonably expect a public and private construction investment of 120 million within the next five years, the State (say, Louisiana) which can manage to concentrate that investment in the first two years will probably get an additional secondary spending effect of 180 million in the first two years out of the original investment, or a total of 300 million.

The other State, (say Georgia) which staggers the investment evenly throughout the five years will get only 68 million in secondary spending in the first two years in addition to the original investment of 48 million. It would put only $116 million into the job of preventing unemployment in the crucial period compared to Louisiana's $300 million. It would, of course, get the rest in later years.

If the major contention is correct, that the first years of unemployment are the critical years in which the trend can be reversed most effectively, then Louisiana would be concentrating $2.50 of actual spending on the first two years to every dollar that Georgia would concentrate in those two years.

In fact, the situation may be worse than this if the people in the second state are caught in the fear of unemployment. Then the rate of non-spending may drop from 1/3 to 1/2, and in the whole five year period Georgia might never get as much actual purchasing out of its original investment as Louisiana would get in three years. Its loss over the whole period might run to 90 million, or 3/4 of the original investment.

These estimates are necessarily very rough, but they do point up the financial advantage prior to a period of possible unemployment of such combined regional action as was suggested above.

MEMORANDUM TO: All Executive Board Members. April 25, 1945

FROM: James A. Dombrowski

SUBJECT: Recent Events.

1) Conference with William Green. Following the board meeting on April 4, Dr. Foreman and I had a very satisfactory interview with William Green. We discussed mutual cooperation between the AFL and SCHW. Mr. Green agreed to write an article for the Patriot, and said he would arrange for an interview later in the month between Dr. Foreman and Mr. Googe, who is expected in Washington.

2) Institute of Human Relations. From Washington I went to Chapel Hill to attend the biennial Institute of Human Relations, conducted by the University of North Carolina, on the theme: The Price of Peace.

3) The second week in April I spent two days in Atlanta, attending the conference sponsored by the Southern Regional Council, on postwar economic problems of the South. From Atlanta I went back to Chapel Hill to attend the Conference of Southern Students, to discuss plans for world organization. This student meeting grew out of the Institute of the previous week. The meeting was initiated and underwritten by the SCHW. Fifty delegates from that number of colleges and universities from all of the 13 Southern states met at Chapel Hill for a one-day conference. About one-third of the delegates were from Negro schools. Two students, Douglas Hunt of the University of North Carolina, and Sgt. Maurice Clifford of Meharry Medical College were elected to go to San Francisco to represent Southern students as observers and to make reports to the Southern student press. The State Department has given tentative assurances that they will receive tickets for the public sessions. Detailed plans for mobilizing the college campuses for peace and for greater participation in international affairs were discussed. A permanent organization was established, the Conference of Southern Students, with Charles Proctor of Fisk University as president, Douglas Hunt of the University of North Carolina executive secretary and treasurer, and with an executive committee of 13 consisting of one delegate from each of the Southern states. The only incident to mar the very successful conference was the unfortunate automobile accident in which board member Helen Fuller suffered a laceration of the scalp and a slight concussion. She is at present in the Duke Hospital at Durham, N.C.

4) Tennessee Citizens Political Action Committee. At a meeting of the TC-PAC in Nashville on April 22, it was unanimously voted to affiliate with the SCHW. A committee was appointed to interview three candidates for the position of executive secretary of the committee. Membership cards will be printed at once and state areas were authorized to begin a membership campaign. Plans were discussed for mobilizing wide interest in the Tennessee Valley and to defend the TVA and to secure the reappointment of Lilienthal.

5) On April 24 a group met in Nashville, representing the states in the Tennessee Valley area, and composed of men who had carried the fight in the last three years to defeat attacks on the TVA. The immediate concern of the group was to defeat the present efforts of Senator McKellar to change the financial structure of the TVA (the Byrd-Butler bill now before the Senate Banking and Currency Committee) and to remove the present chairman, David Lilienthal.

The executive secretary was a member of the group. Extensive plans were laid for a campaign to defeat the present Senate bill and assure the reappointment of Lilienthal. The board members in TVA states are urged to get as many organizations as possible to send telegrams to the President, urging the reappointment of Lilienthal, and to Sen. Robert Wagner, Chairman, Senate Banking and Currency Committee, opposing the Byrd-Butler bill.

6) Roosevelt memorial issue of the Southern Patriot is enclosed. The May issue will be devoted exclusively to the problem of health in the South. A number of original graphic charts have been prepared. It is anticipated that this issue will be one of the most useful thus far. It will include a 4-page supplement on the Hugo Black testimonial dinner.

7) A Virginia Citizens' Political Action Committee has been organized, with Robert Johnson of Portsmouth, Virginia, appointed as a fulltime executive secretary. Headquarters will be opened in Richmond the first of May. The Virginia committee was formed through the initiative of the state CIO group, and is an independent organization.

8) A Committee for Kentucky has been organized, as "a fact-finding committee whose objective is the welfare of all of Kentucky." Mr. Harry W. Schacter of Louisville is chairman. Address of the Committee is 427 Fourth Street, Louisville 2. I have written the committee for a sufficient number of copies of the prospectus to send to each member of the board.

THE GRADUATE COUNCIL

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LAURENCE ILSLEY HEWES, JR.

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Cooperation on the Color Line

What is Happening in the South

By Alva W. Taylor

IN THE SOUTH, and now, as large Negro populations increase in northern cities, in the north as well, the color line is a cast line. It rests on the Nazi theory of racial superiority and inferiority in contradiction to the findings of science, the principles of democracy and the teachings of Christianity. It arose out of slavery and was irritated into a post emancipation mores by the "carpet-bag" reconstruction era. There is a new south arising in the old, but custom, the mores and racial prejudice, rooted in tradition, brings conflict between the old and the new. And now, fear of what the returning Negro service men and women may demand has sharpened the fears and inflamed the prejudices of those extremists who fear to even consider giving the Negro equitable rights as a man and a citizen. And one hears talk of the Ku Klux type and threats of violence to "keep the nigger in his place." This makes the new approach to the problem, recited in this article, promising.

A group of some seventy Negro leaders from ten Southern states met some months ago in Durham, North Carolina, and organized the Southern Conference on Race Relations. There were no northern Negroes or white southerners invited. Northern Negros were omitted from the invitation list because so many of them demand radical measures that their leaders in the south know cannot at any one time be inaugurated. White southerners and all other whites were left out because these intelligent, resourceful and constructive leaders of the Negroes in the south wished to present their own realistic and workable program for the betterment of race relations.

The chairman of the conference, Dr. Gordon B. Hancock, stated the purpose as that of "proposing to draft a new charter of race relations in the south. The old charter is paternalistic and traditional. We want a new charter that is scientific and fraternalistic."

White southerners who are devoted to the cause of justice toward the southern Negro have commented favorably upon the conference and its findings. Virginius Dabney, editor of the *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, said: "I have been gratified by the uniformly favorable reception which your statement has received. At least, I have seen no unfavorable reaction anywhere." Dr. Samuel C. Mitchell, of the University of Richmond, called it "a statesmanlike paper," and added: "It is able, candid and effective. It should mark an epoch in the cause of goodwill between the races in the south. More important, perhaps than any single statement is the fact of the trained leadership of the Negroes and the increasing part it is destined to play in the future." Ralph McGill, editor of the *Atlanta Constitution*, made the following comment: "It will be most unfortunate if the south does not discuss calmly and intelligently the basis for interracial cooperation advanced recently by a group of southern Negroes. It was something which has been needed for a long time; a declaration of policy by southern Negroes representing 70 per cent of all the nation's Negroes, in a section which has 25 per cent of all the nation's native-born whites, and the least economic resources for meeting problems involving both."

They went on record first for loyalty to the United States and "all out" for winning the war, but said that this does not "preclude consideration now of problems and situations that handicap the working out of internal improvements in relations essential to our full contribution to the war effort and of the inevitable problems of post-war reconstruction, especially in the south where we reside." They oppose compulsory segregation without advocating social intermingling and deplore any action on the part of Negroes that incite deep prejudices or racial antagonism. They ask for equal civil rights, the abolition of the poll tax and the white primary and all forms of discriminatory practice, especially in the courts of justice. They protest exclusion of Negroes from jury service and the abuses frequently visited by officers of the law upon their people. They ask that where there is segregation, as on railroads, provisions be made equal in quality and that members of the race be represented upon governmental boards where their interests are at stake. They advocate a federal law on lynching if the states refuse to adequately provide for its suppression.

THEY demand equal pay for equal work and an equal chance to attain position on any task for which ability qualifies them, for full recognition to union membership and a part in collective bargaining. They regard the wage-freezing order as a disadvantage because of the low-wage scale and discriminatory practices toward them at the time the scales were frozen. They remind the south that an increase of their economic and cultural development will react to the good of all through increased intelligence and purchasing power. A depressed group of people are expensive to social welfare to say nothing of the suffering entailed.

They ask for equality in educational facilities supported by taxation and remind the south of the great progress they have made even under the handicap they suffer in school facilities. In agriculture, where millions of them in the south still earn their living, they ask simply for full protection of the law and for economic justice through written contracts, longer leases, higher farm wages, equal assistance where government distributes funds both for teaching of agriculture and in giving credit for rehabilitation.

Reminding the government that their sacrifices were the same as that of the white soldiers, they asked equal recognition in all military matters. Suffering as they do from low income, poor social conditions, and discriminatory practice, they ask in the name of not only their race, but of common humanity that all provisions for health be extended to them on a basis equal to that of their white neighbors and that they be given equality of service in hospital, health offices, the training of doctors, nurses and of their practice wherever their people need them.

THEY conclude their resolutions by saying: "The effect of the war has been to make the Negro in a sense the symbol and protagonist of every other minority in America and in the world at large. Local issues in the south, while admittedly holding many practical difficulties, must be met wisely and courageously if this nation is to become a significant political entity in a new international world. The correction of these problems is not only a moral matter but a practcial necessity in the winning of the war and in winning the peace. Herein rests the chance to reveal our greatest weakness or our greatest strength."

The obvious effort of this group of educated and highly intelligent southern Negro leaders is to be realistic in requesting equal treatment without going to those extremes in demand that they know will only increase antagonism and deepen prejudice among that class in the south who are filled with fear at the spectre of what they call social equality, meaning thereby not only social intermingling but an arbitrary segregation of which the *Atlanta Constitution* says: "The facts are, of course, that segregation never meant what it has come to mean. It means merely a separation. It has come to mean, as every person of even average powers of observation know, 'nigger shacks,' no pavements, no playgrounds, no conveniences, and other instances of exploitation and mistreatment. Those things should be, must be, corrected if any city is to improve its financial and political status. If the southern Negro leaders, asking for the cooperation of the majority race, do not

receive encouragement, then the south will have failed the first effort by southern Negro leadership along realistic lines."

A little later about one hundred white southern men and women of goodwill, all influential people, met in Atlanta and gave thoughtful consideration to the program proposed by the Durham conference. The result was a hearty adoption of it as a working basis of inter-racial cooperation. Then a chosen group, representing both groups, met in Richmond to plan ways and means to instrument their resolutions. Out of it came the Southern Regional Council, the merging of the time honored inter-racial committee into it and the establishment of offices in Atlanta with both white and colored secretaries. They publish a bulletin — *The Southern Frontier* — devoted largely to research and information.

The possible weakness of the council has been inherent in three things, as this writer sees it. It was manned by academicians, its membership was limited to invitations and it was in danger of an over-stressing of research to the prejudice of organized action. The Southern Conference for Human Welfare has the advantage of having its major support come from men and women of action under the guidance of a well educated leadership who well know the value of research and information, and it is severely democratic in that it invites into membership all progressives, not just those some guiding committee may think agreeable to their purposes.

The value of the council will be in action based upon sound fact and a motivation at once both democratic and Christian. Any new or contemporaneous facts it puts into its bulletin will be welcomed and useful, but we may say of it as Norman Angel reminded us years ago, that there is enough known today to change society for the better in every way, but what is needed is organized action to bring the reforms. Their recent appointment of an able white southerner to work with Negroes on postwar and reconversion problems is a promising sign of action.

NOTE: *Since above was written and now, just as it is being mailed to The Churchman, the council has reversed its policy, elected a layman president, resolved to seek the widest possible membership by welcoming all who are interested and resolving to emphasize action rather than research, doing only such research as policies of action require.*

The Successor to War

The New Principle—World Government

By Elmore McKee
Rector, St. George's Church, New York

HISTORY may be viewed as a study in the progress of great ideas. The great idea which is up front now is that of World Government. And it will stay up front unless man himself is to go off-stage altogether.

Seventy competing sovereignties cannot police the atom. Only one authority can police the atom. The U.N.O. will try. That is the beginning of World Government. Such a beginning should force the U.N.O., organized before Hiroshima, to re-open the whole question of international organization in the light of the fateful parachute dropped on Hiroshima. The U.N.O. represented prerevolutionary progress. Hiroshima was the revolution which telescoped history. World organization must keep up with the revolution. When the earth-centered astronomy of the Ptolomies gave way to the sun-centered astronomy of Copernicus, men's horizons were completely revolutionized. Atom-splitting is Revolution 1945. In a world made so small that one man's voice can now address the entire global audience, seventy competing sovereignties have for a long time looked stupid. Now the split-atom forces the seventy into a huddle to survive at all. World government becomes postrevolutionary, inevitable Idea. Europe's present political and economic chaos, and its war breeding despair and nihilism, further dramatize with poignant urgency the need for a new principle to give the new answer to a stale defeatism.

The new principle is World Government. It was proclaimed when Norman Cousin's *Saturday Review* editorial "Modern Man Is Obsolete" became an instant national sensation; when Einstein went to the microphone and told us all to read Emory Reeve's *The Anatomy of Peace*, and when Captain Harold Stassen, Ernest Bevin and Anthony Eden gave the same lead, each in his own way. World Government is no longer the panacea of parsons, but the practical plan of post-revolutionary realists. If Switzerland can combine under one authority one million German speaking people, as Germanic as any in the Reich and three million French speaking citizens, as Gallic as any in the French Republic, how much greater would be the benefits which Germans and French, who in the past have fought each other along the borders of Switzerland, would derive if one authority were to unite in constructive usefulness the two parent bodies. And did not Churchill say to France in 1940, "Let us form one nation out of two?" All this was in the cards long before Hiroshima. Now the plan for union becomes *Priority I*, as the atom says to us all: "Channel me constructively or I will catapult you right off your precarious position on the planet."

World Government would be based on two principles. First, *no secession.* Just as Pennsylvania cannot now secede from the Union because of an interstate commerce disagreement with New York, but will rather demand and accept a settlement from Washington, so the United States would not be able to secede from World Government because of regional trade practices of Argentina, but would demand and accept a settlement from World Government.

Second, *no aggression.* Once war almost broke out between Vermont, New Hampshire and New York. But fortunately the pressures to organize a "New-World Government" for the early colonies were stronger than the pressures to fight it out on the colonial front. So under World Government, Argentina and the United States would know that the right to use force would rest only with the Center. Thus true peace, which is order based on law, would give the nations their first rich opportunity to use all their energies for constructive purposes. What relief would follow the removal of the burden and fear of war!

The plan can succeed for these reasons:

First, *because the instinct of self-preservation is aroused.* In spite of all our earthly vicissitudes, we enjoy living. What a chance we would take if we put our faith in counter-weapons to atomic bombs, or in the securities of shelters 3,000 feet below ground. Either way we take a chance. World Government is the creative risk.

Second, *because scarcity, a basic urge to conflict, has been removed.* The atomic age almost guarantees new abundance for all nations.

Third, *because man is skillful.* If we are skillful enough to plan those intricacies in technical achievement and human cooperation which we call military invasion, skillful enough now to produce a bomb to wipe out an area the size of Indiana and Illinois, at one blow, we are skillful enough to channel these new powers constructively and to learn to work together.

Fourth, *because man's capacity for cooperation is greater than his will to compete.* Our proclivities to war have been obvious because the strain of competing sovereignties has kept them in readiness. Just as soon as World Government eliminates the strain of a now obsolete competition, then the more fundamental human drives, the demand of each man for relationship, for the end of loneliness, for the achievement of an effective place in the community, will have right of way to lead us into an era of cooperation. Every family is World Government in embryo. The family fact is stronger than the individual fact. It will be so, too, with the world family, once the power of the Center (World Government) gets under way.

Of course World Government is not a new Idea. It is as old as Christianity. Universality was the revolutionary idea presented by Christianity. In the sight of the one God all men are of equal value.

Southern Conference for Human Welfare

Publishers of
The Southern PATRIOT

~~506-507 Presbyterian Building~~ . Nashville 5, Tennessee . Telephone 6-2447

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101**Bowling Ave. March 18th,1946

Dr.Geo.T.Mitchell
S.Regional Conf.
Wesley Memorial
Atlanta.... Ga.

Dear Dr.Mitchell.

Encl. is an article I wrote for the Churchman. Please note the added paragraph in italics. I understand SRC sent Mrs Tilley to Columbia. We would like very much to have a copy of any report she made or anything else done. Our Com. is to meet tomorrow again, now that we can feel pretty sure of our ground, to see whether or not we can do anything from this distance. This is not a SCHW Com. but one we induced the Pres. of the Laymans Council, a forward looking attorney to call.

I am pleased to know that SRC sent Mrs Tilley up. She is real gold; even more so that they sent her after my experience before the meeting we had here with representatives of NAACP, Civ. Liberties U and Fed. for Constitutional Liberties. They scoffed at my suggestion that we ask SCR to take the leadership in the whole matter. Your appointment for an action task and the turn in policy at the recent meeting of your Com. have me confidence, but it seems the others do not share it yet; we may hope they will be convinced they can by what is done on this Columbia matter.

Sincerely
Alva W. Taylor
Alva W.Taylor

Dombrowski Offices May Be Moved to New Orleans

Nashville Banner
about 8-11-46

The Southern Conference for Human Welfare, Communist front outfit, which took a beating along with the CIO-PAC in their joint effort to defeat Senator K. D. McKellar, will move its headquarters from Nashville to New Orleans, according to a well authenticated report received by THE BANNER.

It is assumed that James Dombrowski, long the executive head of the organization, will take charge of the offices in New Orleans, where the Communist Party is making a desperate effort to form an active unit.

The Nashville headquarters of the SCHW are now located at 212½ Union Street.

Dombrowski has left a red trail across Tennessee and the South. He was one of the founders of the Highlander Folk School, which has been called the Southern center for spreading the Communist doctrine.

Closely associated with him has been Mrs. Margaret Frantz, well known fellow traveler and former employe of the war-time Soviet purchasing commission in Washington.

Since he has had offices in Nashville, the SCHW administrator has been engaged in various types of agitation, which was climaxed by the inflammatory report gotten out by the Conference on the Columbia incident. Because of this Dombrowski was called to testify before the Federal Grand Jury.

In its booklet, "Don't Say We Didn't Warn You," the Constitutional Educational League has this to say of Dombrowski:

"Taking a leading part in both the PAC and CIO Southern campaigns is James Dombrowski, excutive secretary of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare . . . Dombrowski found out how to train agitators during a sojourn in Soviet Russia in 1932. On returning to this country he had a little trouble with the Customs over some Communist posters in his baggage . . .

"In 1940 Dombrowski was speaking for the National Conference for Constitutional Liberties, which the Department of Justice has held to be subversive, and in 1941 he signed a public statement defending the Communist Party . . ."

Communist writers and organizers moved into Columbia after the SCHW's exploitation of the incident. Since that time Dombrowski has been listed on speaking programs of the National Negro Congress and the PAC School in Washington.

At the present time it is not known whether, if the SCHW headquarters move to New Orleans, a "cell" will be left in Nashville. It is known, however, that Dombrowski has gathered about him a number of fellow travelers,

(Continued on Page 4, Column 2)

THE CITY'S GAIN

ON THE prospective move of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare from Nashville, we would congratulate the city. At the same time, we extend condolences to New Orleans, where, it is reliably reported, James Dombrowski and his coworkers are to establish their home base.

The good sense and general, patriotic decency of Nashville—of Middle Tennesse; yea, of the whole state—blocked the SCHW's major escapades in this area. They saw it for what it was when the spotlight of constant exposure was held on it; they recognized its aims by its preaching, its intended fruit by the plant. At every turn, it has been adequately exposed as an agency of social and political insurrection; a tool of Communism; hence a chronic, professional trouble-maker.

Why it chooses New Orleans as a landing spot we cannot say. Possibly it imagines it will encounter there no opposition, but if we know the New Orleans Times-Picayune and the Item, its shenanigans won't go undetected and unpublicized. It doesn't like that—in Nashville OR New Orleans. It doesn't like the formula of exposure to which it has been treated here.

It doesn't like THE BANNER or the spirit of Americanism which deprived it of a foothold. The dislike is mutual.

Nashville Banner about 8-11-46

Christ's Century

Politics

September 18, 1946

Pastors Approve Blow to Machine

Athens, Tenn., Ministers Say Veterans' Seizure by Force of Primary Ballot Boxes Was Gesture for Freedom

MEMPHIS, TENN., Aug. 29.—Ministers of two churches in Athens, Tenn., spoke approvingly of the action of former service men who stormed the local jail during the recent primary and recovered ballot boxes which had been taken there for "safe counting" by the political machine which for a decade has run the county. "Sometimes things get so bad men have to take the law into their own hands," Paul Huling of the East Athens Baptist Church told his congregation the following Sunday. "We should like to get rid of such [machine] rule in a quiet, orderly manner, but when that becomes impossible, we must fight back as best we can to recover our liberties." Bernie Hampton, Methodist pastor who headed the three-man commission which ran the town for several weeks after the election, said on the same Sunday: "I believe God's hand guided many of those who participated in this little revolution." Latest news is that some members of the deposed machine have agreed to move away from the county and not to return.

* * *

Blame Mississippi Result On 'Outsiders'

Mississippians who know their politics smile at the suggestion that Senator Bilbo and Representative Rankin were nominated by majority vote. They know that the ballots in the key counties were counted by friends of the two men. Many maintain that the re-election of both demagogues was due to "outside interference." The two men have been political enemies for years, but because some of the support for Rankin's opponent was identified as C.I.O.-P.A.C., Bilbo joined forces with the congressman. William Gordon, who conducts a column in the Memphis *World,* Negro newspaper, said on the day after the primaries: "The fact that men like Bilbo, Rankin and Talmadge have been re-elected is proof that the south is still living in a dark age on which education has had but little influence. The only solution will be time itself which will carry these hatemongers to the good earth. We must be tolerant and prepare ourselves through education, so that when these monstrosities shall have become extinct we shall be able to carry on with the dignity of human beings."

* * *

Episcopal Rector Opposes Rankin

A sacrifice hit should be credited to Charles Granville Hamilton, Mississippi Episcopal minister who was drafted by a veterans' committee to oppose Rankin. Hamilton did not so much ask votes for himself as expose Rankin's record to the largest crowds attracted during the campaign. Many ministers and educators voted for Hamilton, who is perhaps the best known minister in the state. The Episcopal Church stands higher in the opinion of

Mississippians because of his campaign. Church people in his district consider him a token of the religion of tomorrow because of his stand against hate, prejudice and bigotry. Too late to aid in the campaign, the *Churchman,* independent Episcopal magazine, said editorially: "There are preachers in politics of whom the church has been ashamed, but Hamilton is one whom the whole church should be proud to see in Congress. His example should encourage those who fought the nazis abroad. It is a help to missionaries, since it shows how some Christians can fight prejudice. Hamilton's campaign against Rankin is a token to Americans that the church can mean business when it says it is opposed to intolerance, hatemongering and persecution."

* * *

Anti-Poll Tax Fight Goes On

The fight against the poll tax has not ended. Senator Claude Pepper has promised to introduce a new bill when Congress convenes in January. The National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax is reaffiliating with the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. Many persons not actively connected with the conference were distressed recently to read in the Memphis *Commercial Appeal,* hitherto not rash in its statements, a declaration that the conference is "a borderline if not an actual Communist front organization." The statement appeared in an editorial denouncing the "funeral demonstrations and memorial services currently going on for the four victims of George lynch violence." The *Poll Tax Repealer,* organ of the National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax, currently describes the deal by which the anti-poll tax bill was killed in the Senate last November after it had passed the House. According to this account, the southerners promised to permit the bill to be brought up without filibustering against it. There was to be no debate, but a cloture vote was to be taken. If two-thirds of those present voted against cloture, the bill was to be shelved. On the vote for cloture, the yeas outnumbered the nays, but not by a large enough majority to bring the bill before the Senate. Opponents of the poll tax feel that this "silent method" of smothering the bill is more to be feared than the old filibuster, which at least had the virtue of keeping the matter before the public. They feel that the bill would have passed the Senate if it could have been brought to a vote.

* * *

And So Forth

H. L. Mitchell, president of the National Farm Labor Union, charges in a protest to the U. S. public health service that some physicians in Arkansas are conspiring with large cotton planters to keep farm workers from leaving the state by denying them health cards. He has also filed with the governments of Great Britain and Mexico protests against the proposed use of their nationals to beat down wages of American workers. Northeast Arkansas planters have asked for 2,500 Mexican and British subjects to pick cotton this fall.

B. Harvie Branscomb, dean of Duke University's divinity school, has been elected chancellor of Vanderbilt University, Nashville. He succeeds O. O. Carmichael, who

has become president of the Carnegie Foundation.

The ministers' association of Knoxville, where the Ku Klux Klan has recently flared into activity, has passed a resolution urging all church members to refuse to countenance an organization which "stirs up class animosities, racial ill will and religious intolerance, hides behind masks and operates under cover of darkness."

MARSHALL WINGFIELD.

Memo from GUY B. JOHNSON

to

S C H W

N.Y. Times about Sept. 19, 1946

LOUIS AT RALLY TO AID SOUTHERN WELFARE

A crowd estimated at 3,000 crowded West Thirty-eighth Street, between Seventh and Eighth Avenues, at noon yesterday to see—and hear—Joe Louis, heavyweight champion, and others who spoke on behalf of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare of 112 Park Avenue.

Mr. Louis said that he came because "he wanted to do something for a better South." He believed that "the people back of this organization can help do away with the poll tax and other things that make the going hard for my people."

When Mr. Louis had finished his short speech, which carried the ring of sincerity characteristic of him, the crowd pushed around him seeking a handshake. He said something like "it takes money to make the world go." He sold his necktie and later his handkerchief. It was estimated that nearly $500 was handed to him.

Councilman Michael J. Quill said that he spoke "as a trade unionist and as a member of the great Catholic community of New York."

Senator Claude Pepper, who was previously announced as a speaker, wired Clark Foreman, president of the conference, that he was absent because of the death of Senator Charles O. Andrews of Florida.

The goal set for the "Lend a Hand to Dixie Campaign" is $100,000. Other street meetings were held in Manhattan and the Bronx last night. More than $1,000 was contributed at the noon rally, it was announced.

Chicago Defender
Sept. 28, 1946

Located

WASHINGTON Branch of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare is a Johnny-come-lately as branches go. Originally it sort of served as the Washington lobby for the National Office located in Nashville. At the insistence of some of the colored members it has lately turned its attention to the "Southern Problems" as serious in Washington as in Meridian and Waycross.

Now comes recognition. The National Office of the Conference has finally and a bit reluctantly granted full Branch Rights to the Washington Office, and will allow it to send delegates to the convention in New Orleans in November. This, it is worthy of note in passing, sort of officially places Washington in the South.

Column: "Adventures in Race Relations"

Joe Louis Opens Rally for Aid to Dixieland

Afro-American
9/28/46

Fight for Democracy First Appearance After 23rd Defense of Heavyweight Title

NEW YORK—In his first public appearance after the 23rd successful defense of his title, Joe Louis championed the cause of freedom and equality at a "Stop Murder, Lynch Style" rally, Sept. 19, between 7th and 8th Aves., NYC.

The rally officially opened the "Lend-a-Hand-to-Dixieland" street collection campaign of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare which continued through Sept. 21.

Before an estimated audience of 15,000 people, Mr. Louis, who is co-chairman of the campaign, said colored and white people must march together to fight all the way to freedom for all the people.

Mrs. Bethune Presents Joe

Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune, president and founder of the Bethune-Cookman College, introduced Joe Louis as "a real fighter for the cause of humanity." Speak-f the growing unity between the minority and white people, Mrs. Bethune said, "We cry now as one voice from the Southland."

Other speakers, who called for mobilization of all progressive forces to fight for federal anti-lynching legistlation, were Paul Robeson, James W. Wise, director of the Council Against Intolerance and author of the Springfield Plan; and Councilman Michael Quill, president of the Transport Workers Union.

Senator Claude Pepper, who was unable to appear, wired: "The Southern Conference for Human Welfare has been doing a great job. It is pledging democracy. It is worthy of all possible assistance from all those who believe in the principles of our Constitution."

Dr. Foreman Speaks

Dr. Clark Foreman, president of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, and chairman of the rally, declared that "we heartily welcome the support of all Northerners who realizes that the battle for a free South extends above the Mason-Dixon line."

Entertainers were Kenneth Spencer, Betty Garrett, Larry Winters, George Hall, Louis Jordan, Willie Bryant, Thelma Carpenter an dthe Brown Dots. Three folk singers from Texas, Johnny Faulk, "Brownie" McNeil and "Doc" Reece introduced the theme song of the "Lend a Hand to Dixieland" campaign called "The New Dixie."

Atlanta Daily World
Nov. 14/46

Foreman Says South Not Allowed To Solve Problems

Dr. Clark Howell Foreman, president of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, told the Hungry Club of Butler Street YMCA Wednesday that "the south is not the economic problem number one of the nation because of natural resuorces or because of inferior conditions, but because the people of the South have never been allowed to come together and work out their problems."

Speaking on "The White Group In The South," Dr. Foreman pictured the white child of the South as being subjected to such confusions of thought that it is almost impossible for him to grow up sane and rational about the Negro race. Foreman said that white people seem to forget that since some 80 percent of Negroes have white blood in the South, some of us are kindred people.

The speaker pointed out that a large percentage of white children receive nursing by Negroes, some being suckled by them, but as soon as they are old enough to be taught anything, they are instructed that there is a difference in home environment of the races. Taught Christianity, the white child goes to church to find no Negroes there. Taught democracy, they are sent to war to fight for something, but return home to find that it does not exist and that the Negro "must be kept in his place.'

INFERIORITY ACCEPTED

Even inferior working conditions are accepted by white workers rather than tolerating mixed work ers, Dr. Foreman said. "Society, from the very beginning of the child born in the South, does everything to warp and distort his mind about the true picture of hu man problems," the speaker asserted.

The Welfare Conference head said that as an Atlanta boy he had to go to London before knowing anything about the Interracial Commission which was started here and had been going for a number of years. It was there that Dr Foreman decided this was the group he wanted to work with. He aid further that "I always like to talk of things as related to human beings rather than racial, for the other group so often uses the racal angle as an excuse for its failure to do something that would better conditions for all.

Pointing to the first meeting of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, Foreman said it had been decided that the meeting would have no segregation, but when 1,500 people from all over the South met Birmingham city officials brought out some old ordinances against the meeting of a mixed group.

Dr. Foreman said the Conference since has held meetings for eight years and in every meeting, no matter where held, there has never been any segregation and that there are Negro and white officers in all organizations throughout the South. Quite often the conference or those working with it are labeled communist. Dr. Foreman pointed out, but added that to be 'called a Communist in the South usually means that you are trying to be a human being."

Charlotte Observer 11-14-46

THIRD PARTY TALK.

After what amounted to a repudiation of that faction of New Dealers who believe most strongly in a collectivist economy, third party talk is being heard on every hand, with HENRY WALLACE most often mentioned as the man who will lead it.

This talk was given some impetus by the conference of "progressives" in Washington three days after the election, despite the exhortation of its chairman, HENRY MORGENTHAU, that its work should be accomplished within the established parties.

WALLACE is said to have told his intimates that it will take six years to organize a third party effectively, and that he does not expect it to win in 1948 but hopes for a great victory in 1952.

The Communists, no doubt, will prefer MORGENTHAU's plan, because it is their customary practice, when they are working in a country that is generally hostile to them, to infiltrate into established organizations.

The unfortunate aspect of this trickery is that too many persons who do not intend to be associated with Communists and who are really patriotic Americans are deceived into believing that they are merely supporting a "progressive" element.

A list of those who attended the conference at Washington illustrates this point perfectly, because it contains the names of radicals who are known to be openly sympathetic with communism alongside many others who would be shocked if they were accused of being fellow travelers and who really believe they are doing their country a service.

The list includes, for example, JACK KROLL of the C.I.O.-P.A.C. and CLARK FOREMAN, president of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. GEORGE ADDES, who is at open war with PHILIP MURRAY over communism in the C.I.O., was there along with Mrs. GIFFORD PINCHOT; several representatives of that artist outfit were in seats near JOSEPH L. JOHNSON, dean of the Howard University medical school; HYMAN BLUMBERG, chairman of the New York American Labor Party was present, along with a large representation from the National Citizens' P.A.C., the National Lawyers Guild, and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

This bizarre company represented the various motley crews that were held together by the personality of FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, but they have lost their influence in the party with which they aligned themselves, because the personality that bound them together, made them work for him, but held them in check, is gone.

The list of those present shows clearly that the Communist element is dominant among these so-called "progressives." They have lost face in the Democratic party and probably will not regain their influence there. They cannot go to the Republican party, where they are not wanted and have never been welcome.

Only two courses, then, appear to be open to them. They may be reduced to the status of interlopers like the American Labor Party, which does not run candidates of its own, but indorses any radical that turns up in either of the major parties.

Their other alternative is to form a third party, but, considering the fate of third parties in this country, they are not likely to get very far in that direction.

As a political force in free elections, communism is notoriously weak, because in no country has it ever commanded a majority. Its method is to infiltrate into key positions, where it can exercise an influence out of all proportion to the actual number of Communists.

Being familiar with their tactics, we can guard against them, but they are hoodwinking too many good Americans by traveling under false colors.

This deceit must be continually exposed.

WORDS OF THE WISE.

If self-knowledge be a path to virtue, virtue is a much better one to self-knowledge.—(Ritchter).

New Orleans States
Nov. 14, 1946

NEW ORLEAN

Southern Welfare Group's Removal from City Urged

The Southern Conference for Human Welfare, which is attempting to move its headquarters from Nashville, Tenn., to New Orleans, was scored today by the Young Men's Business Club as "having definite Communistic tendencies."

After receiving a report on the organization from its Americanism committee, the board of directors of the YMBC adopted a resolution unanimously opposing the conference and seeking its removal from New Orleans.

The resolution read in part:

"Be it resolved that the Young Men's Business Club of New Orleans go on record as being opposed to the activities of the organization known as the 'Southern Conference for Human Welfare;' that the press and city officials be notified that many of the national officers of this group have definite Communistic tendencies, and further that the mayor of the city of New Orleans be requested to ask the subject organization to move not only its local, but also its national, headquarters elsewhere."

The local chapter of the SCHW is located at 935 Barracks street, with F. C. Bancroft as chairman, the Americanism committee reported.

The YMBC board's resolution stated that it wanted to make clear that it was not pointing an accusing finger at any of the "local, upstanding citizens who are associated with this organization."

"It merely desires to call to their and to the public's attention the fact that, after careful investigation, the conclusion has been reached that the real aims and purposes of this group are in direct contrast to the fundamental principles of democracy upon which our government was founded," it stated.

The YMBC investigation, according to Ted Hickey, president, revealed that the SCHW was cited as a Communist Front in 1944 by the special congressional committee on un-American activities.

Will Attempt to Hold Price Line

Local members of the Louisiana Building Material Dealers' Association believe that building material dealers in this area will attempt to hold the line at present price levels, according to E. G. Boh, vice-president of the local organization.

Despite the absorption of two OPA increases granted manufacturers within the past year the dealers would like to hold the present level "but of course our future action will depend largely on the course taken by the manufacturers," Boh said.

Priority control as well as price control must be lifted before the housing shortage battle is won, he declared, explaining that lumber men still can't sell essential material without authority of the civilian production administration.

Boh predicted that a better grade of lumber would now reach the market as the larger mills go into full production. Lumber, he added, already has been flowing into the market because of the increase in the smaller mills as well as the recent good weather.

English farm workers now get a minimum of $16 for a 48-hour week, women $12.

Welfare Group Pained by Attack

New Orleans States
11-15-46

The administrator for the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, James A. Dombrowski, expressed disappointment at the attack leveled at him and his organization in the form of a resolution released yesterday by the Young Men's Business Club's board of administrators.

He said: "The attack which the Young Men's Business Club has made . . . upon the progressive program of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare and upon me personally comes as a disappointment because it seems so out of keeping with the YMBC's program of civic betterment. It has been our hope that this important organization would do the fair thing by getting first-hand information from prominent New Orleans citizens who have been interested in the conference for years . . .

"The officers of the YMBC have twice been invited to do this, but both times have seen fit to disregard this offer and to give the club's membership only hearsay. It seems to us to be incredible that a body like the YMBC . . . should publicly attack a great movement without gathering facts from those most interested and familiar with it."

The YMBC yesterday branded the organization as having "definite Communistic tendencies" and requested that the mayor ask the organization to move "not only its local but also its national headquarters elsewhere."

The conference recently moved its national headquarters here from Nashville, Tenn.

Atl. Const. 11-19-46

We Trust the Governor Will Refuse

We see by the papers that Gov. Ellis Arnall has been voted an award, offered annually, by the Southern Conference for Human Welfare.

We have not seen any public announcement of acceptance.

We trust we will not.

The Southern Conference for Human Welfare has done some few good things, but we do not regard it as a trustworthy organization.

In some states it has taken a fellow-traveler position and while we do not at all think it is a Communist organization in any respect, or that it is a Communist front organization in any degree, it has made itself suspect by flirting with certain "commie" personalities.

We are aware, too, that many fine and sincere persons work with it, who despise Communism as much as we. We regret any pain this comment may cause them, but we feel it necessary to call attention to what we believe a cynical attempt of this organization's leadership to cash in on the splendid national reputation which the Governor enjoys. He has nothing to gain by accepting the dubious honor; he has much to lose.

The organization seems largely to exist to promote the interests of two of its chief directors. Much of the criticism leveled against it has been unfounded, but there is enough basis for it for us earnestly to recommend to the Governor that he pass up this effort to use him.

S. C. H. W.

N.Y. Times 11-22-46

BIDS NEGROES SEEK COMPLETE EQUALITY

Judge Delany Tells Youth Group They Must Stop 'Apologizing for Being Alive'

WARNING TO REPUBLICANS

Conference Is Urged to Ignore Pleas of Party in 1948 Based on 'Good-Old-Days' Reaction

By GEORGE STREATOR
Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

NEW ORLEANS, La., Nov. 21—Justice Hubert Delany of the New York City Court of Domestic Relations told the annual youth conference of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People tonight that Negroes must seek "unadulterated equality in every field," and "stop apologizing for being alive."

Negroes must learn to say "I want a job, I want a decent place in which to live, and I want to live like a free human being," he continued. It is no longer possible, Judge Delany went on, for "the middle-of-the-road interracial philosopher to hide the truth from the minds of intelligent white folks."

The Negro in the North and the white man in the South must learn that they will not get their share of good life until the Southern Negro gets his, said the judge.

"Negroes now have the task of warning the Republicans who seek their support for 1948 that they do not have a mandate to go back to the 'good old days' of social and economic reaction," he added.

Tennessee "Violence" Discussed

Thurgood Marshall, special counsel for the association, whose arrest on the highway between Columbia and Nashville, Tenn., Monday night brought charges of intimidation by officers employed to enforce the law, said that he feared "violence momentarily" when eight men, "including a deputy sheriff, a constable and two highway patrolmen" stopped his car three times on charges ranging from transporting liquor to driving while drunk.

The rise of anti-Semitism in America was called a danger to Negroes by Madison Jones, former director of the youth work in the association. He said that veterans had already found that he "who does not like Jew down in his heart does not like Negroes either."

"We see that we did not accomplish much through our sacrifices in this war," Mr. Jones continued. "The roots of the brutality and murder against Negroes in the South are linked with the problems of India, China and the dispossessed whites of the South."

For Ending "Jim Crow" System

Railroads which plan to build a new union station here should eliminate "Jim Crow" facilities, Daniel E. Byrd, local secretary of the association, said this morning. He said that "filthy" accommodations for Negroes ought to shame every decent white person who travels.

There is some apprehension among Negroes about the application of "Jim Crow" laws at the coming convention of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare which meets here Nov. 28-30, and at which time the Thomas Jefferson Award will be presented to Gov. Ellis Arnall of Georgia, by Clark Foreman, Walter White and others. Meetings will be held in the Municipal Auditorium.

While there is no organizational connection between the N.A.A.C.P. and the Southern Conference, Negroes here look upon both groups as parts of the social reform movement held necessary for the South.

Raleigh News & Observer
11-22-46

SOUTHERN GROUP OUTLINES TASKS

Broughton Committee Looks Ahead to Problems Facing Regions of South

Birmingham, Ala., Nov. 21.—(AP)—Southerners prominent in the ranks of labor, industry, agriculture, government and education joined hands here today in forming an organization aimed at speeding their section's development.

They named their organization the Committee of the South, chose ex-Gov. J. Melville Broughton of North Carolina as their chairman, and agreed that their region faced many hurdles in the years ahead.

Broughton, after assuming the chairmanship at a preliminary session yesterday, declared:

"We will start with available information, look at the facts, and find out where we go from here if we are to raise our incomes and living standards in the South and make our full contribution to the nation's progress."

Tasks Ahead.

Broughton assigned the organization such tasks as finding ways and means of increasing industrial expansion; the promotion of industrial research; the financing of new industries; development of rural industries based on the use of agricultural raw materials; expansion of vocational; engineering and business administration training, and formulating programs for the absorption of workers displaced by the mechanization of cotton production.

The committee represents a cross section of the South's top leaders, and included President Raymond P. Paty of the University of Alabama, Dean Paul Chapman of the University of Georgia; President F. D. Patterson of Tuskegee Institute; Director Clarence Dorman of the Mississippi Agricultural Experiment Station; Dean Cherry L. Emerson of Georgia Tech; Dr. L. P. Gabbard of Texas A. & M. College; President Frank P. Graham of the University of North Carolina; Gov. Robert S. Kerr of Oklahoma; President David A. Lockmiller of the University of Chattanooga; Editor Ralph McGill of the Atlanta Constitution; Dr. Clarence Poe, editor of the Progressive Farmer; President Walter L. Randolph of the Alabama Farm Bureau Federation; President Romeo E. Short of the Arkansas Farm Bureau Federation; Charles H. Gillman of Atlanta, CIO; George L. Googe, of Atlanta, AFL; Donald Comer, Alabama industrialist; Dean D. W. Watkins of Clemson College; Margel J. Voorhies of the American Sugar Cane League, New Orleans; and C. C. Spaulding, president of the North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company.

Turkey Hunt

Madison, Nov. 21.—(AP)—Not since the days of Daniel Boone have residents of this Western North Carolina community taken part in such a turkey hunt as the one this week when 400 turkeys escaped from a truck.

The birds, all destined for Thanksgiving Day dinner tables, gained their freedom when the truck crashed into a bridge near here. Since then everybody for miles around has been chasing turkeys, luring them with feed and improvising turkey traps.

Holiday Extended.

Greenville, Nov. 21.—Students at East Carolina Teachers College received enthusiastically at a specially called assembly program on Tuesday, an announcement by Dr. Dennis H. Cooke, college president, that Thanksgiving holidays will be extended a half day in order to avoid travel over crowded highways during the weekend. The holidays, originally scheduled from November 27 through December 1, will now end at noon on December 2.

Milk Plant Started.

Lumberton, Nov. 21.—(AP)—Construction work is under way here on a new $100,000 milk processing plant being erected by Lumberton Dairies, Inc.

The plant, which will handle all dairy products and ice cream, is expected to be in operation by next July 1.

WADES

FUQUAY — TODAY
Glen Vernon - Marcia McGuire in
"DING DONG WILLIAMS"
Serial and Cartoon

VARINA — TODAY
Bob Steele - Hoot Gibson in
"OUTLAW TRAIL"
Serial and Cartoon

APEX — FRI. - SAT.
Jimmy Wakely in
"WEST OF THE ALAMO"
Serial and Cartoon
Late Show: "Behind the Mask"

666 SNAPS INTO ACTION AGAINST COLD MISERIES!

STARTS RELIEF IN JUST 6 SECONDS

Get famous, *prescription*-type 666 for fast relief from *all six* cold miseries. Enjoy results which have made 666* the standby of *millions* in 45 years. Caution: Take only as directed.

Views on Sundry Topics

From Readers of The Times-Picayune.

New Orleans 11-22-46

YMBC and SCHW

New Orleans.

Editor, The Times-Picayune:

The Young Men's Business Club recently launched an attack on the Southern Conference for Human Welfare designed to prevent the SCHW from establishing either a state branch or national headquarters here.

The YMBC at no time asked for facts from either SCHW officials or the many prominent Louisianians who are members of the conference. A letter was sent by Mr. Clark Foreman, president of the SCHW, to the YMBC inviting a thorough investigation. The letter was never answered. Instead, the YMBC went ahead with its campaign to rid our state of one of the most progressive of native Southern organizations.

The first public attack by the YMBC against the conference appeared in local papers on November 9. Three days later the conference, through a letter signed by 25 board members from New Orleans, again asked the YMBC to meet with conference officials, so that the YMBC could become familiar with the first-hand working of the conference.

Again the YMBC refused to meet or talk with conference officials.

The South has always answered Northern criticisms by saying we can solve our problems ourselves. The SCHW is an organization of native Southerners who seek advancement for all peoples in the South. An organization of this caliber does not deserve the attack made upon it by the YMBC.

C. C. DEJOIE, JR.

Why Don't They Go to Russia?

New Orleans.

Editor, The Times-Picayune:

So, we had a Vieux Carre excitement—all because some of our citizens are all out for Russian Communism and object to our United States government.

Why don't the R. Communistic idea white and colored citizens of our United States pack up their belongings and move to Russia in order to enjoy life under the Communistic regime, instead of getting into scraps with the rank and file of Americans who love their country's mode of government and way of life? They, as we, are free men—can move from any house, city, state—yes, out of the United States in order to enjoy conditions they approve of so heartily.

I'm sure Uncle Sam would willingly give them reduced rates on a special ship in order to accommodate such aggrieved free men and women. And every red-blooded American would thank them for renouncing their American citizenship, because we, too, are free and are determined to stay free from Communist dictatorship.

Let them get going quickly to their "Shangri-La Russe"—say we-all.

AN AMERICAN OLD LADY.

'Language' Mixup?

New Orleans.

Editor, The Times-Picayune:

In regard to the letter, "Language in the Making," of November 18:

By way of correction, my Oxford dictionary spells (one who bites his fingernails) an "onychophagist" and not "orychophagist."

But why be a "sesquipedalianist" when fingernail biter is so easily understood. J. B.

Quizzicus

Can anybody explain why a taxi-driver, who's always a-hurrying and a-honking when he's behind you, Always seems to have plenty of time when he stops ahead of you and blocks a busy traffic lane to chat with friends or fares?

Freedom of Speech and Assembly

Chattanooga, Tenn.

Editor, The Times-Picayune:

The freedom of the press is one of the heritages we in the USA cherish and defend. We recognize a wide divergence of opinion, many factors are involved in the formulation of policy and coverage. The right of expression is taken for granted with us. This is not so where democracy does not prevail.

I would not wish that newspapers offering a different point of view should discontinue. That would be the totalitarian approach.

As the time approaches for the meeting of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, the Young Men's Business Club of New Orleans, as I see it, is taking a stand that is undemocratic in making pronouncements without due investigation.

As a minister I certainly would not have interest in Communism, nor do I consider the SCHW in any way subversive. We of the South may expect to meet a changing economy as industries move in on us. This calls for patience and courage in the transition. The Southern Conference for Human Welfare consists of a group of people who are tremendously concerned with humanity in this change. As such, its approach is not political but humanitarian. It is not subversive but constructive. If, because it expresses opinions at variance with other groups who follow a more conservative pattern, as newspapermen, I do not think that justifies unwarranted, uninvestigated attack.

I would not suggest you endorse the program of the SCHW. That is your personal privilege. I do think in the name and cause of freedom you should defend the right of this group to meet and make suggestions on what it sincerely considers to be the answer to the problems facing us in this era of transition.

ARNOLD SLATER,

Defends SCHW

Randleman, N. C.

Editor, The Times-Picayune:

It has come to my attention that the Young Men's Business Club of your city has adopted resolutions against the Southern Conference for Human Welfare whose offices are there. It appears to me that their stand was taken ill-advisedly.

I have belonged to the SCHW for about eight months, have studied its literature and attended one of its meetings in Raleigh. I have found the group to be thoroughly American in all respects.

Their goal seems to be to get people together to consider the problems peculiar to our region. People getting together can be a good thing, I think.

EVERETT BOLING.

Another Job for Radar

Mandeville, La.

Editor, The Times-Picayune:

Your editorials, "Maritime Radar" and "Down to Fine Points," in Thursday's (November 14) edition, were well worth the printing. In "Down to Fine Points" you mentioned the fact that the physicists of California's Institute of Technology were constructing a private sewer system to maintain the accuracy of nuclear experiment.

It was strange that two editorials on the same day covered subjects I have been conjecturing about: Radar and subterranean drainage.

More and louder are public objections to city and factory sewage and effluents being discharged into our open streams, and more and more are the headaches and experiments and expenses that industrialists are up against as they try to cope with the problem of water-waste disposal.

The interior of the earth must contain innumerable volcano caverns, river, lake floors and other vacant water networks that performed their given missions and then dried out. Radar should be able to locate these vacuums—and scientists should be able to calculate—from radar findings—the exact capacity — (as a receptacle for surface water each could take care of)—and for how many years.

With such authentic information at hand, manufacturers could then build factories around these one-time "water-holes" and by siphoning the annoying and troublesome effluent into the bosom of the earth, make themselves and complainants happy forever and a day.

If radar has not been perfected to serve "land" needs, then it has a mission ahead of it. The greatest service right now could be that of locating subterranean caverns of sizes to accommodate heavy drainage of all sorts for long periods of time.

M. T. H. ROLF.

An Ex-WAC's Complaint

New Orleans

Editor, The Times-Picayune:

This is the first time that I've had an occasion to air my views, or "gripe," in a civil or military publication. However, I think the privilege is rightfully mine now.

I enlisted in the WAC in March of '44 and served faithfully and honorably in the station hospital as ward master until October, 1946. True, I didn't have the hardships as other GI's, no fault of my own, but I honestly think that I did my part or more, as the hospital personnel very seldom get time off from duty.

Now, the gripe. I applied for benefits as a discharged military personnel and was informed that I had to be able to work before I could receive the $20 a week, which isn't very much to me as I am on my own and my savings are exhausted. Unfortunately, I am unable to accept a job as I have a broken jaw. Would be happy to work if it were possible.

Shouldn't there be some provision for ex-GI's unable to work?

DISGUSTED.

Daily Bible Verse

Galatians 5:14

For all the law is fulfilled in one word, even in this; Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself.—W. J. Laroche, 1809 Lafitte avenue.

South's Economics To Be Discussed

Atlanta Daily World
Nov. 23 '46

NEW ORLEANS, La. — Opportunities for developing an expanded and more prosperous Southern economic life will be discussed by business, labor, farm and economic leaders at the Fourth Biennial Convention of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare to be held in New Orleans November 28-30, it was announced today by James A. Dombrowski, Conference Administrator.

Aubrey Williams, editor of "The Southern Farmer," Montgomery, Alabama, and formerly Administrator of the National Youth Administration, will be the principal speaker at a session on "The Economic South" to be held in Carpenters Hall November 29th at 10:30 A.M. Discussants will include A. G. Mezerik, author of the newly published "Revolt of the South and West"; businessmen Alfred R. Leiserson, Richmond, Va., Harry Schacter, Louisville, Ky., and J. C. Jacques, Denison, Texas, and labor leaders Frank Prohl, Southeastern Regional Director, Teamsters Union, E. H. Williams, President, Louisiana Federation of Labor, and Fred C.. Peiper, CIO Southeast Regional Director. Dr. George Mitchell, Director, Veterans Division, Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, will also serve as a discussant.

The meeting will be chaired by Lewis Jones, Editor, the Informer Publications, Houston, Texas.

A Little Skylight

Fear is ignorance
In disguise:
Food for quacks
And ground for lies.

WII.

Atl. Journal

NO ENDORSEMENT

11-25-46

Arnall Took Award After Giving Word

Governor Ellis Arnall, of Georgia, criticized by some newspapers for accepting the Thomas Jefferson award of the Southern Conference of Human Welfare, said Monday he probably would have refused it had he not given his word of acceptance beforehand.

The governor, who will address the conference at New Orleans next Saturday, said the award was tendered in recognition of his work for the South "in the traditions of Thomas Jefferson," and especially for his fight for freight rate parity. On this basis, he said, he accepted.

"The fact that I accept an award," he added, "does not mean that I indorse or approve the purposes, or adopt the viewpoints, attitude or ideas of any organization." Mr. Arnall said he would speak Saturday in condemnation of communism and facism and in praise of democracy.

THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION
MONDAY, NOVEMBER 25, 1946
CLARK HOWELL, President and Publisher
H. H. TROTTI, Vice President and Business Manager

EDITORIAL PAGES
RALPH McGILL, Editor
RALPH T. JONES, Associate Editor
JACK TARVER, Associate Editor

The Ledger on an 'Empty Honor'

We are pleased to note that more than a few Georgians share our opinion that Gov. Arnall should decline the "Jefferson Award" which the Southern Conference of Human Welfare has announced, with considerable fanfare, will be bestowed upon him Saturday in New Orleans.

We are not surprised, of course, that long-time critics of the Governor, as the Savannah Mornings News, have seized upon it as the basis for their own editorial expressions of distrust of the Southern Conference of Human Welfare. But we are gratified at the number of papers, like the temperate Valdosta Daily Times, which have reprinted it, without comment, in their own editorial columns.

One of the best evaluations of the "Jefferson Award" was carried, under the title "Empty Honor," by the Columbus Ledger, which has been, like The Constitution, a friend and supporter of Gov. Arnall.

Said the Ledger:

"We would not go quite so far as The Atlanta Constitution which urges Gov. Ellis Arnall to decline the so-called 'Jefferson Award' of the Southern Conference of Human Welfare, but we do wonder if such an 'honor' has any very real meaning.

"The Constitution says the Southern conference isn't a 'trustworthy organization,' and goes on to suggest that it is merely trying to 'cash in' on Gov. Arnall's national reputation by tendering this award.

"To a considerable extent we share this feeling. At one time we were dues-paying members of the Southern Conference; perhaps we are still carried on its rosters. Some of its moving spirits are close personal friends who won't like this piece at all, but the fact remains that in the last year or two it has espoused some extremist views, particularly with respect of racial relationships, which are simply too radical for our taste.

"In some respects it has performed magnificently. It has been a powerful force in bringing about poll-tax repeal and other electoral reforms. It is a dependable foe of the Ku Kluxers, but—in the same breath it is a dependable friend of such organizations as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, which we have lately come to regard as almost as outrageous on one extreme as the Kluxers are on the other.

"In short, we rather think that the developing policy of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare has itself become warped to the point where a vaunted concept of 'tolerance' itself connotes intolerance of any moderate, middle-of-the-road viewpoint, and it does tend to attack and despise those who are unwilling to go all the way to the left.

"We are not willing to go all the way left, and we do not believe Ellis Arnall is willing.

"Perhaps it would do no real damage to Ellis Arnall's stature for him to accept this 'Jefferson Award'—whatever that term means—but we don't think it would help him any, and we definitely don't think he needs it!

"History, in due time, will evaluate Ellis Arnall in true perspective, and certainly we hope that the end of his tenure as Governor does not mean the end of his usefulness in the public life of a State which needs him sorely.

"He has made a secure reputation, not only among Georgians, but among Americans as a whole, and for the moment it seems to us that he might very well rest upon his laurels, without embellishment by extremists who just might be wanting to ride his coat-tails."

Atl. Constitution 11-26-46

The Chronicle On a Dubious Honor

Still another of Gov. Arnall's long-time friends and supporters has joined those urging that he decline the "Jefferson Award" which the Southern Conference of Human Welfare plans to confer upon him Saturday in New Orleans.

Concerning the Southern Conference, the Augusta Chronicle, in an editorial entitled "A Dubious Honor," declares:

"This organization, we believe, started out with noble aims, and some of its accomplishments have been noteworthy. But somewhere along the line it deteriorated into an extremely left-wingish group; many of those who conscientiously joined up with it thinking that its aims were what its name implies—to work for human welfare—have unwittingly been taken in and their influence used by a small controlling clique which is assiduously attempting to foist on the South practices and policies which are contrary to Southern tradition, and which go far beyond the scope of what liberal-minded Southerners accept as being liberalism. . . .

"Mr. Arnall has established himself as a Southern liberal, but we do not think that his liberalism jibes with policies espoused by the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. We think that his record stands for itself, and that he would assume no added glitter by accepting such a dubious honor from an agency whose philosophy is suspect, and whose obvious object is to advance its own questionable cause by swinging onto the coattails of a distinguished Georgian who has won a nation-wide reputation as a liberal."

Views o

11-29-46

From

Organizations and Objectives

New Orleans.

Editor, The Times-Picayune:

The Young Men's Business Club rendered a public service in letting fly at the organization with the front name of "Southern Conference for Human Welfare." That there are hundreds of clubs and organizations sprung up all over the country, having objectives concealed behind harmless or meritorious facades, is tolerably well known. What is not so well understood is that many of such clubs which appear to be operated by idealists, zealots, eccentrics and some whose mental machinery has slipped a cog, are really promoted and managed by firebrands whose attained objectives would in some cases bring consequences shocking to "human welfare."

Of course, all favor high standards for farmers and industrial workers with better schools and better health, just freight rates for the South, and many other undeniable fair and equitable things. But when hidden, as in this case, among clauses, you discover that among the pretty phrases "adult franchise" here in the South is the real objective of the managers, their heart's core: Brother, it is time to take a powder.

The head of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare is quoted in your paper of November 26th as saying, among objectives of this so-called "Southern Conference," is this, that all persons over the age of 21 years should be allowed to vote.

The members of the Young Men's Business Club probably do not claim to be intellectuals, but they are realists enough to know that the exercise of "adult suffrage," regardless of qualification, in this and six or seven other states, in an election next month or next year, would mean rioting, arson and perhaps worse evils.

One can understand how the excellent Miss Wisner and the great Dr. Graham, detached from many of the realities of life, could be misled into supporting this "Southern Conference;" but that Governor Arnall, a seasoned politician, should be hooked, is something else.

Too often we go about our daily chores contemptuously amused at:

"The land of futile Piffledom;
Salons weird where congregate
Freak, Nut and Bug and Psychic
Bum,
Upon a mantel seated a Bust,
Lord Bilk, the Deity of Rot,
Nay surely, the great god Bunk
Who when you wunk at it wunk."

Then we awake, finding something serious indeed confronting us.

HARRY P. GAMBLE, SR.

110th YEAR—NO. 309

Associated Press, Internati
Exclusive Picture

Times-Picayune 11-29-46

PEPPER DEFENDS USSR IN TALK BEFORE SCHW

Says Russians Have Always Been Friendly to U. S.

BY HOWARD JACOBS

In high dudgeon over what he said were unwarranted attacks on Russia and her ideologies, Senator Claude Pepper, D., Fla., Thursday charged that many Americans were trying to make the Soviet republic a whipping boy.

Senator Pepper, here to speak at the opening session of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, lashed out at those detractors "who try to make everything Russian anathema."

He heatedly denied that the Soviets were attempting to impose their doctrines on other nations "any more than anybody else," and contended that "Russia is about the only major power with whom we have never approached any hostility."

"We've had two wars with England, and we practically went to war with France during the Napoleonic days," said he. "But of all countries, Russia has done more to protect our integrity and security than any other."

Points Out Instance

Senator Pepper asserted that "on no other subject has so much misrepresentation and falsehood been disseminated," and denounced those "who hold any man who tries to explain Russian conduct guilty of treason."

As proof of religious freedom in the country, he pointed to the visit of a Baptist minister who spoke in a Baptist church there "and on the radio without even being asked to see his script."

He criticized the Republicans as "your real reactionaries," and predicted that if a proposed tax cut is realized "they will take them off the rich and put more on the poor."

"A leopard can't change its spots, and I believe the Republicans have repainted theirs," he declared.

Senator Pepper conceded that many Southern Democrats have joined with Republicans on vital issues, but described the liaison as "a grave disservice to the South."

"The Republicans want to be the hewers of wood and the drawers of water for the industrial area they dominate," he said.

Avoids Lewis Criticism

He avoided any direct criticism of John L. Lewis and the coal strike, but foresaw the possibility of "drastic legislation against labor" in the next Congress. Compulsory arbitration, he said, is strongly supported by many factions.

The Floridian was vehement on the subject of the poll tax, which he contended "never should have been imposed." Should the states decline to abolish it, he said, the federal government must do so. "It's unthinkable that a country dedicated to the principles of Democracy should disenfranchise a man because he hasn't the price," he said.

Asked his opinion of the segregation issue, which compelled the changeover of the conference from Municipal Auditorium to Colonial Hall, the senator concluded:

"When I am invited to a man's house for dinner, I never attempt to tell him how to seat his guests."

ert F. Bacher, 41, Cornell

PLEADS LIBERAL RULE FOR SOUTH

N.O. Times - Picayune

SCHW Speaker Hits at Restrictions on Voting

11-30-46

The movement to develop liberal government in the South along the lines of the Roosevelt policy must be carried forward for benefit of the whole nation, Dr. Palmer Weber, Charlottesville, Va., director of research for the CIO Political Action Committee, said here Friday.

Addressing delegates to the fourth biennial convention of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare at Colonial Hall, Dr. Weber said that "the people in the Southern Democratic party who are leading the fight for Roosevelt policies need and deserve the support of the SCHW, labor leaders and other liberal-minded persons."

"We want to see millions of new voters through the abolition of the poll tax and other restrictions on voting," he said. "We expect to work in every election in every area of Southern life which is dominated by reaction today."

Dr. Weber said that the reactionary Democrats were in large part responsible for the Republican victory in the November election and that the "nation can't go forward politically unless we houseclean our political reaction in the South.

600,000 Negroes Registered

"The fight for the Negroes' franchise is a fight of tremendous importance to the whole nation," he said. "And this year for the first time in 40 or 50 years the Negroes broke through to a large use of the ballot."

He said that more than 600,000 Negroes registered in Southern states this year and added that the liberal movement retired 25 congressmen this year. "This was due to the work of the SCHW, Negro voters, CIO and AFL," he asserted.

He said that anti-lynching and human rights laws must be enacted in the Southern states and that the SCHW "must take hold of each issue as it affects the people" in a battle to win passage of liberal laws.

"The only reason for the existence of the SCHW is to fight," he said. "When it quits fighting it is doomed, because it is a fighting organization."

Presiding at the afternoon session, Tarleton Collier, associate editor of the Louisville Courier-Journal, introduced executive secretaries of the various state committees of the SCHW.

Percy Green, Negro, of Jackson, Miss., said that 2000 Negroes vot-

Continued on Page 2, Column 4

Continued from Page 1

ed in the Mississippi state elections recently and that Negro voters, in order to exert their right to vote, must "eliminate the fear complex."

Two Parties Urged

Elimination of fear, he said, could be accomplished through new civil rights laws. He said that the two-party system of politics in the South "is the only intelligent approach to the problems confronting the South" and that the Republican party was trying to prevent the growth of a two-party system here for factional reasons.

"There are vest pocket Republican organizations in every state put there to prevent development of the party in the South and to keep Republicans from turning out a large vote," he said.

Osceola McKaine, Negro, former SCHW field representative, said that the way to "keep up the progressive vote is to come to close grips with machine politics and educate the Negroes to think of legislation in terms of benefitting the whole people."

Miss Mary Price, executive secretary of SCHW for North Carolina, said that the organization should work with civic organizations and women's groups and that the "North Carolina committee is going forward with a well defined state legislative program."

Malcom C. Dobbs, executive secretary for Alabama, said the platform on which Governor-Elect Jim Folsom ran this year was taken from SCHW literature.

Mrs. Virginia Beecher, secretary for Virginia, estimated that 10,000 Negroes had voted in the 1945 Democratic primary in that state and asserted there was "a potential of 150,000 Negro votes in Virginia that would smother the Byrd machine."

Monroe Stringer, Negro, assistant business agent here of the construction and general laborers union, AFL, said that less than 5000 Negroes had registered in New Orleans this year.

He said that "some newspaper factions here in the city which don't support the SCHW put the heat on to prevent the conference from using Municipal Auditorium for its present meeting.

A gloomy picture of what may happen to recent agricultural and industrial gains made in the South as a result of Republican victories was drawn Monday by Aubrey Williams, Montgomery, Ala., publisher of the Southern Farmer, in an address to the delegates.

Mr. Williams said many of these gains will be lost if federal controls over industry and social problems are withdrawn.

Questions Raised

"The election," he said, "brings up certain questions. What will be the government's attitude toward maintenance of full employment? What will be their attude towards the national labor relations act? Toward wages and hours in industry, the color question, FEPC, anti-lynching legislation, toward bringing the earnings of farmers up to an income in line with that of city workers?"

He said: "We know leaders like Taft, Martin, Wherry and Knutson and their backers like Pew, McCormick, DuPont and Weir bitterly fought and voted against the full employment bill in Congress. The attitude of these leaders on the national labor relations act is equally as well known and there is only one point in which they have not been quite frank and that is how far they really

want to go in making over the labor relations act. Their attitude on the color question is not so clear. In fact there is reason to hope that some positive moves may be forthcoming in behalf of the Negro.

"As to their attitude towards the farmer, they have in the past taken their cues consistently from the so-called farm bloc which the veriest cub reporter in Washington knows is made up of the farm bureau, the big processors, the American Bankers Association and the National Association of Manufacturers. These groups for the past 10 years have advocated a policy favorable to the big farmers and hurtful to the small operator."

Mr. Williams said many feel that as far as the Southern electorate is concerned the picture is not hopeful.

"But I," he said, "happen to be an optimist. The South in spite of the results obtained this year, has given a splendid account of its progressive strength. When Bilbo did not carry a single hill county, where the small farmers live, there is something to count on in 'them hills.' When Folsom sweeps Alabama with his common man's program, there is something to count on. When Talmadge gets only 42 out of 100 votes, there is something to count on in Georgia."

A. G. Mezerik, author of "The Revolt of the South and the West," said that when the Southern Baptists, meeting last week in Asheville, N. C., "voted for an FEPC, for an anti-lynching law and for abolition of segregation, the Southern liberals should have been on their toes and sent telegrams of comemndation." Instead, of the 3000 telegrams received, the speaker said, "most were from the other side." And the resolution lost its force.

Frank Prohl, Southeastern regional director of the teamsters' union, said when he came to New Orleans to organize labor eight years ago he found truck drivers working for 17 cents an hour; that employers would lend them money during the middle of the week and then demand 25 per cent interest; that some employes were forced to rent houses from their employers in order to keep their job.

Edward Stone, public relations man for the CIO in Louisiana, said "there are bad unions and good unions," but that the answer to bad unions is not "no unions" but good unions. Mr. Stone said he didn't blame employers for not raising wages that after all "they are only human," but that by the same token you couldn't blame labor for wanting a fair wage.

Alfred R. Leiserson, Richmond, Va., manufacturer, told the delegates that Southern workers are not ready for unionization; that they must first be educated up to it.

Lewis Jones presided at the morning session.

THE TIMES-PICAYUNE NEW ORLEANS STATES, SUNDAY, DECEMBER 1, 1946

More U.S. Funds Urged for So

Health, Housing, Education, Security Needs Cited

More effective federal assistance in the fields of health, housing, education and social security was urged Saturday at the Southern Conference for Human Welfare session in Carpenter's Hall.

The three-day biennial convention of the conference was set to close Saturday night with the presentation of the Thomas Jefferson award to Governor Ellis Arnall of Georgia for "outstanding service to the South" and an address by Walter White, secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Speaking at the morning session Miss Lillie Nairne, head of the New Orleans department of public welfare, reported that though the federal government has increased the social security allotment by $25 per capita in the past two years, the funds are far from adequate.

"It is quite impossible for anyone to retire at the age of 65 and to live on $30 per month, as it was believed in 1930," she declared.

Welfare Changes Urged

"The South is stylmied in its welfare problems and there is no permanent solution in sight until the current system of matching federal funds with state funds is modified drastically. Under that system states more able to pay, those of the East and the North, derive the larger share of the benefit."

Miss Nairne was followed by Dr. Joseph L. Johnson, dean of the Howard university school of medicine, Washington, who proposed a six-point program, assisted by federal funds, which would improve the South's health condition, now the lowest of any section in the country.

"When people are economically poor they are in poor health, and when they are in poor health they are unable to secure the ability to pay," he said.

In asking support of the convention for the adoption of a national health bill he listed these factors which he said would improve health conditions throughout the South:

Easier payments of medical bills; more doctors, dentists, nurses and technicians; more health centers and hospitals; more health services through preventive facilities; improved standards of medicine in rural areas, and better working conditions and educational facilities.

The condition of education in the South was discussed in a paper written by N. C. Newbold of the University of North Carolina, who was unable to attend the meeting. His paper was read by F. L. Rousseve of Xavier university.

Asserting that 350,000 teachers had left their profession since 1939, Newbold declared that there was little hope for the alleviation of the situation, since only one out of 10 students who begin college courses in education graduates in the allotted time. Two finish by extra study, while the remaining seven never finish."

U. S. Aid Held Need

"Our educational system is in great need of aid from the federal government," Newbold said. "In the past congressmen have been opposed to the bills for the appropriation of from $80,000,000 to $100,000,000 which have been proposed, but we have hopes that the 80th Congress will prove more receptive to the idea."

Miss Anna Berenson, director of housing for the United Automobile Workers (CIO), declared that the housing program of the nation for the next five years is being decided now in Washington.

"The nation has had a housing deficit for the past 25 years

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"The nation has had a housing deficit for the past 25 years which has just reached its critical point as a result of the end of the war," she said. "The best year we ever had in building houses was in 1925, when 900,000 dwellings were constructed. The demand is now estimated at 16 million dwellings in the next 10 years to be used by people unable to pay more than $40 per month rent."

Reviewing the housing situation over the past year, Miss Berenson declared that the lifting of controls on building materials in October, 1945, was one of the greatest errors of the present administration.

"The real estate board had $5,000,000 to spend to get the materials control program killed, while those who saw the effect it would have on housing had little or no funds with which to fight the action. The result was that buildings that are just being completed today, many of them juke joints and unnecessary commercial sites, are using material that could have gone into housing for veterans and others."

The error was seen, but it was not until March, 1946 that controls were re-established, she asserted.

Looking at the housing situation in New Orleans where she lived while a student at Newcomb college, Miss Berenson said, "New Orleans, from what I've seen in the past few days, is one big slum. You could tear the whole place down and start rebuilding it right now."

Declaring that the veteran's housing program would cause a boom and bust period that "would make the last one look like peanuts," she urged delegates to bring all possible pressure on the president to support Housing Expediter Wilson Wyatt in his differences with other government department heads.

"We can't avoid depression if the construction industry stops," she said, adding that the development of factory-made housing would create an important new source of employment.

Fascism's Threat Tops Communist, Arnall Declares

Atl. Const. 12-1-46

NEW ORLEANS, Nov. 30—(AP)—Gov. Arnall, of Georgia, declared Saturday that he considers "the danger of Fascism more immediate and serious in the United States than the danger of Communism."

In a speech delivered at a meeting of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, where he received the organization's Thomas Jefferson award, Gov. Arnall said, "The American menace comes from the extreme right, where men of ill will are deliberately using the lunatic fringe to create a condition favorable to the establishment of a totalitarian state."

He said he knew that "such organizations as the Columbians" and such publications as "slimy little racial and class sheets" cost more to support than "the riffraff that front for these groups can raise from deluded and neurotic followers."

Arnall said Communism and Fascism, "equally distasteful to me," united in declaring that "the average man is a fool."

He called for "dynamic democracy" in the South, with an "agrarian-industrial system that provides full employment at the highest level of skill possible." The Federal Government, he added, must contribute "in an extraordinary degree" with public works.

Looking Back At Southern Conference

By ERNEST E. JOHNSON
Special to Journal and Guide

NEW ORLEANS, La.—Viewed perspectively, it may be said that the recently held fourth biennial convention of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare was indeed fortunate in hurdling an assortment of obstacles apparently erected by those who would like to wreck the work of the organigation. In fact, it is something of a tribute to the chief planners who exhibited their determination not to be harassed to the point of complete dejeciton.

The first bugaboo raised was the Red issue. The opening gun was fired by the Young Businessmen's Club of this city. This group comprises the young sales executives and intermediate functionaries of New Orleans businesses, a few newsmen, and some labor people. In their publication, Action, the group quoted from records of the discredited Dies Committee to brand the conference and its leaders as Russian missionaries, or at minimum, fellow-travelers. They did not want the conference's headquarters moved here from Nashville.

Although the statement appeared and was picked up by the local press, it is now known that a small but vocal minority within the YBC was opposed to the publication of the statement, but not so much because they believed in the Southern Conference. Their complaint was that the evidence being offered in support of charges was inadequate. It is to be noted too that several members of the YBC hold membership on the Southern Conference's Committee for Louisiana.

The transfer of headquarters itself was not without some contention. Official reason for the change is that the new location places the conference in better proximity to certain states which do not now have state committees—Mississippi, Oklahoma, Arkansas, and Texas. Actually, the hostility of the Nashville community, spearheaded by the constant attacks of the Nashville Banner, forced the shift.

The leadership in New Orleans, however, believe that the change might have been made easier had there been wider consultation both among board members and the Committee for Louisiana. It is pointed out that although a successful race relations institute had been conducted here last year, this city was not yet amenable to accommodating too much interracial activity. Further, it is suggested that the transition might have been simplified somewhat had an invitation from local people been sought before coming.

Sometime ago the conference had announced that Gov. Ellis Arnall would receive the Thomas Jeerson Award. However, an editorial which appeared afterwards in the Atlanta Constitution denouncing the Southern Conference also urged Arnall not to accept the dubious honor. Hurried conversations between the governor and Clark Foreman, SCHW president, saved the day here when suitable language of the presentation was agreed upon.

It is not generally known either that up to the last minute it was expected by conference officials that some question might be raised from the floor about making the award. In anticipation of this contingency, a resolution was prepared and held in readiness designed to clarify respective positions—the conference's and the governor's—so that the award could be made. No objection was raised.

Insofar as the Municipal Auditorium is concerned, the pretense of the segregation issue is a false one. The precedence for unsegregated meetings in the auditorium was set long ago and has been reaffirmed by two labor organization meetings, the Catholics, the Lutherans, and one other group.

The hand of politics was behind this. The mayor does not control the auditorium commission since none of the members are his appointees. He is a reform mayor and has been subjected to frequent attacks by the Maestri machine, which he unseated, for his relatively favorable attitude towards Negroes.

It is a foregone conclusion that Mayor DeLesseps Morrison would have been attacked again had the unsegregated meeting been held on city property, and it is not unreasonable to believe that the course taken by the commission had his complete approval for the sake of expediency.

Finally, a battle broke out in the resolution committee over the propriety of such an organization as the Southern Conference, concerned as it is with primarily domestic matters, should issue a resolution dealing with foreign policy.

Proponents argued that many domestic matters have their repercussions abroad and certainly ought to be dealt with in this light. Opponents contended that to venture into the area of foreign policy—and obviously make some observations regarding American-Soviet relations—would be affirming the criticism of the organization. No such resolution was prepared.

Apart from these observations the conference went along in a mediocre fashion after an enthusiastic opening meeting which heard Senator Claude Pepper of Florida and Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune. There were several technical sessions which were rich in their content but lacking the spark of the larger public meetings.

Repeated threats of possible violence by hoodlums had been heard, but nothing of an untoward nature materialized. Miss Lillian Smith, author, was to have appeared but failed.

Southern Conference for Human Welfare

NEW YORK COMMITTEE

Murray Hill Hotel, 112 Park Avenue, New York 17, N. Y. • MUrray Hill 3-2923

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December 14, 1946

Dr. George Mitchell
906 Lullwater Road, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear George:

Your letter of December 9th was forwarded to me here. I am very glad to get your views on the actions of the Board at its December 1st meeting. I am very sorry that you were not at the meeting so that you could have heard the full discussion and given us your advice at that time. At this point I don't feel that I have the constitutional right to delay or counteract the actions of the Board.

Especially in view of the stress that has been placed on the necessity for democratic procedure in handling the affairs of the Conference, I believe that I would be accused of acting high-handedly and contary to the by-laws if I undertake to overrule the Board.

On the other hand I want to assure you that I am prepared to have the Board, at its meeting on February 2nd, review the whole situation and make whatever changes seem necessary. I hope very much that you will be in Columbia on February 2nd and give us the benefit of your advice.

Yours sincerely,

Clark Foreman

Clark Foreman

National Office • 506-507 Presbyterian Building • Nashville 3, Tennessee

WELFARE LEADER WILL SPEAK HERE

Dr. Clark Howell Foreman to Speak Tomorrow at Institute of Religion

Dr. Clark Howell Foreman of Washington, president of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, will address the Institute of Religion at the United Church tomorrow night at 8. Dr. Foreman's subject will be, "Democracy and Minorities."

An instigator of the late President Roosevelt's survey of Southern resources and conditions, Dr. Foreman was an author of the famed "Report on Economic Conditions of the South," which was the result of the survey. The report has since served as the background for much social and political reform.

A by-product of the report was the formation of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, which Dr. Foreman first served as treasurer and, since 1942, as president.

War Work.

During the war, Dr. Foreman served in a civilian capacity with the Navy, and for eight months did operational research in London. In 1943, he taught economics at Black Mountain College. In the political campaign of 1944 he served as full-time secretary of the National Citizens Political Action Committee.

Dr. Foreman is a native of Atlanta, Ga., and two of his grandfathers fought in the Confederate Army. He was educated at Columbia University and at the London School of Economics, and he holds both M.A. and Ph.D. degrees. Dr. Foreman also has served as secretary of the Georgia Inter-Racial Cooperation Commission, working with Dr. Will Alexander, a pioneer in the cause of better race relations in the South.

In 1926, while working for his M.A. at Columbia, he became assistant to the director of the Phelps Stokes Fund, and, later as director of studies for the Julius Rosenwald Foundation, he helped to place in 11 Southern counties libraries which are open to all people, both white and Negro. His dissertation for his doctorate at Columbia was in support of the thesis that there is no difference in intelligence between white and Negro students.

From 1933 to 1938, Dr. Foreman was director of the Power Division of the U. S. Department of Interior. During this period, he was instrumental in obtaining the appointment of the first Negro in a CCC camp under the Park division. In 1933, Dr. Foreman overcame the long-standing government discrimination against Negro secretaries by the simple process of hiring one. With the help of his assistant, Robert Weaver, he was responsible for getting "no discrimination clauses" in PWA contracts, the first time that discrimination was mentioned and defined in government contracts.

Dr. Foreman will be introduced at tonight's session by Jonathan Daniels, executive news editor of The News and Observer and former special assistant to President Roosevelt. Dr. L. E. M. Freeman of Meredith will offer the invocation. Dr. Freeman is affiliated with the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. The Rev. Frederick B. Eutsler, pastor of the United Church, will preside.

The fellowship dinner will be held at 6 tomorrow night and classes will follow at 7.

Dr. John Shelton Curtiss, professor of History at Duke University, will address the course on "Problems of International Organization." Dr. Curtiss' topic will be, "Russia and the United Nations." Rep. O. M. Mull of Cleveland will address the course on "The Ethical Basis of Living." His subject will be, "The Christian and Politics."

Rabbi Harold L. Gelfman of Temple Beth Or, instructor of the course on "The Contributions of Judaism," will discuss "The Jew in America and His Contribution to Democracy." Dr. J. L. Godfrey, associate professor of History at the University of North Carolina, will be the speaker at the course on "Contemporary Problems in Perspective." His subject will be, "Liberty Under Law."

Professor W. N. Hicks of State College, leader of the course on "Marriage: Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow," will continue his discussion.

Speaks Here

DR. CLARK FOREMAN.

Chicago Defender
6-28-47

College Head Pressured, Quits Interracial Body

PINE BLUFF, Ark.—(ANP)—Intimidation was blamed here last week for the sudden resignation of Dr. Lawrence Davis, president of Arkansas A. M. and N. College here, from the vice presidency of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare.

On the day before Dr. Davis sent his resignation to the Rev. Samuel F. Freeman, pastor of the Pulaski Heights Christian Church and president of the Arkansas chapter of the conference, Gov. Laney told reporters he planned to talk to Davis about his affiliation with the conference.

"I want to make sure that people working for the state do not think in terms at variance with the American way of thinking," Laney said.

Dr. Davis submitted his resignation from the conference, branded as "communistic" by the Rankin-Thomas un-American activities committee, the next day. He said, "Since the organization has been branded as a Communist-front organization by a committee of congress, in fairness to myself, the people of Arkansas and the Negroes of Arkansas, I am no longer associating myself with the Southern Conference for Human Welfare."

Arkansas A. M. and N. College is the Negro branch of the University of Arkansas.

"Surprised and Shocked'

Editor, Journal and Guide—I was very much surprised and quite shocked to read your recent attack on Mr. Jerry Gilliam because he upheld the motion to rescind the resolution passed by the board of the Committee for Virginia making it mandatory for each applicant for membership to sign a so-called "loyalty" pledge. I would like to set you straight on this matter and hope you will print this letter.

The Constitution of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare specifically states that membership is open to "all" residents of the thirteen southern states and the District of Columbia without respect for "race, creed, color or national origin." A condition of affiliation of a State Committee is that its membership shall be open to "all" residents of the State and that if this provision is abrogated the State Committee is subject to disaffiliation by the national board.

The specific reason for this provision is that it not only is in the American tradition, but specifically it bars segregation. It seems odd that after only eight years of the existence of the Southern Conference, it should be so easily forgotten, the battle we have had over the years to keep it a non-segregated group.

I think if you lived nearer to Washington you would know how dangerous "loyalty" pledges are to the Negro people, particularly. A belief in and a fight for racial equality is judged by many investigators to be an evidence of "communistic" and "subversive" tendencies. Negroes are being fired without any charges being preferred against them and without any way of knowing who their accusers are, and with no right of appeal.

The Committee for Virginia stands on its platform of Roosevelt Democracy with equal rights for "all" people to participate in its membership if they will help us in our battle against the evils of Jim Crow, low living standards and Byrd totalitarianism.

—VIRGINIA DURR,
Chairman, Committee for Virginia Southern Conference for Human Welfare

Richmond, Va.

Editor's Note—This letter is commented upon in our editorial column this week.

Journal & Guide
7-19-47

Just wait, [illegible]s, just wait.

NELL BATTLE LEWIS.

MISS LEWIS AND COMMUNISTS.

To the Editor: In her attack on Dr. Graham—one of the few remaining statesmen in North Carolina—Nell Battle Lewis reveals herself to be the Madame Winchell of her age, a woman masquerading under good intentions with apparently the sole object of stirring people up over nothing, to no directed end.

As for her ignorant charges against the Southern Conference For Human Welfare, let me say, as a proud member of that organization, I have observed it to be one of the few active institutions for the progressive equalization of minorities and for generally helping the underprivileged to find the adequate respect and economic opportunities due them, especially in a supposedly democratic society. If she were less concerned with attacking statesmen and creative movements, less superficially taken in with political lies of a degenerate and undemocratic organization (un-American Committee) which has become tragically intrenched in the heart of our government, she would do our great Southland and this State a tremendous service: she has a vital and creative energy, but she seems incapable of using

News & Observer

7-31-47

it other than in spite." For shame, Miss Lewis!

Meanwhile, though I am no Communist myself, I feel no hypocritical need to repudiate Communists so long as they concern themselves with liberal and creative actions. I'm willing to trust the judgment of the Negro people in Winston-Salem, who, being yet closest to the earth, are our deepest and most genuine realists. They, when told of supposed Communist leadership in their union, did not repudiate those people. The Negroes are sick of judging people by names and words: they can judge only by actions. When your actions and mine, Miss Lewis, prove more helpful to the underprivileged than does the work of the Communists, then we can set about repudiating them. Until that time, we would do well to hide our heads in honest shame.

W. A. McGIRT, JR.

Chapel Hill.

THE PULSE OF THE PUBLIC

Reply From Foreman

Editor, Constitution: Several errors in your most recent column dealing with the Southern Conference for Human Welfare seem to me worth correcting.

In the first place, I do not, and have not for months, received any salary from the Southern Conference. Our Administrator (we do not have a director) receives less than $4,000 a year.

Secondly, the lady whom we sent on a speaking and money-raising trip to the West Coast was, until her recent illness, a soloist in the choir of St. Luke's. Although you say that person was almost certainly a member of the Communist party, she has recently been attacked by the Daily Worker, which I presume is even more informed about the Communists than you. This Atlanta lady, the former Administrator of the Conference, and I are the only three people who have ever gone to the West Coast for the Southern Conference and, regardless of your information, I can assure you that none of us is, or ever has been, in any way connected with the Communist party. To imply it is to do something that would be libelous if stated openly.

Thirdly, the Southern Conference is active in every Southern State. When you find out what the various committees are doing we will no doubt get more publicity in your column. The officers of the Southern Conference, contrary to your statement, have never pretended to speak for the whole South. We speak for the thousands of Southerners who believe that the South's problems can only be solved by greatly increasing the prosperity and democracy of all the people of the South, regardless of creed or color.

The Constitution welcomes letters on either side of any subject. They should not exceed 200 words and must be signed, although names will be withheld on request. We regret none can be returned.

Membership in the Southern Conference is limited to residents of the Southern States and the District of Columbia. The Board and officers are democratically elected by the membership. The policies of the Conference are therefore both Southern and democratic. We naturally solicit money in all parts of the country to carry out these policies.

The newspaper that was made famous by Henry Grady should never forget that the South is now a part of the rest of the country, and that so long as the Southern States send men like McKellar, Bilbo and George to the Senate, the whole country suffers along with the South. You correctly deem it your duty to expose Gerald L. K. Smith. Why do you think Northerners should not be equally interested in opposing the menaces to democracy who arise in the South?

We think the people of the North and West are concerned, and rightly want to help those Southerners who share their views. We welcome their help just as we as individuals are glad to support them in their fight for democracy in other parts of the country. That is why we have an office in New York to solicit and receive contributions for our work. You are right in thinking this has been very helpful, and we hope it will continue to be.

You end your column by saying that it is fair to ask about our policies. I hope you will consider it equally fair to print in as favorable a spot this answer to your question.

CLARK FOREMAN,
President, Southern Conference for Human Welfare.
Atlanta.

(Editor's Note: We are happy to publish Mr. Foreman's letter which, however, seems inconclusive. The Constitution did not identify any person sent to the Coast to collect money, but The Constitution does have information that one such person was there in the company of people actively identified with the Communist movement. The Constitution made no attack on Mr. Foreman, but did say that Mr. Foreman in a public statement had declared that he was not interested in removing Communists from the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. The Constitution is unable to find any active office or organization of the Conference in several Southern States, and would still like to know for what the money is spent. Meanwhile, The Constitution cannot help but regard as suspect any organization which publicly recommends Communists to its membership.)

Likes Hanna

Editor Constitution: In a recent letter to your column, Mrs. Boyd paid a fine tribute to Evelyn Hanna.

Permit me to add a word of praise to Miss Hanna also. It so happens that I have known this fine woman since her childhood. Her father was one of my earliest friends about the turn of the century. She comes of good stock. Her uncle is a Presbyterian minister, much loved in his community. Her mother was Miss Jessie King, a belle of old Thomaston. Evelyn seems to possess a keen literary mind. Despite the fact that she married an Englishman and now resides in London, I am glad that she still contributes her column to the Constitution.

Let's have more of her writings and less of one who signs himself Westbrook Pegler. Your paper is too fine to give space to this fellow.

JULIAN M. FRIX.
LaGrange.

9/15/47.

Atlanta Constitution

THE PU

Atlanta Constitution Sept-22-47

Welcome

Editor Constitution: The editorial comment appended to my letter in your issue of the 15th gravely distorts the facts.

It is absolutely untrue to imply that the Southern Conference for Human Welfare or any of its officers ever welcomed Communists to its membership. You fail to distinguish between such an undertaking and a witch hunt. We refuse to be sidetracked from the fundamental job of improving the economic and democratic condition of the Southern people.

We are not alone in our confidence in the American people. The Democratic Party, of which I believe you are a member, takes exactly the same position on these matters as does the Southern Conference for Human Welfare; namely, it stands by its program and asks all who subscribe to that program to join. The Democratic Party has never, to my knowledge, carried on any witch hunt or attempted to purge its ranks of Communists. If you feel so strongly on this question, why don't you start with your own (party) organization instead of denouncing others?

You have twice represented me as welcoming Communists. Again I must say this is untrue. I have never made any such statement or anything that could reasonably be twisted to mean that. What I have said is that we stand by our program and welcome all who will support it. That is the same position as taken by the Democratic Party.

CLARK FOREMAN.
President Southern Conference for Human Welfare.

(Editor's note—Mr. Foreman has just said it again—in his next-to-last sentence—that he welcomes Communists).

SOUTHERN
PRESS CLIPPING BUREAU
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

ORDER NUMBER

This Clipping from

Nashville, Tenn., Banner
October 31, 1947

I-10

SCHW Branded as 'Sham And Delusion' by Sensing

Branding the "very name" of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare "a sham and a delusion," Thurman Sensing, research director of the Southern States Industrial Council, told a New Orleans audience Wednesday that "it is high time such Communist front organizations found no resting place in the South or nation."

Speaking on the general subject of freedom and democracy before the New Orleans Rotary Club, the Nashvillian asserted, "There is no place in our nation for those who would overthrow our system of government. That is why we cannot countenance organizations within our midst that allow Communist members—for instance, the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, which organization, its president lately said here in New Orleans, is not interested in whether or not its members are Communists.

"No wonder the responsible people of New Orleans, where this organization has its headquarters asked its removal from the city It had lately moved from Nashville, Tenn., where it had found no sympathy among the thinking people of the community. It is high time such Communist front organizations found no resting place in any community of the South, or of the nation. The very name of the organization is a sham and a delusion.

"Moreover it is a travesty of freedom," Sensing continued, "of tolerance and common decency that this organization should now be conducting a contest on, "What Is Americanism?" The only observation we might make here is that if any group in this nation needs to know what Americanism is, it is this bunch of termites who are attempting to undermine it. This is not a question of tolerance. We can tolerate those who would advocate changes within the framework of our democratic system of government, but we cannot tolerate those who would destroy the framework itself.

On the subject of foreign aid, Sensing urged that "if we are to continue pouring out money and food and materials all over the face of the globe, we at least need to know why we are doing it. If it's charity, it should be handled on a humanitarian basis. If it's blackmail—well, the American people don't scare easily. If it's war, then just talk and half-way measures will not suffice.

"We had better center more of our attention on remaining strong at home," Sensing concluded "and providing an example to the people of the world what a democratic form of government can accomplish."

He declared that this nation cannot afford to be "generous to a fault" and added that "love of democracy cannot be bought like a commodity in the market place; it must first exist in the hearts of the people themselves."

In another reference to Communism, Sensing said:

"There can be no compromise with Communism in this nation. There is no more place for Communists within a democratic land than there is for boll weevils in a cotton patch. A free society including Communists can no more be healthy than a man with cancer. Their whole philosophy is directly contrary to all the principles of democracy. Under their creed, the individual is nothing more than the chattel of the state; there is no such thing as a free man. The whole effort of Communists is centered on the overthrow of established government and its replacement with Communist government. In the United States, this means the destruction of all the ideals and principles and traditions which we cherish and for which our fathers and sons have fought and died."

F

Harold C. Fleming

HARVARD LAW REVIEW

VOL. LX OCTOBER, 1947 No. 8

REPORT ON A REPORT OF THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES*

THE Southern Conference for Human Welfare, according to its by-laws, is an organization "to promote the general welfare and to improve the economic, social, political, cultural, and spiritual conditions of the people of the South, without regard to race, creed, color, or national origin." [1]

On June 12, 1947, the House Committee on Un-American Activities issued a report condemning the Southern Conference.[2] That organization, the report asserted, is a "most deviously camouflaged Communist-front organization"; [3] its "professed interest in southern welfare is simply an expedient for larger aims serving the Soviet Union and its subservient Communist Party in the United States." [4]

The Committee report appeared, seemingly by design, immediately before a public meeting at which Henry Wallace was to speak under the auspices of the Southern Conference. Moreover, as the Southern Conference quickly remarked, its repeated re-

* The author is greatly indebted to Philip J. Albert and John M. Kernochan, Harlan Fiske Stone Scholars of the Columbia Law School, for their assistance in the preparation of this article.

[1] BY-LAWS, SOUTHERN CONFERENCE FOR HUMAN WELFARE art. II (1946). Membership in the Southern Conference is limited to residents of thirteen southern states and the District of Columbia. *Id.* art. IV(1). The program of the Conference is determined at a regular biennial conference or a special conference of the membership. *Id.* arts. V(1) and (4), VIII (1) and (2).

[2] H. R. REP. No. 592, 80th Cong., 1st Sess. (1947), hereinafter referred to as H. R. REP. No. 592.

[3] *Id.* at 17.

[4] *Id.* at 13.

munist ties" of the Suspect Sixty-Two is not persuasive.[98] But even if the evidence were compellingly clear, one would still deplore the Committee's readiness to attribute to an organization of thousands of members the political views of this handful of individuals, and to suppose accordingly that the whole organization is dedicated to serving the Soviet Union.[99] If the Southern Conference is to be known by the company it keeps, then it is only fair that all its companions be named, and that the Committee give equally prominent mention to Chief Justice Vinson, Senator Barkley, former Secretaries of State Byrnes and Stettinius, Secretary of Defense Forrestal, former Postmaster General Walker, former Secretary of the Navy Daniels, and all the other men and women of greater or less distinction who have been officers, members, "sponsors," "speakers," "supporters," or "advisory associates" of the Southern Conference in the same way as the Suspect Sixty-Two.[100]

IV. Foreign Policy

All that has gone before is but prologue to the Committee's main charge: "The most conclusive proof of the Communist domination of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare is to be found in the organization's strict and unvarying conformance to the line of the Communist Party in the field of foreign policy. It is also a clear indication of the fact that the real purpose of the organization was not 'human welfare' in the South,

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98 One is reminded of Professor Chafee's quip about another somewhat excited legislative body, that it 'had repudiated government by representation and substituted government by misrepresentation." CHAFEE, *op. cit. supra* note 90, at 282.

99 Consider the pertinent words of Mr. Justice Douglas in Bridges v. Wixon, 326 U. S. 135, 143 (1945): "Individuals, like nations, may cooperate in a common cause over a period of months or years though their ultimate aims do not coincide. Alliances for limited objectives are well known. Certainly those who joined forces with Russia to defeat the Nazis may not be said to have made an alliance to spread the cause of Communism. An individual who makes contributions to feed hungry men does not become 'affiliated' with the Communist cause because those men are Communists."

100 The names listed are taken from the list of sponsors, speakers, or committee members in connection with the Southern Conference's award of its Thomas Jefferson medal to Justice Hugo L. Black in 1945. See the Southern Patriot, Supp. May, 1945, pp. 1-3.

Atlanta Constitution
11-25-47

RALPH McGILL

A View Of Wallace's Visit

Ralph McGill is out of the country on a tour of European areas. Due to irregular mail service, his column will be missing from its regular space from time to time during the next few weeks.

Today's substitute feature is an editorial from the Macon Telegraph concerning Henry Wallace's speeches in Georgia last week.

A Tawdry Show The warmest admirers of Henry A. Wallace must have been humiliated by the tawdry stagecraft with which the principal speaker was held under wraps for a dreary hour and a half at the Municipal Auditorium while members of the supporting cast strutted their stuff in efforts to steal the show and the bumbling President of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare held up the program while he beat the drum with an evangelical fervor for dollars and dimes.

The old Wizard Oil show, with its doxology of "All it costs is a dollar a bottle," followed a wiser technique and achieved better results, if we may judge from casual observation of the few fluttering bills held aloft and the hollow clink of two-bit donations dropped in the collection boxes. With a tent and a tenor singer, almost any evangelist could have done better.

An impartial estimate placed at 1,500 the number of persons who certainly did not tax the capacity of a hall which seats approximately 4,000 and, of course, a substantial majority of the customers paid their 80 cents to hear the changes rung on "free" speech, but even so, the Southern Conference for Human Welfare must have moved on the next town with a feeling of frustration and disappointment, accentuated by the fact that there was not a single burst of that enthusiastic applause which usually greets a great orator advocating a good cause.

There were periods in the Wallace speech which ordinarily might have evoked such applause had it not been for the inept idea of holding back the main speaker for an hour and a half, gripped like the "bony hand" of the Ancient Mariner, while the wedding guests "could not choose but hear."

Next to Wallace and the benediction, the best feature of the evening was the South Wind Quartet.

Courteous The Telegraph bespoke for Mr. Wallace a large attendance and a courteous hearing. He was at least given a courteous hearing.

Mr. Wallace is a man of ability and reads his speech with an easy deftness which gives the impression of spontaneity. The fact remains that apparently there were few in the audience who agreed with his political and social philosophy and Wednesday evening's meeting probably did not win anybody to the folly of setting up a third party in this country or indorsing the statement that through nonsegregation alone can this country ever reach real prosperity.

Mr. Wallace harped on the familiar theme that the South is the No. 1 problem child of the United States. The former Secretary of Commerce should have brought himself up to date on official statistics which show that the Southeast is advancing more rapidly in industry and general prosperity than any other section of the country, while the Eastern States are losing their leadership. This is hardly consistent with the notion that some ogre in Wall Street through unfair freight rates and other evil devices is deliberately strangling the South. Any conference truly interested in the human welfare of the South would find less satisfaction in "fouling its own nest" than in looking with hope and confidence to the greater welfare which is already on the way.

We will pass over with sober tolerance the hint by one of the supporting cast that force and violence will break out in this part of the country unless we abandon segregation and gulp down the amazing report of the President's Committee on Civil Liberties.

We would like to disassociate Mr. Wallace from the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, but unfortunately the report of a congressional committee issued June 12, 1947, lists him as a member of the advisory board of that organization.

The infectious smile and magnetic personality of the man probably won for him the personal liking of most persons who met him, but neither Mr. Wallace nor the Southern Conference for Human Welfare is rendering any real service to the South.

As Sam Welles says, "On the contrary, quite the reverse."

SOUTHERN
PRESS CLIPPING BUREAU
ATLANTA, GEORGIA
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This clipping from
November 1947

Payable in Advance
—Official Organ Wilkinson County—

Politically Speaking

"Southern"

BY ALEX S. BOONE

Truly, there is nothing Southern about that so-called "Southern Conference For Human Welfare." That bunch of professional do gooders and race baiters are alien to decent principles of Southern white and black people.

Southern? Why that brat was born in New York of mix-breed parents. Its hippen fixers are mainly in the North with the exception of a scalawag head nurse in Atlanta.

In school, Clark Foreman was given the nickname of "Puke." Schoolboys are hard to fool about a budding character. If Clark was a Puke in school, it is not surprising to find him acting the part today.

The Secretary of Puke's so called Southern thing has the name of James Dombrowski. Sounds like Russian to me!

Most touted member is Henry Wallace of Iowa, and there are others, few of whom were born in the South Yet they have the crust to call their mix-blooded brat: "Southern."

Any decent white or colored person should resent that deceiving name of Southern when applied by Puke, Henry et al to their so-called Welfare Racket.

If Northern skunks and a scatter of Southern scalawags want to do things for human beings, then why don't they organize under the honest name of The Northern Conference For Human Welfare are then do something for Harlem which is described by a New York Magazine as the "Wickedest city in the world." To do that, perhaps would be honest but would it get one on the payroll of some foreign power which wants rotten work done? I don't know. Do you?

Records in Washington allegedly show that Clark "Puke" Foreman was first white government official to employ a Negro Secretary.

Personally, we are satisfied that the moves now being made by Foreman are satisfactory to Soviet officials in Russia.

Henry Wallace, Hel-eanor Roosevelt, Vito Marcantonio, Edwin Embree and Aubrey Williams!

When such birds as above named are all found stirring up Race hatred in the South, there must be some deep-seated reason for such skunking. I personally think their reasons may be founded in finance Their actions can but help Russia in its cold war upon America

Payable in Advance
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510

Politically Speaking

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Surely, no one is silly enough to believe that Henry and Puke Foreman are spending their own money to mix the races.

In reason, neither Puke nor even Hel-eanor nor all of them together, have such money as the scalawags are spending in this nation-wide campaign to promote the mixing of the white and black races.

The treasury of some mighty foreign nation might find enough money to finance a continent wide plan to weaken America by making mongrels out of its citizens. But no individual, however rich, has the money in sufficient volume to cover the expenses now being made to mulatto-ize our people black and white.

When a woman sells the use of her body for money, in all lands, she gets the title of "Harlot."

When any white man or woman sells the white race down the river by insisting that Blacks and Whites mix, then such a white person is nothing more than a "Political Harlot," selling their principles and perhaps a thousand degrees lower than a poor, pitiful prostitute, selling her body, who perhaps can plead poverty to justify her sales.

Truly, Puke and his fellow pukes are just un-blushing political harlots, possessing no principles on race.

Time, eventually will disclose why Puke and his puppets are that way. Long after the crime, Old History has a way of digging up devious secrets.

For example, 'tis known today that Talleyrand was a traitor to France and in the pay of Napoleon's enemies. And here in America, it is known that a son of Benjamin Franklin sold out to the British. Too, it is known that Gen. Charles Lee second in command to Washington, was a traitor in pay of the British. A few years will have to roll by before historians will dig up the list of traitors that Russia paid in other lands. When that list comes to light will there be found the names of any major member of that Southern thing headed by Puke Foreman and James Dombrowski?

C
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P
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From an Editorial from The ATLANTA CONSTITUTION
May 12, 1953

ATTACK ON CLEMENT IS DIRTY POLITICS

* * * A member of the [City Executive Committee] board has charged that Dr. Clement is a Communist sympathizer because he once belonged to the now defunct Southern Conference for Human Welfare.

This newspaper is proud of the fact that it contributed largely to the demise of that organization. We were twice threatened with lawsuits because of our exposure of it; therefore, we believe we have some authority to speak.

The Southern Conference for Human Welfare was organized by honest, loyal Americans, with a viewpoint to organizing all constructive forces in the South to improve the South's economic and social status. It later was infiltrated by Communists, but for a good many years it was composed of and led by persons of unquestioned loyalty, during which time its membership was about 99.95 per cent loyal. It offers the typical example of a few rotten Communists spoiling a good barrel of apples.

Even so, it was not until a good many years had passed, and after most of the membership had withdrawn, including Dr. Clement, that persons of suspected communistic tendencies took over what remained of the organization. They did not long endure, largely because this newspaper exposed them and kept upon them the full light of publicity. Therefore, we feel free to say that this smear attack on Dr. Clement was false and unworthy, and those conducting it reflect no credit on themselves, our city, state and region. * * *

BALTIMORE, MD. ★ ★ ★ ★

The AfroAmerican

Sign These Petitions

Petitions asking clemency for Carl Braden and Frank Wilkinson, now serving one-year terms for contempt of Congress, are now circulating throughout the country.

Every American who believes in fairplay, or who is opposed to segregation's denial of human dignity, or who is disgusted with the House Un-American Activities Committee's rough-shod methods, should affix his signature to one of these petitions.

More than 1,000 prominent Americans, including Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., Dr. Reinhold Neibuhr and the Rev. John Hayes Holmes have already signed the pleas.

They signed because they know the only reason Carl Braden and Frank Wilkinson are behind bars is because they dared speak and work for the end of racial segregation in schools, parks, residential areas, recreational areas and every tax - supported facility as required by the United States Constitution.

That was the only reason they were summoned before the House Un-American Activities Committee during a star chamber hearing in Atlanta.

This is the same committee which has yet to see anything un-American about the subversive activities of the White Citizens Councils or the Ku Klux Klan.

Since May 1, Braden and Wilkins have been in federal prison at Greenville, S.C. Just remember every day they are required to serve is another 24 hours of tribute exacted by segregationists because of their firm belief in equality.

They already have served 85 too many. Sign the petition and get your friends to sign to get them out.

AUGUST 12, 1961

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SCHW Opens Contest On "Americanism"

WASHINGTON — (ANP) — A nation-wide search for the best definition of "Americanism" is being launched by the Southern Conference for Human Welfare.

The contest will be announced over more than 100 radio stations from coast to coast in connection with a transcribed debate between Dr. Clark Foreman, president of the SCHW, and Rep. Alvin O'Konski (R. Wis.), president of the American Anti-Communist Association.

The radio debate, a presentation of both sides of the issue, was recorded in Washington, as a part of the regular series, "Is Congress Its Job?

RULES OF CONTEST

In some localities, radio stations are sponsoring local Americanism contests with merchants giving prizes for the best home-town entries. Anyone can enter the contest—man, woman or child.

All that is necessary is to write an original definition of Americanism in 100 words or less, and mail it to "Americanism Contest, P. O. Box 1037, Washington, D. C." Winners will be notified by mail, and announced in daily newspapers. Contest closes Sept. 30. Entires will be judged on content and aptness of thought. First prize will be $100; second, $50; third $25 and 25 honorable mention awards of $1 each. Decision of the judges will be final. In case of ties, duplicate prizes will be awarded. All entries become the property of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare.

Wants Retraction

Label McGill Article False

Pittsburg Courier 7-21-29

ATLANTA—(ANP)—The Southern Conference for Human Welfare last week demanded a retraction of "malicious, false and libelous statements" in a signed article by Ralph McGill, editor, carried in the Atlanta Constitution, accusing officers of being subversive.

The demand for retraction was made by Thomas W. Johnson, Macon attorney.

Johnson wrote Clark Howell, president of the Constitution, stating that McGill's departure from the country did not in any way relieve the Constitution of the "responsibility of publishing statements and innuendoes that are libelous, particularly after they have been so notified on Friday night in time to change the article."

NO TALMADGE FRIEND

The statement by Mr. McGill that the officers of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare intended to "assit Herman Talmadge" was particularly objected to by Mr. Johnson.

The SCHW attorney stated: ,

"Mr. McGill knows well that the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, through its officers, has long opposed the principles for which Herman Talmadge stands and that they have worked effectively in the past against both Talmadge and his father."

THE TRUTH ABOUT
COLUMBIA
TENNESSEE CASES

Frankly to say, between us. I do not much care for this - it leaves out all commendation of the sheriff etc - who did play a fairly good role - That is the method of propaganda.

ON THE NIGHT OF *Monday, February 25, 1946, the Negro citizens of Columbia, Tennessee, courageously prevented a lynching.*

For this service to the community and the state, 100 of them were arrested. They were illegally held incommunicado for periods ranging from three to eight days. They were denied the right to communicate with friends on the outside to arrange bail and counsel. They were denied the constitutional right of being represented by counsel at the preliminary investigation. Many of them were cruelly beaten while in custody. Two were shot and killed inside the jail by officers of the law who were questioning them. At least 15 of them have been charged with assault with attempt to commit murder and others with minor offenses.

The fair-minded citizens of Tennessee should be grateful to the Negroes of Columbia that there was no lynching on the night of February 25. We think they would be, if they could know the facts. But they cannot know the facts, because the incidents which brought on violence have been misrepresented, the story of the lynch mob and its attacks on the Negro community suppressed, the circumstances surrounding the shooting distorted, and race relations in our state poisoned by stories about a "race riot" which never took place.

That is why we are publishing this pamphlet, presenting the results of our own investigation, to tell the people of Tennessee what their officials will not tell them—the story of what really happened in Columbia.

CLARK H. FOREMAN, *President*
Southern Conference for Human Welfare

What Happened in Columbia

IT STARTED in the Casner-Knott radio repair shop at about 10:00 o'clock Monday morning. There was an argument between a Negro customer, Mrs. Gladys Stephenson, and the white repairman, Will Fleming. Mrs. Stephenson had had a repair job done and she claimed she had been cheated on the job. Fleming was angered that a Negro would dare make such an accusation against him, a white man. He struck and kicked Mrs. Stephenson.

The woman's son, James C. Stephenson, 19, was there and saw what happened to his mother. He was a young veteran, just returned from overseas service in the Navy. He had volunteered. He was not afraid to strike back when his country was attacked. And he was not afraid to strike back when his mother was attacked, even though it was a white man who did it. He struck the repairman. Fleming, in falling, struck and broke a plate glass window.

The repairman was not seriously hurt. Nevertheless the crowd drawn by the incident jumped on the young veteran and his mother and beat them up. One man stamped on Mrs. Stephenson's face after she was knocked down. When the police came they arrested the victims, but not the men who did the beating and kicking. Nor did they arrest Fleming, whose brother, Flo Fleming, is the Democratic Party nominee for sheriff of Maury County.

All afternoon the word went around the town that a mob was forming to lynch the Stephensons. A man bought a rope in a hardware store on the square. He told the clerk he was going to use it on a Negro that night and, if he didn't, he hoped someone would use it on him.

Late that afternoon, a Negro property holder made bond for the Stephensons, though the authorities advised him against it, saying there might be trouble. The bondsman was just in time.

Between 5:00 and 6:00 that afternoon an armed mob stormed the jail and tried to kick the door down. They told the sheriff they had come for the Stephensons. The young veteran and his mother were gone and some time that night fled to safety.

Angered at having their intended victims snatched away, the mob turned toward the Negro community. But there again they were frustrated.

They Remembered the Rope

If you don't know much about lynchings, you may wonder why the Negroes did not rely on the police to protect them from the mob. They didn't because they remembered how a Negro had been hanged from the courthouse window years ago—and how the county authorities had left the rope hanging there as a symbol and a warning and pointed it out proudly to visitors. They remembered that a mob had gone from Maury County to Nashville after 14-year-old Cordie Cheek and brought him back and lynched him—after the Grand Jury had found him innocent on rape charges. They remembered that Negroes had identified members of the mob that murdered Cordie Cheek—but they were never arrested. And they knew that the mob was milling on the courthouse square, less than two blocks from the heart of the Negro business section, and that it had not been disarmed or dispersed.

They Waited . . .

So they did the only thing that they could do, which was just what you or I would have done if we had been in their position. They retired to their homes, got out their guns, most of them ordinary hunting guns, some of them war trophies, and waited.

All that night armed men roamed the streets looking for a Negro to lynch. They did not find one, because the Negroes kept to their homes. They did not dare invade the Negro community, because they knew the Negroes would fight back. Some of

them, however, drove past the section in automobiles, firing into Negro homes as they went by. It was these auto raiders, not the Negroes, who fired the first shots. Because of them, to keep from presenting an easy target, the Negroes turned out their lights.

Twice that night white persons who invaded the Negro area were peppered with birdshot and driven out. On one of those occasions, the four men who stopped birdshot were police officers. Of course, the Negroes, waiting in the dark for a mob attack and seeing these men approach, had no way of knowing that they were officers. And of course, too, no more than two or three men out of the whole Negro community had fired at all. But the Columbia police cared nothing for such considerations. Negroes had fired on officers; that was excuse enough for taking vengeance on the whole Negro community.

Mob in Uniform

They phoned the Governor for reinforcements. Gov. McCord sent in during the night more than 100 highway patrolmen and more than 400 troops of the state guard. These forces took no action against the lynch mob. Instead they threw a cordon around the tiny Negro business section where the shots had been fired. The cordon included armed civilians—members of the mob.

At dawn the law enforcement officials moved in. They arrested every Negro trapped in the surrounded area, whether there was any reason to connect him with the shooting or not. Large numbers of those arrested were veterans, some discharged so recently that they were still in uniform. After these men had been captured, disarmed and lined up, they were kicked and cursed and beaten with blackjacks, fists and guns.

It was the armed forces of the State of Tennessee who did the real rioting. They broke the windows of the buildings and sprayed the interiors with machine gun fire. At the Morton Funeral Home they poured embalming fluid over the expensive

Blair Barber Shop after it was vandalized by the state patrolmen.

casket furnishings, smashed lighting fixtures, broke the reading lamp over the pulpit, and marked "KKK" on a coffin in huge letters. At the Blair drug store, they destroyed the soda fountain, looted the stock and stole money from the cash register. Juke boxes all down the street were jimmied open with bayonets to steal the nickels. At none of these places was there any resistance. Not a business establishment in the area escaped damage.

The newspapers have deliberately left the impression that 400 guns were found in this raid on the Negro business section. They were not. After the raid was over, deputies made a house-to-house search of every Negro residence in Columbia. They claim to have seized 400 guns from the homes of a Negro population of 3,000. In the outlying sections, where the mob had not come close, these guns were found in trunks and attics. They were such squirrel rifles and bird guns as could be found by raiding the same number of homes in any community, white or col-

ored. The house-to-house search was conducted without regard to either the Constitution of the United States or the Constitution of Tennessee, both of which contain provisions against search and seizure without warrants.

Incommunicado

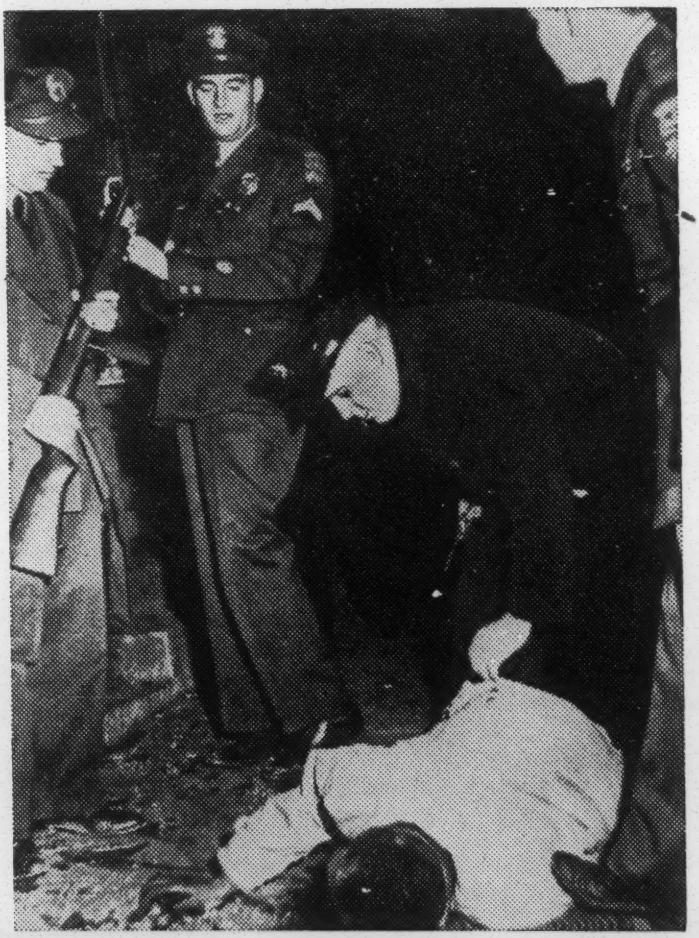
Sixty-eight Negroes were arrested that day and, in the days that followed, the number grew to 100. All of them were held for days, some for more than a week, while a "board of investigation" sifted the evidence to decide which ones should be charged with crime. While they waited they were not permitted to make bond, nor to obtain counsel on their own behalf. Z. Alexander Looby, Negro attorney of Nashville, and Maurice Weaver, white attorney of Chattanooga, were employed for them by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Officials refused Weaver the right to see the prisoners and to be present when they were questioned.

Some of these prisoners, including women, were beaten inside the jail.

Murder in the Jail

On Thursday, February 28, two of these prisoners, William Gordon and James Johnson, were shot to death in the jail. The official explanation was that Gordon had grabbed a gun from the confiscated weapons stacked in the room and fired it, giving Deputy R. T. Darnell a slight flesh wound in the left arm. No one has explained why prisoners were in a room where there were loose guns lying around, nor why the prisoners could not be subdued without killing them, nor what methods of questioning were used which could drive helpless prisoners (against whom there were no serious charges) to so desperate and hopeless an extremity. The official attempts to explain how it was possible for a prisoner to have on hand the right kind of ammunition to load such a gun have been notably unconvincing.

The most charitable interpretation it is possible to put on the



This picture shows the brutal treatment which accompanied the arrests.

circumstances of this horrible killing makes the officers guilty of incredible negligence and stupidity—and of killing prisoners who could have been subdued without killing, which is a very serious criminal offense. The explanation which fits the facts better and is easier to believe is much uglier even than that—though it is an old story in Southern police dealings with Negro prisoners.

Our Shame and Our Duty

The Columbia case is a shame to the state and the nation. The Columbia defendants have been ruthlessly hurt and hounded for the offense of preventing a lynching. They are under the threat of long prison terms, for the crime of defending their lives in the only way open to them. The way in which the officials involved and the newspapers have blown up these courageous and guiltless acts into a "race riot", with dark hints of a planned Negro uprising, is a ghastly travesty on both truth and fair play.

Protect the Constitution

The Columbia defendants have been subjected to wholesale violations of their civil rights under the federal and state constitutions. They have suffered arrests without warrant, searches without warrant, holding incommunicado, denial of bail, denial of counsel, destruction and looting of property, theft of money found in premises which were vandalized, denial of due process of law, denial of equal protection of law, beatings and third degree, and the unjustifiable slaying of two of their number.

Even if our consciences would let us stand by idly while these rights are denied to a minority, the experience of other countries has shown that we cannot afford to—lest these rights be so undermined that ultimately we lose them ourselves.

Negro Veteran: Test Case

The significance of this case goes far beyond the fate of the individuals involved. Cases of violence against Negroes have been increasing rapidly since the war ended and, almost always, it is Negro VETERANS who are attacked. These men fought for democracy and have come back expecting to share in it. The Klan-minded element, a tiny minority of the white population, is trying to throttle these just aspirations in the only way they know—with violence and murder. A new pattern of race relations is being worked out. It MUST NOT be the pattern launched at Columbia.

What You Can Do

You can help prevent that by letting the Governor of Tennessee know that you do not want state forces used as substitutes for a lynch mob. You can help by demanding that the federal government intervene to protect civil rights when they are violated by state and local officials. You can help by contributing money toward the defense of the brave men on trial at Columbia.

In doing so, you will help to offset the harm which the Columbia case has already done to peaceful relations between the races. You will be keeping faith with the Negro and white veterans who fought side by side for democracy and the rights of minorities. You will be keeping faith with the soldiers of all races, colors and creeds who died side by side for the same cause.

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How legislative inquisitions stifle integration and social progress

"My beliefs and my associations are none of the business of this committee."

file under
Good Sermon

CHRISTIANITY AND THE ECONOMIC ORDER

By Dr. E. A. Rauber

The discussion of "Christianity and the Economic Order" is a task of more than ordinary magnitude. Either half of the topic would alone be more than sufficient to consume many times over the amount of time at my disposal. To attempt a discussion of both of them, and of their relationship to each other would seem to be quite out of the question in any brief talk such as this one.

In view of this difficulty, whatever I shall say will necessarily be very sketchy and over-simplified. I do not tonight intend to discuss the manifold specific economic problems that plague the modern world, overlaying the discussion with a veneer of Christian moralisms. My reason for not doing so is that I believe that most specific problems are merely particular instances of a more general problem -- the fundamental relation between what may be called the Christian dynamic and the dynamic of our economic system. It is to this general problem that I would direct your attention.

By "dynamic," of course, I simply mean the central purpose or principle around which individual and social conduct is, or should be, organized. For example, in the first of these forum meetings Dr. Smart said that the real purpose of the textile industry is "to provide clothing for God's family." This statement would assume that the central purpose of industry is service -- that it exists primarily to satisfy the material wants of people. Whether or not this is so is a matter that will engage our attention in a moment.

A discussion of Christianity in relation to anything labors under one serious handicap from the very start -- the fact that Christianity means different things to different people. I am therefore under the obligation of stating just what I mean by Christianity, for what I have to say later on will be the logical outcome of my definition. If you, on the other hand, mean something different by the term "Christianity," then you will probably come to some very different conclusions about our economic system.

To me it seems to be profoundly important to find out just what Christianity is. The world today seems to be disintegrating in a welter of selfish strife before our eyes. Certainly, a civilization that claims to be Christian, even though in name only, but that nevertheless rends itself to pieces in one suicidal war after another; that possesses unheard-of productive power but which nevertheless frustrates its own productive possibilities by its countless internal struggles -- such a civilization certainly has serious reason to examine itself. If our Christian heritage yields such fruit, something is seriously wrong somewhere. It may be that Christianity itself is wrong; or it may be that we have misinterpreted it; or, it may also be that we refuse to apply our religion to the world in which we live.

What, then, is Christianity? I don't think we would make any mistake if we called Jesus the first Christian, and said that Christianity, in its origin is the substance of what Jesus taught and lived. If this be so, then Christianity would have to be considered as the religion OF Jesus -- that religion in which he himself believed.

Historically, however, as we all know, Christianity has become much more than this, if it has not actually become something quite different from it. It has, in effect, become a religion ABOUT Jesus.

I can think of nothing more disheartening than to read the history of theological controversy during the long centuries when Christian theologians were carrying on a running fight with the heretics -- heretics being the theologians who ultimately lost out in the fight. The mere mention of the names of some of these controversies is depressing -- the struggle with Gnosticism; the struggle between the proponents of the doctrine of homo-ousia with those of homoi-ousia -- whether Christ was of "one substance" with the father, or whether he was of "the same substance" as the father. Then there were the struggles over Arianism, Nestorianism, Appolonianism, Eutycheanism, Sabellianism, Docetism, Monophysitism, Pelagianism, etc., etc. The issues in these controversies were definitely abstract and rarefied. What was the relation of the pre-existing Son to the Father? Does the Holy Ghost proceed from the Father only or from the Father and the Son? Was the Holy Ghost merely the spirit of God at work in the hearts of men, or is he a separate person? Was Christ a part of God, or was he all of God, yet numerically distinct from the Father? If Christ was God, was his human shape merely an illusion, and his suffering an illusion too? If he was really a man, and also God, was he one person or two? If he was one person, did he have one nature or two natures? And if he had two natures in one person, did he have two wills or just one will? And so on and on.

These arguments, as you can see, were all arguments ABOUT Jesus, and the definitions that brought them to a close constituted a body of beliefs ABOUT Jesus, and this body of beliefs has come to be the substance of what we call the Christian Faith. It is frequently given as a matter of self-congratulation that Christian theology came through all these controversies without suffering corruption from the vagaries and extravagances of the heresies. To me, however, the mere fact that Christianity was ever debated in such terms at all, and that it took such pains to distinguish itself by hair-line definitions from competing thought systems, shows that it had already ceased to be the religion <u>of</u> Jesus and had become merely a religion <u>about</u> him. This type of speculative theology was foreign to Jesus and the intensely realistic Hebraic tradition from which Jesus sprang. It was of one piece, however, with the Greek philosophical tradition in its later phases. Jesus said that he came not to destroy the Law and the Prophets, but to fulfill them. He was the child of the synagogue. But Christianity, instead of being the fulfillment of the Hebraic tradition was subtlely converted into the fulfillment of Platonic and neo-platonic mysticism in the Greek tradition. Jesus was made to desert the synagogue for the Academy and the Porch.

We are thus left with two possible definitions of Christianity -- either it is the religion OF Jesus, Hebraic and realistic in spirit, or it is a body of beliefs ABOUT Jesus, Greek and speculative in spirit. It makes a great deal of difference which definition we hold. According to the first view, a Christian would be anyone whose life was motivated by the same purpose as that which Jesus expressed in his own life, regardless of whether the person formally claimed to be a Christian or not. When the disciples on one occasion found a man casting out devils, but who was not a formal follower of Jesus, they asked the Master if they should forbid him. Jesus told then not to forbid the man, for "<u>he that is not against us is for us.</u>" It is acts and purposes that

count; not formal professions of intellectual belief. Many other instances could be cited to illustrate the same point.

According to the second definition, however, a Christian is one who believes certain things about Jesus. In the first case, the test of Christianity is life — i.e., Jesus' purpose expressed in action. In the second case, however, the test is correctness of belief -- and this is a matter of thinking rather than of doing.

Because I do not find Jesus anywhere in the Gospel instructing his followers in theological abstractions, nor do I find him exacting from them any profession of belief in such systems, and because I do find him always calling men to a particular kind of life — action motivated by purpose — I feel compelled to think of Christianity as the continuity through history of Jesus' purpose, no matter where or by whom that purpose is lived out, and irrespective of what the person thinks or does not think about abstract theological propositions. "By their fruits ye shall know them."

What fruit indeed can theological speculation really be expected to yield? How differently, for example, would you act if you believed that Jesus was of "the same substance as the Father" instead of believing that he is "of one substance with the Father" as we say in the Creed? Would your conduct be different in any respect if you believed that the Holy Ghost proceeded only from the Father instead of from the Father and the Son?

The peculiarity of this kind of thinking is that it inhabits a world far removed from life; it deals with questions that, in the nature of the case, can find no verifiable answers in experience; it has no capacity for affecting human conduct; it can't be translated into life. And unless the word is made flesh so that it may dwell among us, it has no power to save and redeem.

If Christianity is the continuity of Jesus' purpose in history, we must ask ourselves: What is that purpose? On this point there can be no reasonable doubt. From the beginning of his ministry to its end the burden of Jesus' message was the coming of the Kingdom of God, or of Heaven. "I must preach the Kingdom of God to other cities," he says, "for therefore was I sent."

Where is this kingdom to be, and what is its nature? Here again I do not think there can be any reasonable doubt. It is to be an order of human society on this earth -- not a kingdom that is to be attained only in another world after we die. He taught us to pray for its coming on earth. "Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth" -- not a distant heaven. "Blessed are they which do hunger and thirst after righteousness, for they shall be filled." And the filling is not to be merely with spiritual satisfactions, for a little further Jesus says when speaking of the need for food and raiment: "Seek ye first the Kingdom of God and his righteousness and all these things shall be added unto you." In other words, build a human society around God's purpose and your economic problems will automatically be solved. That is what he is telling us.

What is the nature of the society that Jesus looked forward to as the goal of social development, and what is its organizing principle or dynamic? It is perfectly obvious, of course, that Jesus made no effort to describe the institutional framework of a Kingdom of God on earth. It is obvious, however,

that he was at great pains to describe the spirit that must motivate it, what I have called its "dynamic." That spirit, of course, is love — not love as a mere sentiment or emotion, but as a motive to action.

Love in any of its aspects is always a motive that transcends self. It is a motive that restrains one from trying to appropriate the world to his own individual use and rather causes him to spend himself on others. The love of God and the love of neighbor are the sum and substance of our religion -- on this "hangs all the law and the prophets."

And who is the neighbor whom we are enjoined to love as ourselves? The parable of the Good Samaritan makes it perfectly plain that the Christian concept of community cuts across all natural, religious, racial, and national lines. My neighbor is anyone who is in need. Love, then, is a ministration to the needs of others, whoever they may be. An economic system based upon Christian principles, therefore, would be one designed to satisfy the want for material goods of all those who need them. It would be organized to produce food and get it to everyone who is hungry; it would provide clothing for everyone in need of clothing; it would house the shelterless; it would bring the healing arts of medicine to all the sick, and education to all the uneducated, just because the need existed and for no ulterior reason. In such an economic system Dr. Smart's statement would then be perfectly correct -- the textile industry would exist for the sole purpose of providing clothing for God's family.

One look at the present economic system, however, is sufficient to show how far it is from being motivated by this Christian dynamic. I would like to call your attention to two news items appearing side by side in the New York Herald-Tribune for January 29:

> 400,000 suits reported held.
> Suit makers holding back sales
> to stores until OPA increases
> prices.
>
> Manufacturers say that they cannot move the suits to the retailers at a fair profit and that they will hold the suits until the OPA gives relief.
>
> 3 million shirts in warehouses.
> Lack of low-cost shirts is said
> to keep higher priced ones in
> storage.
>
> More than 3,000,000 men's shirts valued at retail at $10,000,000, are lying in manufacturers' warehouses all over the United States, with the producers unable to ship to a shirt-starved public without incurring penalties of many thousands of dollars.

What is wrong here? Here we have God's family in desperate need of suits and shirts; the suits and shirts have already been produced; but still God's family goes suitless and shirtless. Why? Prices are not right! It would be easy

to say that the trouble lies with a bungling OPA, and that if the market were only allowed to function freely that all would be well. This would be an easy answer -- too easy. The fundamental trouble is that these goods were not produced in the first place for the sake of the need that they would satisfy but rather for the sake of the price they would bring.

No businessman in our economic system goes into business primarily to make goods and to minister to the needs of his fellowman. He goes into business primarily to make money, although the making of goods may be incidental thereto. If more money can be made by producing more goods, well and good. If, on the other hand, more money can be made by producing fewer goods, production will certainly be restricted. No one would expect a businessman in his right mind to act otherwise. As a very famous teacher of mine once said: A businessman who tried to do business in terms of Christian principles would land in the bankruptcy court if he did not land in the insane asylum first. Our economic institutions almost seem designed to prevent one's behaving as a Christian should. The basis assumption of our economic system is that every individual will seek his own maximum economic advantage -- that he will seek to <u>get</u> as much as he can, and to <u>give</u> as little as possible.

We are so used to acting on such motives that we seldom consider their religious implications -- that is, we seldom consider the relation of Christianity to the economic order.

The late Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Temple, once explained the doctrine of Original Sin in terms that went something like this: A child, when born into the world, sees the world about him as a great circle of which he is the center. He begins to measure sizes and distances in terms of his own size and his own position. He thinks of himself, in other words, as the center of the physical world. Similarly, he comes to think of himself as the center of the moral world, although he really isn't, for God occupies that position. The way this comes about is simple. The individual begins to have experiences, some of which are pleasurable and some of which are painful. Those that are pleasurable he tends to call "good" and these he seeks to have repeated. Those that are painful he calls "bad" and these he seeks to fend off. "Good" and "evil" thus come to be defined in terms of the effects that experience produces on the individual. In order to repeat the pleasurable experiences and to ward off the unpleasant ones, it becomes necessary however, for the individual to reach out and try to manipulate and control the people and the things that constitute his environment. He must make them serve <u>his</u> purposes; he must treat them as though they existed chiefly for <u>his</u> benefit. Of course, when everyone attempts to act in this way, society becomes a battle-ground of conflicting individual purposes and interests. The social process tends to become a war of all against all.

This tendency of the individual to <u>use</u> the material world and especially other people for his own advantage, says the Archbishop, is the essence of Original Sin, and all particular sins are at bottom only expressions of this fundamental tendency. This sort of thing as you will immediately recognize, is precisely what we know as "economic behavior."

But in economics, of course, we don't call it sin. We have pleasanter names for it. The seeking of individual control over things and other people we call "private enterprise," or "economic individualism." The war of all against

all we call "competition." The unrestricted right to participate in the struggle for economic power we call "freedom." When one individual, or a small group, gets sufficient power to restrict the entry of others into that line of business, and so can manipulate prices to their own advantage, we call that "monopoly." To all the other sweating and struggling contestants monopoly appears to be an evil and Government may be asked to step in and do something about it. But the monopolist is not peculiarly wicked; he has only succeeded in doing what everyone else would do if he had the opportunity and ability.

It is something of a marvel that the public interest gets served as well as it does when the livelihood of all of us is placed at the mercy of the interplay of the lowest and most divisive of all human motives -- the aggrandizement of the self. Writing in 1776, Adam Smith, the founder of political economy, also marvelled that "as though guided by an invisible hand" the common welfare was apparently brought about as a by-product of the selfish pursuit of private gain. The world in 1776 however was much simpler than it is today, for the full potentialities of the economic system were as yet undisclosed. But even at that early date Adam Smith recognized the jeopardy in which the public interest stood when it was entrusted to the operation of such motives. "People in the same trade seldom meet together," he wrote, "even for merriment and diversion, but the conversation ends in a conspiracy against the public, or in some contrivance to raise prices." Or again, where he is writing of the employers of capital -- what he called "stock" --:

> "The interest of the dealers, however, in any particular branch of trade or manufacture, is always in some respects different from, and even opposite to, that of the public. To widen the market and to narrow the competition is always in the interest of the dealers. To widen the market may frequently be agreeable enough to the interest of the public; but to narrow the competition must always be against it, and can serve only to enable the dealers, by raising their profits above what they naturally would be, to levy, for their own benefit, an absurd tax upon the rest of their fellow citizens. (Any proposal coming from this group of men) must be carefully examined, not only with the most scrupulous, but with the most suspicious attention. It comes from an order of men, whose interest is never exactly the same with that of the public, who have generally an interest to deceive and even to oppress the public, and who accordingly have, upon many occasions, both deceived and oppressed it."

This, then, is the general nature of our economic order. The relation to it of the Kingdom that Jesus envisaged is one of complete contrast in motives, in methods, and in results. Whereas our economic order is motivated by selfishness, Jesus' Kingdom would be motivated by love. With us, commercial combat and monopolistic greed are made to replace conscious co-operation and mutual aid. Instead of treating our fellowman as ends in themselves, our economic order compels us to treat them as means to our own selfish ends. Instead of goods being distributed on a basis of human need, they are divided up on the basis of the relative power of individuals to exercise control over the things that we all need in common. The Kingdom of God and the economic order stand in complete opposition to each other.

We must, however, put our faith in one or the other. We can say, of course, that Christianity is a lot of silly utopianism anyhow and we can't be

expected to take it seriously. Or, we can treat it as a Creed -- a mere form of thought concerning things belonging to the world beyond and thus keep it out of any rude contact with the facts of life in this world. Or, finally, we can take it seriously and accept our obligation as followers of Jesus to do everything within our power to mold the economic order, and all human relationships, into a closer semblance of the Kingdom of God.

With regard to the outcome, however, no Christian can be in doubt. If there is a God, and if it is his purpose to create on this earth a human family bound together by the motive of love, then that purpose will inevitably be attained. The church should be the most powerful instrument in bringing it about. But if the church refuses this duty, it will still come about, albeit without the benefit of clergy. "The Kingdom will be taken from you and given to a nation bringing forth the fruits thereof."

Moreover, if our economic order and its institutions stand athwart God's purpose, as they most obviously do, they will inevitably be destroyed. In spite of all the political and economic nostrums that we may apply to the solution of our baffling economic problems, it can be said with the utmost certainty that we shall stumble from one catastrophe to another until we learn, like the prodigal son amid the husks of the pigsty, that only in the bosom of a family -- our Father's family -- can there be any real security and economic wellbeing.

From the desk of

FRED B. ROUTH

File Southern Conf. on Human Welfare

M's file

John Paul –

Thought you would be interested in this. I have marked a sentence on page 3 which might be useful in future defenses against the charge that SRC is successor to SCHW — so get the book!

Best

Fred

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SOUTHERN WELFARE HINDERED BY HISTORICAL CIRCUMSTANCES

A "Who's Who in Southern Liberalism" helped launch the Southern Conference for Human Welfare and shared the frequent headlines it commanded during its short lifetime. Upon its demise, the Conference barely warranted an obituary, and its elite guard had long since fled. But "human conduct may be judged not only by its results but also by its aims," writes Thomas A. Krueger in his new book, And Promises to Keep: The Southern Conference for Human Welfare, 1938-1948. The new volume, to be published on 10 May 1967, by Vanderbilt University Press (256 pages, $6.50), settles the historical account and puts many old ghosts to rest.

Hopeful spokesman for the South's rural and urban dispossessed, the Southern Conference came into being chiefly to bolster the New Deal. The world was just recovering from the depression and would shortly be plunged into war. Between the frying pan and the fire, the vast potential of the South cried out to be tapped. At stake were housing, agriculture, railroads, employment, education, civil rights (the poll tax and segregation were primary targets), natural resources, industry and, inevitably, political issues.

Conference participants represented all religious and all political convictions. Congressmen, youth as well as youth leaders, historians,

- continued -

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journalists, labor leaders, and social workers all rallied to the cause. For a while, it seemed that men and women of diverse persuasions could work together. The names of Joseph Gelders, Eleanor Roosevelt, Lister Hill, John L. Lewis, Claude Pepper, Paul Robeson, Rob Hall, W. T. Couch, Lillian Smith, James Dombrowski, Clark Foreman, Ellis Arnall, Mary McLeod Bethune, Earl Browder, and Henry Wallace often appear side by side, incongruously, on the pages of And Promises to Keep. Nearly every one of them deserted the ranks, sooner or later.

Chronic financial difficulties, internal power struggles, and ill-defined goals weakened the Southern Conference, but its foundations were largely undermined by the recurrent charge that it was "red." Professor Krueger maintains that the Southern Conference was not a Communist front. At least between 1935 and 1945, the American Communist Party did not constitute a clear and present danger to the Republic. On the contrary, the Conference was torn by its various constituent elements, each of which had "loyalties potentially in conflict with the Conference's declared purposes." No faction dominated. There was even a point at which the Conference descended "into the witless rhetoric of American jingoism" and turned somewhat toward the right. At least one leader accused of being a Communist by the House Committee on Un-American Activities was known as a red-baiter. "No amount of Congressional pettifoggery can turn peaceful propaganda in support of New Deal reform and Negro voter registration into subversive activities," writes Dr. Krueger. Nonetheless, the Conference purged its ranks several times. Trying to please everybody, it modified its stand on foreign affairs to the point of inanity. It tried to co-operate in winning the war and, later, to build the peace. It managed

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to climb uphill. Yet, it could not withstand the ultimate onslaught from the CIO, combined with the cold shoulder from former allies. From a peak of ten thousand members in 1946, with committees in several states, the Conference declined rapidly. The especially successful Washington Committee was the last to go. It went down fighting.

Communism was not really the issue. Professor Krueger's research substantiates that the inability to become a mass organization was largely to blame for the Conference's failure. Where it should have reached out for the workers, it dealt with labor leaders. It drew sustenance from the middle class when it meant to elevate the impoverished.

All that now remains of the Southern Conference is the Southern Conference Educational Fund which, in the declining years, was separated from the parent organization. The Fund is devoted entirely to civil rights and none too successfully, according to Krueger. Beyond that, rusty chains shackle the spirit of a Southern Conference that once boasted the flesh of a hardy pioneer. Many of its original arguments are today in common use but these often echo like empty platitudes. And "the closets with the white sheets and the long ropes" bear evidence of the South's continuing predicament.

An assistant professor of history at the University of Illinois in Champaign, Professor Krueger taught earlier at San Diego State College and at the University of Minnesota (where he received the doctorate in 1965). Two grants from the latter enabled him to complete the research for And Promises to Keep. Born in Missouri, Professor Krueger received the B. A. degree from Antioch College and the master's degree from the University of Wyoming.

# # #

5 April 1967

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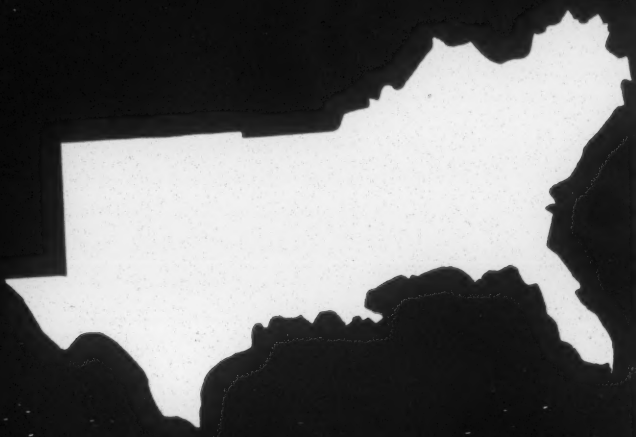

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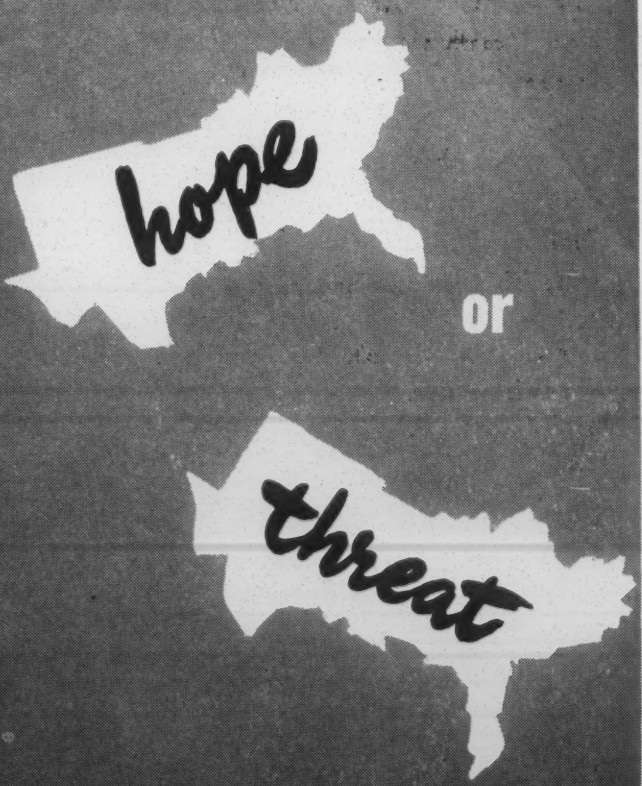

VA.

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MISS.

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TENN.

OKLA.

TEXAS

these 13 states are democracy in the balance.

Our greatest reservoir of human and natural resources—now cruelly misused, underdeveloped, and a danger to our entire economy.

In these states live 1/3 of our nation, many of them ill-fed, ill-housed, underpaid midst rich resources—needing the help of all Americans for the benefit of all America.

The South has our highest birthrate — our highest deathrate; the most children—the least to spend on education; rich farmlands—poverty stricken farmers; great mineral, timber, and waterpower resources—relatively little industry; a great democratic tradition and little democracy; some of our greatest citizens—some of our most dangerous demagogues.

Here is conflict—latent and developed. Much depends on you.

The Southern Conference for

origin —

In 1938 the President issued a report by a group of Southerners succinctly summarizing the economic plight of the South and describing the 13 southern states as "the Nation's Number One Economic Problem." Shortly thereafter 1500 Southerners organized the Southern Conference for Human Welfare to work for improvement in the social, economic and cultural conditions so startlingly revealed in the President's report.

work —

Since 1938 the Southern Conference has worked unceasingly with business, labor, farm, civic, church, and professional groups to mobilize the resources of the South for the benefit of the Nation in peace and in war.

The Southern Conference has worked for the abolition of the poll tax and other restrictions to freedom of the ballot, for abolition of railroad rate and other discriminations against Southern industry, for the protection of the rights of labor and racial and religious minorities, for the extension of Federal aid to farmers and education, for specific measures to help the development of the South.

Human Welfare

The work of the Southern Conference is carried on through the organization of interested citizens into local and state groups; through the publication of pamphlets, educational material, and a newspaper, The Southern Patriot; and in periodic conferences with leaders of Southern affairs.

support —

Hundreds of our most distinguished Americans support the work of the Southern Conference. These include government leaders, industrialists and small businessmen, leaders of major labor organizations, and church, farm, and professional leaders in and out of the South.

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★ *The Southern Conference for Human Welfare was organized in 1938 by about 1,500 Southerners as a response to the publication of the President's report on economic conditions in the South.*

★ *Seeks to unite for common action all persons of good will and progressive minds in and out of the labor movement, both white and colored, who are concerned with improving the social, economic, and cultural standards of the South.*

★ *Uses the methods of investigation, education, and legislation.*

★ *Has a program both constructive and practical.*

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Advocates:

1. Mobilizing every Southern resource, including total man-power for the winning of the war. Vigilance against home-grown forms of reaction and fascism.

2. Abolition of the poll tax and all other restrictions on the freedom of the ballot.

3. Abolition of railroad rate and all other discrimination against the South.

4. The right of labor to organize and the practice of collective bargaining as an expression of democracy in our economic life.

5. Abolition of all discrimination on account of race, creed, or color, at the ballot box, on the job, and before the courts of justice. A permanent Fair Employment Practice Committee to realize the basic democratic concept of equal economic opportunity for all.

6. Extension of Federal aid to Southern farmers—retention and strengthening of the Farm Security Administration, its rehabilitation program, tenant purchase, soil conservation, and cheap credit for the redemption of the tenant and sharecropper and to give the small farmer a better living.

7. Federal Aid to give equal educational opportunities to all.

8. A minimum American standard of living for all, through extensive Federal programs for public health, housing and Social Security.

Accomplishments:

1. Mobilized over 6,000 progressive Southern leaders to abolish the undemocratic poll tax.

2. Early in the present conflict cooperated in promoting a "Win-the-War" conference in Raleigh, N. C., with representative leaders from all Southern states.

3. In Mississippi cooperated with leading citizens to secure the signatures of 75 outstanding white citizens to a statement in support of the governor's efforts to bring mobsters to justice.

4. Initiated a statement signed by over 400 leading white citizens of Alabama protesting the attempt by reactionary forces to make political capital from an appeal to racial and religious prejudices.

5. Through press releases and special bulletins helped to educate the Southern electorate on important issues of a local, regional and national nature.

6. Publishes the *Southern Patriot*, a monthly magazine of news and opinion on Southern trends, with an average circulation of about 10,000 and with special editions up to 30,000.

7. Cooperated with church, civic, and labor groups to initiate campaigns to qualify their membership to vote.

8. Held three biennial All-Southern conferences (Birmingham 1938, Chattanooga 1940, Nashville 1942).

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PROGRAM

Dinner in honor of

JUSTICE HUGO BLACK

Statler Hotel, Washington

April 3, 1945

Hugo Lafayette Black

Born February 27, 1886, the last of eight children, to William Lafayette Black and Martha Ardella Toland Black. The father, a Confederate soldier at the age of 14, was a native of Alabama. The mother, a native of South Carolina, was brought to Alabama by her parents while a child. The Blacks settled in the hills of Clay County and there in a small cabin all the children were born. Before Hugo was old enough for school the family moved to Ashland, the county seat, where the father opened a general store.

Attended: public grade school and high school; one year in medical school; three years in the law school of the University of Alabama. Picked cotton, set type, wrote pieces for the paper to help make school expenses.

Practiced law in Ashland until a fire in the grocery below destroyed his office and his law library. Moved to Birmingham, taking his wealth, $9, and his experience, 21 years, with him. Found a desk in a lawyer's office and began the practice of law.

Eighteen years later in a speech in the town square at Ashland, he said:

> "It is true now, and I believe it will be true hereafter, that the humblest son of the humblest citizen, born in the humblest surroundings, can lift his eyes toward the star of hope. So may it ever be."

To his old neighbors, Black offered proof of this creed. He was a candidate for the United States Senate.

In the intervening years his law practice had grown and he had prospered. He had been elected municipal judge and prosecuting attorney. He had served two years in the army and had married a yeomanette, just out of the navy, Miss Josephine Foster, daughter of Dr. and Mrs. Sterling J. Foster, of Birmingham.

He was elected to the Senate, taking the seat of Oscar W. Underwood. Six years later, on his record as an independent legislator, he was re-elected. Near the end of his second term he was appointed to the U. S. Supreme Court, the first appointment to that court by President Roosevelt.

After a Senatorial battle comparable to those made against Louis D. Brandeis and Charles Evans Hughes, he was confirmed. Now, after seven years on the bench, the partisans of each of those great, but different, jurists, concede his right to rank with either of them.

". . . the humblest son of the humblest citizen . . . So may it ever be."

—*Lowell Mellett.*

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Benediction

Criticism

Savannah (Ga.) Morning News
Monday, June 22, 1959

The South Is Due an Apology

EVERY RESIDENT of the eleven Southern states from Virginia to Texas is due a personal apology from three organizations which united to publish a slanderous and prejudicial document purporting to show that there has been a general breakdown of law and order in the South in the past four years.

The 30-page booklet, entitled "Intimidation, Reprisal and Violence in the South's Racial Crisis" was published jointly by (1) Southeastern Office, American Friends Service Committee of High Point, N.C.; (2) Department of Racial and Cultural Relations, National Council of Churches of Christ in the United States of America, of New York City; and (3) the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta.

The purpose of the tract, obviously, was to amass a box score of real or alleged "incidents" from newspaper clippings, and to present the total listing largely out of context without benefit of any statistical comparisons on which it could be properly judged or evaluated, in an effort to prove that the South is fairly wallowing in race riots and anarchy.

FROM THE RESULTING conglomeration came a "news release" announcing widespread "erosion of individual liberties" in the eleven Southern states involved, attested to by a list of 530 specific cases of "violence, reprisal and intimidation" in the four-year period. The story made page 1 of New York papers last Monday. Editorials of condemnation followed. Declared the South-hating *Washington Post & Times Herald:* ". . . there is little hope for the South to shake off this trend toward violent eruptions until its own basic thinking about adherence to the law as defined by the courts is straightened out."

Thus, the three groups responsible for the publication have, for reasons best known to themselves, contrived through a misleading document to fan the fires of sectional animosity.

LET'S TAKE A LOOK at the report itself, which covers the period from Jan. 1, 1955 to Jan. 1, 1959, during which 530 specific cases of violence, intimidation or reprisal were cited. How many cases occurred in the four years from 1951 to 1955? This is not listed, but if twice as many occurred, it could be said that conditions in the eleven states are improving. More important, what would the box score show for the same period in eleven Eastern or Midwestern states, of any eleven chosen at random with the highest Negro-white ratios of population, if a similar count were made? Would the South show *more* cases—or would it show *less?*

Since no attempt was made to give such a comparison, the motive of the joint endeavor may be taken for granted—namely, to hold the South up to scorn and contempt.

DOES A TOTAL of 530 "incidents" in eleven states over a four-year period show a general breakdown of law and order? This would average out to about a dozen incidents per state per year.

Last year a congressional committee investigated more than 800 specific incidents of violence (*not including* intimidations and reprisals) during the same period of time in one labor dispute in Kohler, Wis. And this was by Walter Reuther's union—we don't even have to get into the statistics from the real bad boys such as Jimmy Hoffa. Does this indicate a widespread erosion of individual liberties in Wisconsin? And if so, why was this not included in the report?

On race incidents, what about Cicero, Ill., or Levittown, Pa., or Dearborn, Mich.? What about New York, Washington, Baltimore, Philadelphia and Chicago? The box score, had one been kept, of similar incidents, would have shown a greater number in New York or Chicago during the four-year period than the 530 total for eleven Southern states!

IN FACT, when we consider that the Southern states have the highest proportion of Negro population to white, we'll bet our last dollar that an honest survey would prove race relations in the South to be better and more amicable than any other area of the country where there is an appreciable Negro population.

The organizations responsible for this report have done an irresponsible thing that will not help the cause of better race relations in the South or elsewhere. Their report, itself, admits "this is not a comprehensive survey . . . It describes only their angry, violent side." We ask them—Why? We think the South is *due* an explanation.

Hold On, Senator

SEN. PAUL DOUGLAS of Illinois has leveled a broadside against retired military officers who accept positions with industry. He said that when firms seeking defense contracts "hire former officers of high rank to negotiate with their former fellow officers—some of whom they have promoted—the potential and actual

... highly controversial issues. But before we look at them, it will be useful to understand, if we can, the historical situation in which the issues have been posed.

Since the war which ended 15 years ago Franco-American relations have been based on a premise which was never openly avowed but has always been assumed both in Paris and in Washington. The premise has been that France, though it is counted among the victors, was in fact defeated, and that her colonial empire is in the process of dissolution, and that she is no longer a first class power. The chronic instability of the post-war governments in France, the budgetary and monetary disorders, supported this view.

LIPPMANN

Our government acquired a habit of not consulting France regularly and genuinely, and indeed of treating her with less intimacy and confidence not only than Great Britain but even West Germany. On two recent occasions which might have led to a war involving France—the landing in Lebanon and the affair at Quemoy—there was no full consultation with Paris.

* * *

THE ADVENT to power of Gen. de Gaulle was bound to mean, as it has meant, that France would not accept the lower position which she has occupied. She has been regarded not only as not so great a power as Russia and the United States, but not even as being in the second rank with Great Britain or even with Adenauer's Germany.

We must never forget that Gen. de Gaulle, to his everlasting honor, is the Frenchman who never surrendered and who never accepted defeat, and it is a kind of historic justice that he should be the man who now insists that France must not be treated as a defeated and inferior power.

In this context we may look at the issues. They were raised diplomatically last summer and then in a note addressed to President Eisenhower and Prime Minister Macmillan on Sept. 24, 1958. This note has never been published. But it is said to set up three French objectives.

* * *

ONE IS THAT NATO, which is now a regional pact, shall become a global alliance in which France, Britain, and America have the same policy and the same

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BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Criticism of Report

NEWS RELEASE

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia
June 23, 1959
JA. 2-8764

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Senator Herman Talmadge has reportedly attacked the Southern Regional Council, the American Friends Service Committee and the National Council of Churches for a recent joint report on "Intimidation, Reprisal and Violence in the South's Racial Crisis."

The Senator could not have read the report before making his charges. If he had, he would have found that each incident reported was taken from objective newspaper accounts and that arrests and convictions of offenders were also reported. Moreover, cases in which Negroes were the perpetrators of violence against whites were also included.

As the report itself states, these incidents are related by their common origin in the heightened racial tensions of the last five years. The publishing organizations have also reported frequently on positive developments during this period.

The Senator is grossly misinformed if he believes that these organizations engage in "racial agitation." Each of them is known for its temperate, responsible approach to race relations.

It is a great pity that Senator Talmadge is not more concerned about these critical problems of lawlessness, rather than unjustly attacking those who soberly point out the dangers.

- END -

Talmadge Hits Racial Strife Study

By ALBERT RILEY
Constitution Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Sen. Talmadge took the floor of the Senate Tuesday to denounce a report published last week on racial incidents in the South since 1954.

The Senator called the report "an irresponsible, unfounded, and slanderous attack upon the good name of the South."

He branded the three groups who published the report as "organizations dedicated to racial agitation."

ORGANIZATIONS NAMED

They are the American Friends Service Committee, of High Point, N.C., the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the United States of America, of New York City, and the Southern Regional Council, of an Auburn avenue address in Atlanta.

They joined in publishing a 30-page booklet titled "Intimidation, Reprisal, and Violence in the South's Racial Crisis."

Talmadge said the three agencies "sought by innuendo, distortion, association and half truths to conclude from a series of 530 unrelated 'incidents' spread over a four-year period that law, order and harmonious race relations no longer exist in the 11 states of the South."

CALLED ONE-SIDED

"This studied effort to indict a whole region of our nation is wholly one-sided and makes no pretense at comparison with other periods or regions, nor does it attempt to report on the manner in which these so-called 'incidents' have been dealt with under due process of law in the states and localities where they occurred," Talmadge declared.

"The hypocrisy which motivated this biased and inflammatory publication is unspeakable and deserves the condemnation of all fair-minded Americans regardless of their place of residence," the Senator added.

Talmadge inserted in the record editorials from The Augusta Herald and The Savannah Morning News attacking the report as a biased distortion of facts slanderous to the entire South.

ATTACK CALLED UNJUST

In Atlanta, the Southern Regional Council issued a statement expressing belief Talmadge had not read the report and calling his attack unjust.

The statement said, in part:

"The Senator could not have read the report before making his charges. If he had, he would have found that each incident reported was taken from objective newspaper accounts and that arrests and convictions of offenders were also reported. Moreover, cases in which Negroes were the perpetrators of violence against whites were also included.

HITS AT TALMADGE

"The Senator is grossly misinformed if he believes that these (sponsoring) organizations engage in 'racial agitation.' Each of them is known for its temperate, responsible approach to race relations.

"It is a great pity that Sen. Talmadge is not more concerned about these critical problems of lawlessness, rather than unjustly attacking those who soberly point out the dangers."

file
Radio Station
WSFM
Birmingham

February 23, 1962

Mr. Norman Jimerson
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 1224, Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Norm:

Paul Rilling thought that a carbon copy should go to President Stanford. Inasmuch as I do not know the relations between Birmingham Southern and the radio station, I think that would be inappropriate. However, there are several copies of the letter enclosed and you may use them as you wish.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mf
Enclosures - 4

February 23, 1962

Mr. Newton Minow
Chairman
Federal Communications Commission
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. Minow:

I believe that the enclosed copy of a letter to Radio Station WSFM in Birmingham, Alabama deals with a matter of interest to you.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mf
Enclosures - 2.

POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT
OFFICIAL BUSINESS

PENALTY FOR PRIVATE USE TO AVOID PAYMENT OF POSTAGE, $300

NEW HOPE FOR HEARTS
---SUPPORT---
THE HEART FUND

POSTMARK OF DELIVERING OFFICE

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RETURN TO

REGISTERED NO.	NAME OF SENDER Southern Regional Commi
CERTIFIED NO. 300645	STREET AND NO. OR P. O. BOX 5 Forsyth St, N.W. Rm. 201
INSURED NO.	CITY, ZONE AND STATE Atlanta, Ga.

POD Form 3811 Jan. 1958

C55—16—71548-4

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W. A. Fox

SIGNATURE OF ADDRESSEE'S AGENT, IF ANY

Nell Harper

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7/24/62	

C55—16—71548-4 GPO

No. 300645

RECEIPT FOR CERTIFIED MAIL—20¢

SENT TO
Radio Station W.SFM

STREET AND NO.
1100 - 8th Ave, West

CITY AND STATE
Birmingham, Alabama

POSTMARK OR DATE

ATLANTA, GA. MAIN OFFICE FEB 23 1962 USPO

If you want a return receipt, check which

[X] *10¢ shows to whom and when delivered*

[ ] *35¢ shows to whom, when, and address where delivered*

If you want restricted delivery, check here

[ ] *50¢ fee*

FEES ADDITIONAL TO 20¢ FEE

POD Form 3800
Dec. 1960

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(See other side)

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4. If you want a return receipt, write the certified-mail number and your name and address on a return receipt card, Form 3811, and attach it to the back of the article by means of the gummed ends. Endorse front of article RETURN RECEIPT REQUESTED.
5. If you want the article delivered only to the addressee, endorse it on the front DELIVER TO ADDRESSEE ONLY. Place the same endorsement in line 2 of the return receipt card.
6. Save this receipt and present it if you make inquiry.

16—71547-5 ☆ GPO

February 23, 1962

Radio Station WSFM
1100 - 8th Avenue, West
Birmingham, Alabama

Dear Sirs:

It is our understanding that on February 9, 1962 a station editorial dealt with Communist activities in the South. According to a recording of the editorial which we have, there was included the following statement:

> We've touched upon the Southeastern Conference of Human Welfare, Southeastern Conference Educational Fund, the Southern Regional Council, we showed how all of these organizations have similar same members of the board who are known communists.

Enclosed with this letter is a list of the Southern Regional Council's officers and members. These are distinguished Southerners whose devotion to the American Constitution and American ideals is unimpeachable.

I am sure you understand that a public allegation that persons are "known Communists" is, without proof,

libelous. We categorically deny that any member of the Southern Regional Council is a "known Communist," or identified with the Communist Party. I therefore request that you make an appropriate retraction of this statement insofar as the Southern Regional Council is concerned, and notify us when and in what terms the retraction will be made.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (Board List)
cc: Mr. Joseph F. Haas

bc: Newton Minow

bcc: Dr. Luther Foster
C. G. Gomillion
Dr. Arthur Gray
Duncan Hunter
Dr. H. C. Trenholm
Lucius Pitts
Norman Jimerson
Father Albert Foley
The Rev. Joseph Edwards

MARION A. WRIGHT, PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT
CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
HAROLD C. FLEMING, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
FREDERICK B. ROUTH, ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
JOHN HOPE II, CHIEF CONSULTANT
C. H. PARRISH, PROGRAM ASSOCIATE
MRS. M. E. TILLY
DIRECTOR OF WOMEN'S WORK
JOHN CONSTABLE, DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION
FLORENCE B. IRVING, RESEARCH ASSISTANT
EMORY F. VIA, LABOR CONSULTANT
PAUL ANTHONY, ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT
RUTH HOUSE ALEXANDER
SECRETARY-TREASURER

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date February 21, 1962

To: LWD From: PR

Subject:

Concerning the Birmingham radio tape, I suggest that we send the transcript over to Joe Haas and request that he write the owner of the station calling attention to the statement that there are known Communists on our board, suggesting that this is an error, requesting any information the station may have in support, and requesting a retraction in the absence of such evidence.

I agree that this is not a particularly strong broadcast, but I think we should never let a public Red smear go by without a response. I think, too, that even this kind of broadcast does considerable harm to the Birmingham Council in the present climate there. Jimerson advises that a copy of the letter might well go to the President of Birmingham Southern for his information. Birmingham Southern apparently has some relationship with the station.

Dr. Henry King Stanford

file - Defense materials - Attacks

This tape is from Birmingham, Alabama, and is being sent to you for your consideration.

WSFM series of editorials on informing our listeners about communistic activities - we'd like to qualify with a few statements. We're not extremists. No individuals are putting us up to this. We do not belong to any organizations. We're doing it on our own out of the great alarm of ourselves after considerable study in the subject as to the activity in and around the area. Again we would like to repeat: there is great concern of the communistic activity in the area. The greater concern - and we do mean the <u>greater</u> concern - is the apathy, ignorance, and general shrugging of the shoulders attitude of most Americans thinking and hoping that this might die out, and all along your apathy, my apathy laying the foundations for a tremendous amount of inroads of social unrest and agitation which the communists are seizing upon, particularly in the South. We've touched upon the Southeastern Conference of Human Welfare, Southeastern Conference Educational Fund, the Southern Regional Council, we showed how all of these organizations have similar same members of the board who are known communists. This doesn't mean that these organizations are not to some degree causing some good. They happen to be about the only organizations entering into the problems of trying to do something for a lot of people in a positive manner. However, the motive is underneath, the communists are the masters of deceit, and it's up to us to be informed about it , one, ~~two [too?]~~ two, most important for us to do something positively in our own way and through our American processes. We can..we have personally..

we can criticize City Hall, and they certainly do a botched up job down in Birmingham City Hall. However, it's easy to criticize; it's far more difficult to do something about it even if such poor leadership is exemplified.

Now the Alabama organ of the Southern Regional Council is the Alabama Council of Human Relations, offices in the Comer Building, Birmingham, Alabama. The Reverend Robert Hughes, Methodist minister formerly residing on 3209 Ridgely Drive, Cohaba /?/ Heights, was the Executive Director through 1960. The Southern Regional Council was represented at the Highlander Folk School seminar Labor Day weekend, August the 30th-September the 7th, 1957 at Monteagle, Tennessee, by Fred B. Routh. Mr. Routh bears the title of Assistant Director of the Southern Regional Council. Notorious communists, veteran communist fellow-travelers and Negro leaders in all the recent major incidents attending integration were present at the Highlander Folk School 25th anniversary on quote "The Human Aspects of the Integration Struggle." The Highlander Folk School at Monteagle, Tennessee, was organized around 1932 by Miles Horton and Don West. Paul Crouch, before his testimony of the Subcommittee on Un-American Activities.. Mr. Crouch said, "I would like to mention in this connection that the Highlander Folk School at Monteagle, Tennessee, was a school organized by Miles Howton and Don West and which James Dombrowsky shortly thereafter joined." Paul Crouch who gave the foregoing testimony concerning the Highlander Folk School was the top communist functionary in the South. His communist

record given to the Senate committee by Crouch himself attests his importance.

In the early period of the Highlander Folk School, a prominent, present Birmingham businessman was a member of its faculty. On August the 13th, 1938, Mr. John P. Fry, President of the Metal Trades Department of the AFofL testified before the Dies /?/ Committee on the Un-American Activities, and named Elizabeth Hall, this prominent Birmingham businessman that we just mentioned, and Miles Horton as persons who attended a secret convention in North Carolina, at which time plans were made for spreading the revolutionary theories throughout the South. Mr. Fry further testified in connection with this "I might mention that the Highlander Folk School at Monteagle, Tennessee, was mixed up in this secret convention in which three CIO organizations took a very prominent part."

We've offered over the years free copies of The Communist Menace, by J. Edgar Hoover. We'd like to offer it again to any of our listeners who have not received a copy. It's free for the asking; just call us at Fairfax 3-5291. We'll try to pass on any specific information of particular questions that you might have. If we have information about it we'll pass it on to you. We will not talk with you, however, unless you give us your name and address, and We must know who we're talking to. Call us at Fairfax 3-5291 for further information on this and if you'd like to receive The Communist Menace by J. Edgar Hoover. Now Again let us emphasize..we're just giving factual history. One of our listeners called up and asked us if we belong to the John Birch Society. We do not; we don't belong to any group or organization. We're concerned, -- want Americans to be concerned.

We continue with our morning programming, and the time is thirteen minutes until eight o'clock.

The preceding was recorded in the morning of Friday, 9 February, 1962.

On Friday, February 9, in the afternoon, it was learned by the Director of the Alabama Council on Human Relations that the officials and administration at Birmingham Southern had put a stop to the editorials. One of the members of the official Board at Birmingham Southern stated that any editorials were against the policy of Birmingham Southern. It is unknown the exact relationship between the radio station and Birmingham Southern, but there was sufficient relationship that the school could report there would be no editorial. On the following Monday it was learned that this man who spoke, who is the owner of the station, had stated that Birmingham Southern had stopped him but he would continue to make his exposes on his own. At this point it is quite uncertain as to how he proceeds to make his viewpoints known.

PA✓
MJ-file

308 Bibb Street
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama
March 1, 1962

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

Thank you for the copy of your letter of February 23 to Radio Station WSFM. It is good to be kept informed as to the opinion which the information media have of some of us, and it is kind of you to take the time to challenge some of the opinions.

Sincerely yours,

C. G. Gomillion

C. G. Gomillion
Chairman

CGG:mc

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OFFICIAL BUSINESS

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APR 28
1 30 AM
1962
ALA.

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REGISTERED NO.	NAME OF SENDER Southern Regional Council
CERTIFIED NO. 361557	STREET AND NO. OR P. O. BOX 5 Forsyth St. NW. Rm. 201
INSURED NO.	CITY, ZONE AND STATE Atlanta 3, Georgia

POD Form 3811 Jan. 1958

C55-16-71548-4

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James V. Melanson

SIGNATURE OF ADDRESSEE'S AGENT, IF ANY

Neil Harper

DATE DELIVERED	ADDRESS WHERE DELIVERED *(only if requested in item #1)*
4-27-62	

C55—16—71548-4 GPO

April 25, 1962

Mr. Newton Minow
Federal Communications Commission
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Minow:

The enclosures are in further reference to the matter which I brought to your attention in my letter of February 23, 1962.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosures

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W., ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

April 25, 1962

Mr. James V. Melonas
Radio Station WSFM
1100 - 8th Avenue, West
Birmingham 4, Alabama

Dear Mr. Melonas:

We have your letter of March 16, 1962 in reply to our letter of February 23, 1962.

You state that you have retracted the statement that there are "known Communists" on the board of the Southern Regional Council. You further say that you "have stated in continuing editorials that known Communist affiliation of the Southern Regional Council."

We assume that the statement quoted contains a typographical error, and that you intended to write that you have editorialized to the effect that the Southern Regional Council has no Communist affiliation. Will you please confirm our interpretation of this statement?

In addition to this confirmation, I believe all that is required to terminate this matter is that you furnish us with the text of your retraction, and the date at which it was made.

I am not clear as to what information you want or require regarding the persons listed on the enclosure with your letter as having been associated with both the Southern Regional Council and the

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W., ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

Southern Conference for Human Welfare. I shall be glad to furnish you any information I can, that you ask for, regarding the history, organization, or members of the Council.

Finally, may I say that I find startling your implied acceptance of the Daily Worker as an authoritative source of information. Regarding James Jackson, the fact is he has never had any affiliation with the Southern Regional Council and did not participate in its organization. I call your attention to the enclosed editorial of August 21, 1958 from the Richmond Times-Dispatch.

We await your early reply to the points raised in the third and fourth paragraphs of this letter.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosures - 3.

cc: Mr. Joseph F. Haas
Mr. Newton Minow

bcc: Dr. Luther Foster
Mr. G. G. Gomillion
Dr. Arthur Gray
Rev. Duncan Hunter
Dr. H. C. Trenholm
Mr. Lucius Pitts
Mr. Norman Jimerson

93.7 MEGACYCLES
QUALITY
AUDIO
EQUIPMENT
SOUND ROOM
STUDIO TRANSMITTER
BUSINESS OFFICE
Room 14 - Conservatory of Music
Birmingham Southern College
1100 8th Avenue, West
BIRMINGHAM 4, ALABAMA

March 16, 1962

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Our sincere apologies for not answering your correspondence sooner. We fully intended to answer immediately however we have been extremely busy with the technical development and approval of our stereophonic transmission.

We have formerly stated that there are "known communists" on the board of the Southern Regional Council. We have retracted this statement and have stated in continuing editorials that known Communist affiliation of the Southern Regional Council.

The enclosed list of similar members who were on previous organizations boards that have been declared subversive is a point of serious question. On Page 6 of the Daily Worker of December 1, 1954 it states this about James Jackson: "he participated in the formation and building of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, the Southern Regional Council and many other movements...."

We sincerely are continuing our editorial policies. If our statements are unfounded and without documentation please write us again as I am sure you will.

Sincerely,

James V. Melonas

James V. Melonas

OFFICERS & DIRECTORS OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL ASSOCIATED WITH SCHW AND/OR SCEF

NAME	SOU.CONF.FOR HUMAN WELFARE	SOU.CONF. EDUCATIONAL FUND, INC.	SOU.REGIONAL COUNCIL
Albert W. Dent	Director	Director	V.Pres.Director
Rufus E. Clement	"	"	Chm.Exec.Com.
Marion A. Wright	"	"	Vfce Pres.
Horace M. Bond 44-45	"	---	Director
Dr.Charlotte H.Brown 44-53	"	Director	"
Louis E. Burnham 45-49	---	"	"
Clark Foreman 44-49	Past President	"	"
Chas. S. Johnson 44-56	Director	"	"
J.R.E. Lee	"	---	"
Benjamin E. Mays	"	Director	"
F. D. Patterson 44-53	"	"	"
Mrs. M. E. Tilly 44-46	"	"	"
Rufus B. Atwood 45-58	"	"	"
John M. Ellison 48-54	"	"	"
H.C. Trenholm	"	---	"
Miss Josephine Wilkins	"	---	"
E. C. Peters 56-59	"	Director	"
C.G. Gomillion	"	"	"
Paul R. Christopher	"	---	"
Aubrey Williams 45-50	Past President	Past.Pres.&Director	"

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE

Division of the Social Sciences

April 27, 1962

TA ✓
MS

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Thank you for the copy of your letter to Mr. Melonas and for the copy of his letter to you which prompted your reply. It is kind of you to keep us in Alabama informed as to the behavior of persons in charge of the communication media in Alabama. As a result of your efforts we are kept in a better position to anticipate what might be the reactions of certain Alabamians to our behavior.

Best wishes for continued success in your work.

Sincerely yours,

C. G. Gomillion

C. G. Gomillion
Chairman

CGG:mc

Tuskegee Institute

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE
ALABAMA

OFFICE OF
THE PRESIDENT

April 28, 1962

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I appreciate your sending me a copy of your letter to Mr. James V. Melonas and his letter to you. I concur in the stand that you have taken.

Kind regards.

Sincerely yours,

L. H. Foster
President

LHF:p

FEDERAL COMMUNICATIONS COMMISSION

WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

May10, 1962

ADDRESS ALL COMMUNICATIONS
TO THE SECRETARY

IN REPLY REFER TO:
8429
300345
500276

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

This is with reference to your letters of February 23 and April 25, 1962, addressed to the Chairman, concerning an alleged objectionable statement made in an editorial broadcast by Station WSFM, Birmingham, Alabama.

It is noted in your letter of April 25, 1962, to Mr. James V. Melonas of Radio Station WSFM, that the station has retracted the objectionable statement. In view of the above, further Commission inquiry into this matter does not appear to be warranted.

Very truly yours,

Ben F. Waple

Ben F. Waple
Acting Secretary

File: Correspondence Birmingham

May 14, 1962

Mr. Ben F. Waple
Acting Secretary
Federal Communications Commission
Washington 25, D. C.

Re: 8429
300345
500276

Dear Mr. Waple:

Your letter of May 10 is not easily understandable. My letter of April 25 does not say that Station ESFM "has retracted the objectionable statement." We said that WSFM had stated that it had retracted, and the purpose of our letter was to ask for the text and the date of the retraction. We have had no reply.

Is it true that the Federal Communications Commission would regard the statements made in the editorial of February 9, 1962 by Station WSFM, and quoted in our letter of February 23, 1962, as "allegedly" objectionable?

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
cc: Mr. Newton Minow

PA
MS

FEDERAL COMMUNICATIONS COMMISSION
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

May 24, 1962

ADDRESS ALL COMMUNICATIONS
TO THE SECRETARY

IN REPLY REFER TO:

8421
500701

RECEIVED
MAY 28 1962

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 5, Georgia

Dear Sir:

This is with reference to your letter of May 14, 1962, commenting on our letter of May 10, 1962. Specifically, you refer to your letter of April 25 and you point out that Station WSFM, Birmingham, Alabama, had stated that the objectionable statement had been retracted. In addition, you indicated that the purpose of your letter to the station was to procure a copy of the text of the retraction and the date that it was made.

We regret that there has been some misunderstanding regarding this matter. It was assumed that the retraction had been made and that the station would forward the details of the retraction to you.

Since you have informed us that the station has not communicated with you, we are requesting the station to submit a statement regarding this matter to the Commission. Upon receipt of the station's response, we shall communicate with you further.

Very truly yours,

Ben F. Waple

Ben F. Waple
Acting Secretary

WSFM
South's Finest Music

93.7 MEGACYCLES
QUALITY
AUDIO
EQUIPMENT
SOUND ROOM
STUDIO TRANSMITTER

BUSINESS OFFICE
Room 14 - Conservatory of Music
Birmingham Southern College
1100 8th Avenue, West
BIRMINGHAM 4, ALABAMA

June 17, 1962

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

On March 2, 1962 at 8:10 AM WSFM stated "That no known Communists were in the Southern Regional Council, however due to many of the members of the Board of the Southern Regional Council having past affiliations with the subversive Southeastern Conference for Human Welfare and the Southeastern Conference Educational Fund, we felt that Communistic affiliation was a continuing thing." Can you please give us a thorough history on each of your Board Members etc. to prove that such leanings or affiliations are not true.

The objectives of the past two ORGANIZATIONS and the present Southern Regional Council seem to be similar.

Sincerely,

James V. Melonas

James V. Melonas

cc/ Newton M. Minow
J.Edgar Hoover

Morgan Stanford
Emory Daniel - JA3-2525
~~JA2-2642~~

RECEIVED
JUN 26 1962

July 13, 1962

Mr. James V. Melonas
Radio Station WSFM
1100 - 8th Avenue, West
Birmingham 4, Alabama

Dear Mr. Melonas:

We have your letter of June 17, 1962, in reference to our letters of February 23, 1962 and April 25, 1962.

(1) You state that on March 2, 1962 at 8:10 a.m., your station retracted its broadcast statement of February 9, 1962 (see our letter of February 23, 1962), regarding the Southern Regional Council, in the following manner:

> "That no known Communists were in the Southern Regional Council, however due to many of the members of the Board of the Southern Regional Council having past affiliations with the subversive Southeastern Conference for Human Welfare and the Southeastern Conference Educational Fund, we felt that communistic affiliation was a continuing thing."

(2) You ask for "a thorough history on each of your Board Members."

(3) You state that the objectives of the "past two organizations" and the Council "seem to be similar."

As to (1) your retraction of March 2, 1962 contained not only errors of fact, but by inference re-accuses the Council on the basis of alleged association of its members. We, therefore, cannot accept it as an adequate retraction.

What we request is very simple. It is that you make a statement over WSFM in substantially the following form:

> "On February 9, 1962 this station editorially said that there were known Communists on the board of the Southern Regional Council. On March 2, 1962 we modified and partially retracted this statement. At the same time, we implied that past associations of some members of the Council cast doubt on their loyalty. We wish to say now that we have no basis in fact for stating or implying that any member of the Southern Regional Council is a communist, or in any way disloyal to the United States or its government. We, therefore, apologize for any contrary impressions given to anyone by our statements of February 9 and March 2, 1962."

When a statement such as the above is made and shown to us, we shall regard this matter as closed.

Our public reputatiam is of great concern to us. We do not ask you to agree with our views, our policies, or our programs. We do ask, and insist, that in disagreeing with us you not impugn our loyalty. How serious this is and can be was emphasized by the recent decision in the New York Supreme Court in the Faulk case.

As to (2), we are enclosing for your information another copy of our roster of members and officers. Certainly there is no reason for us, simply because you are misinformed, to take on the burdensome and wholly uncalled-for task of supplying a "thorough history" of each of these persons. I refer you again to our categorical denial in our letter of February 23, 1962.

As to (3), we enclose for your information a copy each of our statement of policy and aims (The South of the Future) which, though adopted in 1951, has been within the past year reviewed by the Council and allowed to stand unchanged as representing our beliefs and program goals; and a short description of the Council and its history.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosures: The South of the Future, L-1, Bd. List

cc: Mr. Joseph Haas
Mr. Newton Minow } Same enclosures
Mr. Ben F. Waple

bc: Dr. Luther H. Foster
Mr. C. G. Gomillion
Dr. Arthur Gray
Rev. Duncan Hunter
Dr. H. C. Trenholm
Mr. Lucius Pitts
Mr. Norman Jimerson

No. 854257

RECEIPT FOR CERTIFIED MAIL—20¢

SENT TO

Mr. JAMES V. MELONAS

STREET AND NO.

1100 8th Avenue, West

CITY AND STATE

Birmingham 4, Alabama

POSTMARK OR DATE

U.S. POST OFFICE ATLANTA, GA. JUL 23 1962

If you want a return receipt, check which

☒ *10¢ shows to whom and when delivered*

☐ *35¢ shows to whom, when, and address where delivered*

If you want restricted delivery, check here

☐ *50¢ fee*

FEES ADDITIONAL TO 20¢ FEE

POD Form 3800
Dec. 1960

CAUTION—NOT FOR INTERNATIONAL MAIL

(See other side)

#1-INSTRUCTIONS TO DELIVERING EMPLOYEE

☐ Deliver *ONLY* to addressee

☐ Show address where delivered

(Additional charges required for these services)

RETURN RECEIPT

Received the numbered article described on other side.

SIGNATURE OR NAME OF ADDRESSEE *(must always be filled in)*

James V. Melanson

SIGNATURE OF ADDRESSEE'S AGENT, IF ANY

Nell Harper

DATE DELIVERED	ADDRESS WHERE DELIVERED *(only if requested in item #1)*
7-17-62	

1965 AUG 9 AM 10 VINCEN

C33—16—71548-4 GPO

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

BIRMINGHAM
JUL 17
6 AM
1962
ALA.

POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT
OFFICIAL BUSINESS

FIGHT TB
SUPPORT YOUR
TB ASSOCIATION

PENALTY FOR PRIVATE USE TO AVOID
PAYMENT OF POSTAGE, $300

POSTMARK OF
DELIVERING OFFICE

INSTRUCTIONS: Fill in items below and complete #1 on other side, when applicable. Moisten gummed ends and attach to back of article. Print on front of article RETURN RECEIPT REQUESTED.

RETURN TO

REGISTERED NO.	NAME OF SENDER Southern Regional Council
CERTIFIED NO. 854702	STREET AND NO. OR P. O. BOX 5 Forsyth St., Room 201
INSURED NO.	CITY, ZONE AND STATE Atlanta 3, Georgia

POD Form 3811 Jan. 1958

C55—16—71548-4

RECEIVED
JUL 19 1962

308 Bibb Street
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama
July 18, 1962

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

Thank you for the copy of your letter to Mr. James V. Melonas. It is very kind of you to persist in your efforts to secure an appropriate retraction of the statement broadcasted over Radio Station WSFM.

Sincerely yours,

C. G. Gomillion

C. G. Gomillion

CGG:mc

#1-INSTRUCTIONS TO DELIVERING EMPLOYEE

● Deliver *ONLY* to addressee

☐ Show address where delivered

(Additional charges required for these services)

RETURN RECEIPT

Received the numbered article described on other side.

SIGNATURE OR NAME OF ADDRESSEE *(must always be filled in)*

Southern Regional Council Room 201
5 Forsyth St. Atlanta, Georgia

SIGNATURE OF ADDRESSEE'S AGENT, IF ANY

Joe Tucker James Melonas

DATE DELIVERED	ADDRESS WHERE DELIVERED *(only if requested in item #1)*
7/28/62	Mrs George Green

C55—16—71548-4 GPO

POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT
OFFICIAL BUSINESS

PENALTY FOR PRIVATE USE TO AVOID PAYMENT OF POSTAGE, $300

POSTMARK OF DELIVERING OFFICE

INSTRUCTIONS: Fill in items below and complete #1 on other side, when applicable. Moisten gummed ends and attach to back of article. Print on front of article RETURN RECEIPT REQUESTED.

RETURN TO

REGISTERED NO.	NAME OF SENDER Southern Regional Council
CERTIFIED NO.	STREET AND NO. OR P. O. BOX 5 Forsyth St. Room 201
INSURED NO.	CITY, ZONE AND STATE Atlanta 3, Georgia

POD Form 3811 Jan. 1958

55—16—71548-4

RADIO STATION
WSFM
Birmingham 4, Alabama

COPY

July 17,1962

Mr. Ben F. Waple
Federal Communications Commission
Washington 25, D.C.

RE: 8429, 600930

Dear Mr. Waple:

We would be more than happy to offer equal time to the Southern Regional Council over WSFM facility.

However there is a third party that has entered into this matter.

Birmingham Southern College on whose campus we are located has allowed editorials for over two years over WSFM. However the editorial in question with the Southern Regional Council and three others dealing with local political incompetency, lack of southern social justice in our social problems and inference that organizations are agitating the whole social picture, brought a great pressure to bear from Birmingham Southern College. They asked me to temporarily discontinue editorials until the College Board Action could be taken in the matter. The Commission will find a copy of our correspondence in our file addressed to the president of the College on May 12, 1962. Since then Birmingham Southern College has asked us to discontinue editorials and to please move from its campus and until we move not to further editorialize.

Our editorial department has been temporarily stopped until we locate in our new facilities, until then the fairness doctrine will have to wait. Our move will take place sometime this fall. Be it understood that a retraction cannot be made until our move.
Sincerely,

James V. Melonas

cc/Mr. Leslie Dunbar (Southern Regional Council)

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STUDIO TRANSMITTER

BUSINESS OFFICE
Room 14 - Conservatory of Music
Birmingham Southern College
1100 8th Avenue, West
BIRMINGHAM 4, ALABAMA

July 25, 1962

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regionazl Council
5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

In accordance with the FCC "fairness" doctrine we give the Southern Regional Council immediate time in which to give its side of our editorial presentation.

This presentation lasted approximately 90 seconds. We will give the Southern Regional Council two to three minutes in its editorial or statement. If you would like to tape this please tape it at 7½ i.p.s. full track and we will play it on the air in comparable time and verify its playing through a notary.

We hope that this will meet with your approval.

Sincerely,

James V. Melonas

James V. Melonas
President
Melonas Broadcasting Company, Inc.

Ben

~~Rebuttal~~ Jan w/ Wm

Character Qualifications + as far as he is required to go under FCC Act Rules + Regulations

Appears to be a good faith effort

Mr Ed J Brown
Chief Renewal
+ Broad
FCC
new Post Office
Bldg

Sec. 315 & 321

July 26, 1962

Mr. James V. Melonas
Radio Station WSFM
1100 - 8th Avenue, West
Birmingham 4, Alabama

Dear Mr. Melonas:

This will acknowledge receipt of a copy of your letter to Mr. Waple of July 17, 1962. We assume that this was written before receipt of our letter of July 13. In it we stated that we wanted a simple retraction and indicated what it should include. We reiterate that request.

In your letter to Mr. Waple you stated that a third party had entered into the matter. Such is not our concern. It is our understanding that WSFM is licensed to operate and control the radio station and that it is responsible for the editorial policy and not someone from whom premises are leased. We cannot believe that Birmingham Southern would or could have objection to your correcting a libelous comment already made.

We insist upon immediate retraction. This matter has been delayed far too long.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
cc: Mr. Joseph Haas - w/copy of Melonas' ltr of 7/17/62
Mr. Newton Minow
Mr. Ben F. Waple
Mr. C. G. Gomillion
Dr. Arthur Gray
Rev. Duncan Hunter
Dr. H. C. Trenholm
Mr. Lucius Pitts

bc: Dr. Luther H. Foster
Mr. Norman Jimerson

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BUSINESS OFFICE
Room 14 - Conservatory of Music
Birmingham Southern College
1100 8th Avenue, West
BIRMINGHAM 4, ALABAMA

August 12, 1962

RECEIVED
AUG 14 1962

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

In our letter of June 17, 1962 we requested that you "give us a thorough history on each of your Board Members, to prove that such leanings or (communist) affiliations are not true." The issue in question is that some of your Board Members have been and are members of the declared subversive Southeastern Conference for Human Welfare and the Southeastern Conference Educational Fund.

Your present Vice Presidents Mr. Rufus E. Clement, Albert W. Dent, Marion A. Wright, and Miss Josephine Wilkins were all past directors with the SCHW and the SCEF.

Out of 141 members of the National Citizens Political Action Committee, 83% have records of affiliation with Communist and Communist front organizations. Mrs. M.E. Tilly appears on this roster of names and also appears on the SCHW, SCEF, and as a director on the Southern Regional Council.

The context of our complete editorial policy states briefly that we abhor some of the South's political incompetency. We desire as much as anyone social justice and an uplifting of our fellow man. If we as Americans do not resolve our own social problems, the Communists, and Communist front organizations will eat away at our foundations. At least on the surface we basically agree to the problems of the South and its objective goals. This is one thing. Motivation by subversion is another. We don't openly intend to impugn your loyalty. However the facts point in another direction in relationship to your directors and their affiliations.

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Birmingham Southern College
1100 8th Avenue, West
BIRMINGHAM 4, ALABAMA

Unless you supply further proof about your directors we cannot honestly retract our statement about the Southern Regional Council.

Again we would like to offer you equal time to state your case in an editorial either by visiting us in person or send a tape editorial as we suggested in our letter of July 25, 1962.

Social equality is not synonymous with Social Justice, and neither one take precedence over basic individual freedom. Basic freedom does not force its will upon another human, individually nor as a group. Is this the record of the Southern Regional Council? Or is Martin Luther King, one of your directors, forcing issues in Albany at present?

Sincerely,

James V. Melonas

James V. Melonas
President
Melonas Broadcasting Company, Inc.

cc/ Newton M. Minow
J. Edgar Hoover

October 4, 1962

Mr. James V. Melonas
WSFM Radio Station
Birmingham, Alabama

Dear Sir:

I have your letter of September 22 informing us that you are to play our tape at 6:00 p.m. on September 23, 1962. The final three paragraphs of your letter seem to indicate that the letter, despite its date, is in fact a report of what you did do on September 23.

We call your attention to your letter of July 25, 1962 and the statement therein that "we will play it on the air in comparable time and verify its playing through a notary."

We call your attention also to our letter of September 16, 1962 in which we require a notarized statement verifying the broadcast.

We ask that you forward this notarized verification at once.

Very truly yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar

LWD:A
CC: Minow
Waple
Haas
BCC: Foster, Gomillian, Gray, Hunter, Trenholm, Pitts, Jimerson

RADIO STATION
WSFM
Birmingham 4, Alabama

October 8 1962

IN ACCOUNT WITH
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta 3, Georgia

For the Month of: Sept. 23, 1962

TERMS: Net — Payable 10th of Each Month

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14

15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28
								X 6:05PM					

29	30	31

	Announcements	@	$
	Announcements	@	$
1	Programs "Equal Time" Editorial	@	$
	Programs	@	$
	Talent	@	$
	Wire Charges		$
	Service Charges		$
			$
	Amount Brought Forward		$
	Total		$ NC

STATE OF
COUNTY OF } ss:

AFFIDAVIT OF SERVICE RENDERED

The Undersigned, having been duly sworn, deposes and says that Broadcasting Service has been rendered by the above Radio Station in accordance with the above statement:

By James D. Nelan

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 8 day of October, 1962

Kelly D. Freitas
Notary Public

My Commission Expires: 1966

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STUDIO TRANSMITTER

BUSINESS OFFICE
Room 14 - Conservatory of Music
Birmingham Southern College
1100 8th Avenue, West
BIRMINGHAM 4, ALABAMA

Saturday, September 22, 1962
11:00 AM

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar .
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Thank you for your tape and your letter.

We plan to play Sunday night at 6 PM at peak time, September 23, 1962.

If you don 't have the opportunity to have any of your men to record the tape you sent us, we played your tape and also asked our audience why you have refused to answer questions in our correspondence to you. We read our letter to you dated August 12, 1962 and asked the question, "If WSFM is misinformed why does the Southern Regional Council neglect to answer our direct questions?"

I personally might add I do not like "pious platitudes" and "double talk" nonsense as you stated in your editorial. You people seem to be good and making things sound good publicly, But may I ask what is your record? Quiet sensible talk about the South's problems? Or is it forcing issues as I stated in my letter to you of August 12, 1962. I believe that you nor your organization is mature, sensible enought to discuss the plain facts about your organization in the open. This is evidenced in your attempt to cover the truth in your tape.

Since I countered your tape please answer the direct questions asked in our letter of August 12, 1962. Please answer them direct and fully with absolutely no tripe conversation. Thank you.

Sincerely,

James V. Melonas

James V. Melonas

cc/ Newton Minow
J. Edgar Hoover

bcc: Dr. Luther H. Foster w/copy of statement
Mr. C. G. Gomillion
Dr. Arthur Gray
Rev. Duncan Hunter
Dr. H. C. Trenholm
Mr. Lucius Pitts
Mr. Norman Jimerson

September 17, 1962

Mr. James V. Melonas
Station WEPM
Birmingham, Alabama

Dear Mr. Melonas:

In accordance with your letter of July 25, 1962 we are forwarding enclosed a taped statement, in reply to your comments about the Council on February 9, 1962 and March 2, 1962. As specified by you, this is 7½ i.p.s. full track.

Our statement was timed at 3 minutes, 25 seconds. This exceeds slightly the time agreed to by your letter of July 25. We think you were incorrect in computing the "equal time" and we insist that you use the enclosed statement in full. In your February 9 broadcast you devoted far more than your indicated "90 seconds" to the Council, to its affiliated Alabama Council on Human Relations, and to our former Assistant Director, Mr. Fred B. Routh. You returned to the subject again on March 2.

We shall consider this incident closed when and if:

a. You notify us at least 24 hours in advance when our statement will be broadcast;

b. You broadcast the statement at the same time of the day, or an equally good time, as your editorial of February 9, 1962;

c. You furnish us a notarized statement verifying the broadcast.

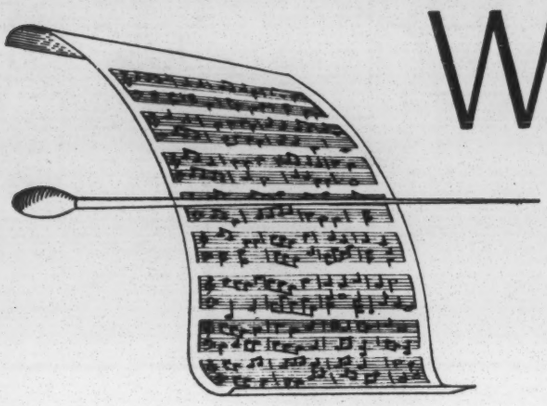
Finally, I would like to make clear that if the broadcast of this statement is preceded or followed by any editorial comment from your station, we shall claim the right to equal time to answer that.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar

LWD:A
CC: Mr. Newton Minow
Mr. Ben F. Waple
Mr. Joseph F. Haas

Douglas C. R.



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STUDIO TRANSMITTER

BUSINESS OFFICE
Room 14 - Conservatory of Music
Birmingham Southern College
1100 8th Avenue, West
BIRMINGHAM 4, ALABAMA

July 25, 1962

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regionazl Council
5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

In accordance with the FCC "fairness" doctrine we give the Southern Regional Council immediate time in which to give its side of our editorial presentation.

This presentation lasted approximately 90 seconds. We will give the Southern Regional Council two to three minutes in its editorial or statement. If you would like to tape this please tape it at 7½ i.p.s. full track and we will play it on the air in comparable time and verify its playing through a notary.

We hope that this will meet with your approval.

Sincerely,

James V. Melonas

James V. Melonas
Prewident
Melonas Broadcasting Company, Inc.

10 extra
CC's James V. Melonas, Station WSGM
Melonas Birmingham, Ala.

1st. Class
Certified mail
enclose tape but
not
statement

Dear Mr. ~~Melmar~~,

In accordance with your letter of July 25, 1962 we are ~~xxx~~ forwarding enclosed a taped statement, in reply to your comments about the Council on February 9, 1962 and March 2, 1962. As specified by you, this is 7½ i.p.s. full track.

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b. You broadcast the statement at the same time of the day, or an equally good time, as your editorial of February 9, 1962;

c. You furnish us a notarized statement verifying the broadcast. ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~

Finally, I would like to make clear that if the broadcast of this statement is preceded or followed by any editorial comment from your station, we shall claim the right to equal time to answer that.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar

3 CC: Mr. Newton Minow
Mr. Ben F. Waple
Mr. Joseph F. ~~Hear~~ Haas

7 bcc: Foster, Gomillian, Gray, Hunter, Trenholm, Pitts, Jimerson

enclose Copy of statement.

I am Leslie W. Dunbar, and I am executive director of the Southern Regional Council, with offices in Atlanta.

On February 9, 1962, an editorial broadcast over this station stated that members of the Southern Regional Council are "known communists." This is categorically untrue.

On March 2, 1962, a WSFM editorial said "no known communists were in the Southern Regional Council"; the speaker added, however, that he "felt that communistic affiliation was a continuing thing" in the Council. This also is categorically false.

There is no need to defend the distinguished and patriotic men and women who comprise the Southern Regional Council. Nor shall I use this time to attack the misinformation and irresponsibility of this libel on ~~respectable~~ fine Southerners.

Rather let us deplore the ignorance or fear which inspires such slander of thoughtful and decent people. The South --and our country--are crippled and endangered by mindless or calculated punishment of free throught and free speech, and by the frequent insults flung against those who speak against or differ from social inertia and tradition.

The Southern Regional Council believes ~~in~~ freedom of ~~thought and speech, and individual, and group, expression free of such angry punishment.~~ We believe that our American Constitution guarantees the right of the wise, the stupid, the reckless, the cautious, the conservative, and even the radical, to speak his opinions; and that this right, freely and jealously exercised, creates a climate of social and political vigor ~~by~~ in which our country has grown and advanced to world leadership. We believe this liberty is essential to progress and to the creative solution of the present crisis in the South. We believe that without calm, rational discussion the South cannot and will not vanquish its problems. And we know that if men respond to calm argument with angry punishment with smears and inuendo, there will be little chance to keep the cool temper and clear heads the South must have.

We believe that we are obligated, as citizens, to help create and preserve ~~a climate of~~ free discussion of ideas, to which every American is heir and without which there is no freedom or vigor or progress. The only un-American activity there is, is to allow ourselves to be overswept by ignorant fears, by emotional response to emotional cries, by suspicion of each other, by suppression of contending ideas and debate.

As American citizens, all of us have a duty to avoid these things. We regret that station WFSM is not better informed about the Southern Regional Council. But, most of all, we urge its listeners, here in the Birmingham area where problems of such seriousness exist, to face these problems by encouraging free, calm debate and discussion of them.

Thank you.

Acoustic Recording Co
1279 Spring St. NW
Zr 2-2083

Ernest Borgp — aft. 2:30 ~~3:00~~
Friday
~~Thursday~~ ~~morning~~:
Thurs.

per hr. basis
minimum

$30 hour studio rental
no tape eq.
includes playback

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The Southern Regional Council believes in freedom of thought and speech. We believe that our American Constitution guarantees the right of the wise, the stupid, the reckless, the cautious, the conservative, and even the radical, to speak his opinions; and that this right, freely and jealously exercised, creates a climate of social and political vigor in which our country has grown and advanced to world leadership. We believe this liberty is essential to progress and to the creative solution of the present crisis in the South. We believe that without calm, rational

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Thank you.

PA - Want this for "attacks" file? I have one copy. MK

This tape is from Birmingham, Alabama, and is being sent to you for your consideration.

WSFM series of editorials on informing our listeners about communistic activities - we'd like to qualify with a few statements. We're not extremists. No individuals are putting us up to this. We do not belong to any organization. We're doing it on our own out of the great alarm of ourselves after considerable study in the subject as to the activity in and around the area. Again we would like to repeat: there is great concern of the communistic activity in the area. The greater concern - and we do mean the <u>greater</u> concern - is the apathy, ignorance, and general shrugging of the shoulders attitude of most Americans thinking and hoping that this might die out, and all along your apathy, my apathy laying the foundations for a tremendous amount of inroads of social unrest and agitation which the communists are seizing upon, particularly in the South. We've touched upon the Southeastern Conference of Human Welfare, Southeastern Conference Educational Fund, the Southern Regional Council, we showed how all of these organizations have similar same members of the board who are known communists. This doesn't mean that these organizations are not to some degree causing some good. They happen to be about the only organizations entering into the problems of trying to do something for a lot of people in a positive manner. However, the motive is underneath, the communists are the masters of deceit, and it's up to us to be informed about it .. one; ~~two [Item]~~ two, most important for us to do something positively in our own way and through our American processes. We can..we have personally..

we can criticize City Hall, and they certainly do a botched up job down in Birmingham City Hall. However, it's easy to criticize; it's far more difficult to do something about it even if such poor leadership is exemplified.

Now the Alabama organ of the Southern Regional Council is the Alabama Council of Human Relations, offices in the Comer Building, Birmingham, Alabama. The Reverend Robert Hughes, Methodist minister formerly residing on 3209 Ridgely Drive, Cohaba [?] Heights, was the Executive Director through 1960. The Southern Regional Council was represented at the Highlander Folk School seminar Labor Day weekend, August the 30th-September the 7th, 1957 at Monteagle, Tennessee, by Fred B. Routh. Mr. Routh bears the title of Assistant Director of the Southern Regional Council. Notorious communists, veteran communist fellow-travelers and Negro leaders in all the recent major incidents attending integration were present at the Highlander Folk School 25th anniversary on quote "The Human Aspects of the Integration Struggle." The Highlander Folk School at Monteagle, Tennessee, was organized around 1932 by Miles Horton and Don West. Paul Crouch, before his testimony of the Subcommittee on Un-American Activities.. Mr. Crouch said, "I would like to mention in this connection that the Highlander Folk School at Monteagle, Tennessee, was a school organized by Miles Howton and Don West and which James Dombrowsky shortly thereafter joined." Paul Crouch who gave the foregoing testimony concerning the Highlander Folk School was the top communist functionary in the South. His communist

record given to the Senate committee by Crouch himself attests his importance.

In the early period of the Highlander Folk School, a prominent, present Birmingham businessman was a member of its faculty. On August the 13th, 1938, Mr. John P. Fry, President of the Metal Trades Department of the AFofL testified before the Dies /?/ Committee on the Un-American Activities, and named Elizabeth Hall, this prominent Birmingham businessman that we just mentioned, and Miles Horton as persons who attended a secret convention in North Carolina, at which time plans were made for spreading the revolutionary theories throughout the South. Mr. Fry further testified in connection with this "I might mention that the Highlander Folk School at Monteagle, Tennessee, was mixed up in this secret convention in which three CIO organizations took a very prominent part."

We've offered over the years free copies of The Communist Menace, by J. Edgar Hoover. We'd like to offer it again to any of our listeners who have not received a copy. It's free for the asking; just call us at Fairfax 3-5291. We'll try to pass on any specific information of particular questions that you might have. If we have information about it we'll pass it on to you. We will not talk with you, however, unless you give us your name and address, and We must know who we're talking to. Call us at Fairfax 3-5291 for further information on this and if you'd like to receive The Communist Menace by J. Edgar Hoover. Now Again let us emphasize..we're just giving factual history. One of our listeners called up and asked us if we belong to the John Birch Society. We do not; we don't belong to any group or organization. We're concerned, we want Americans to be concerned

We continue with our morning programming, and the time is thirteen minutes until eight o'clock.

The preceding was recorded in the morning of Friday, 9 February, 1962.

On Friday, February 9th in the afternoon, it was learned by the Director of the Alabama Council on Human Relations that the officials and administration at Birmingham Southern had put a stop to the editorials. One of the members of the official Board at Birmingham Southern stated that any editorials were against the policy of Birmingham Southern. It is unknown the exact relationship between the radio station and Birmingham Southern, but there was sufficient relationship that the school could report there would be no further editorials. On the following Monday it was learned that this man who spoke, who is the owner of the station, had stated that Birmingham Southern had stopped him but he would continue to make his exposes on his own. At this point it is quite uncertain as to how he proceeds to make his viewpoints known.

October 22, 1962

Mr. Ben F. Waple
Acting Secretary
Federal Communications Commission
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. Waple:

Mr. Melonas, of Station WSFM, sent us a notarized verification that he had played our equal time tape. A copy is enclosed for your files. I think with this we shall let the matter drop. This man is obviously out of his mind. In case you did not receive his letter to us of September 22nd, I am enclosing a copy for you.

I would like to thank you for all that you have done to straighten this matter out. If we can ever be of service to you, please let me know.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar

LWD:A
Enclosures
copy of verification
copy of Sept. 22nd letter
CC: Joseph Haas
Norman Jimerson

(Not printed at Government expense)

Congressional Record

United States of America

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 84th CONGRESS, SECOND SESSION

Address Delivered by Francis E. Walter, Representative in Congress, 15th District, Pennsylvania, at the 38th Annual Convention of the American Legion, Department of Pennsylvania, Convention Hall, Philadelphia, Pa., on July 20, 1956

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANCIS E. WALTER

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 20, 1956

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address:

ADDRESS DELIVERED BY FRANCES E. WALTER, REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS, 15TH DISTRICT, PENNSYLVANIA, AT THE 38TH ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE AMERICAN LEGION, DEPARTMENT OF PENNSYLVANIA, CONVENTION HALL, PHILADELPHIA, ON JULY 20, 1956

I would like to take the opportunity offered by this great occasion to talk to you about a matter of great importance, which is now before the Congress.

Even at this very late hour when everybody in Washington seems to be eager to see the Congress adjourn and go home in order to do some work on mending of political fences, I sincerely hope that the legislation I wish to discuss with you today will be enacted into law before we go to Chicago and to San Francisco, as the case may be, to nominate presidential candidates.

The thing I have in mind is a bill which I have introduced in order to restore good sense to the laws governing the United States Government's power to dismiss civilian employees when their employment is deemed to be detrimental to the interests of the national security of this Nation.

The purpose of my bill is to protect the United States Government from foreign infiltration by Communist agents through the hole opened by the Supreme Court of the United States. Also, it would serve to remind the Supreme Court of the United States of the place it occupies in the Government of this Nation and of the impropriety to develop a strange forgetfulness of the wording of articles I, II, and III of the Constitution of the United States.

Realizing the clear and present danger which the international Communist conspiracy and its methods of penetration present to the United States, the Congress enacted, in 1950, a law designed to protect the United States Government from infiltration of disloyal employees. The President has implemented that law in an Executive order and as you well know, the so-called security and loyalty program as it affected employees of the United States Government has, since its inception, been under a constant and sharp attack by the Communists, their allies, and their dupes.

One rather enterprising employee of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare by the name of Kendrick M. Cole has agreed to become the tool of those who want to wreck this program, and after having been dismissed from Federal employment because of his questionable activities and associations he has taken his case to the courts.

He was turned down by a Federal district court and by a Federal court of appeals. He went to the Supreme Court of the United States and there he won a victory which represents one of the most stunning defeats for the United States Government.

A divided Supreme Court of the United States, with 6 Justices in the majority and 3 dissenting—Justices Clark, Reed, and Minton—has invaded the powers of the Congress and of the President of the United States and has mutilated the law of 1950 and the President's Executive Order No. 10450 of 1953. This unconstitutional action of the judiciary branch took the form of a decision (*Cole* v. *Young*), which, in effect, amends the law by adding to it just four words. Four words which, in limiting the scope of the law, open the entire United States Government to the infiltration of our mortal enemies.

In plain words, the law—the act of August 26, 1950—is applicable to "any civilian officer, or employee" of the United States. What it meant was simply that every civilian officer and employee who has the privilege of being employed by the United States Government must be without a peradventure of doubt loyal to the United States and not associated with any subversive organization.

To the words "any civilian officer, or employee" the Supreme Court has added four words, "in a sensitive position," thus providing that out of the 2,300,000 civilians who hold Government jobs, only one-fifth must be loyal Americans and the remaining four-fifths could keep their Federal jobs although their loyalty to the United States is questionable and although they may remain under Communist discipline.

Obviously, such preposterous thought never occurred to the Congress and it never occurred to the President of the United States that such was the intent of Congress in enacting the 1950 law.

The legislative history of that law is exceptionally clear, as legislative histories go. Reports filed by committees of the Senate and of the House of Representatives, and the debate held on the floors of both Houses of Congress, prove without a scintilla of doubt that the law was meant to apply to every executive agency, not only to the "sensitive" ones—and to every Federal employee, not only to those who hold "sensitive" positions.

No Member of the House and no Member of the Senate contradicted when those statements were made. In fact, no contradiction could have been voiced for there probably is no one in the Congress who believes that there is in the entire Federal Government one job which could be offered to a person whose loyalty to the United States is doubtful.

As Justice Clark—with whom Justices Reed and Minton joined—stated in his dissenting opinion, "the janitor may prove to be in as important a spot security-wise as the top employee in the building".

But let's not stop at janitors—look at the Tennessee Valley Authority. TVA supplies power for the most important of our atomic plants. An electrician in a TVA power plant is not classified as a "sensitive" employee. He certainly could not be so classified under the Supreme Court's ruling, and yet look at the extent of damage to our security that he could do. Think of the staggering blow that could be dealt to our atomic work if that electrician would simply throw a switch to cut off the power at a moment chosen by those under whose discipline he remains.

As a matter of fact, think of what a charwoman could find in an office that she is hired to clean after everybody else had left. And think about the nonsensitive file clerk who moves freely around offices where highly classified documents are stored.

The Supreme Court of the United States said in *Cole* v. *Young*, leaning over backward in order to misread and misinterpret congressional and presidential intent that all that was intended is to protect from subversive infiltration only those activities of the Government that are directly concerned with the protection of the Nation, and not those which contribute to the strength of the Nation "only through their impact on the general welfare." It clearly follows that the Supreme Court of the United States would not mind at all if agencies or parts of them, such as the services protecting the Nation's health and welfare, the education of our youth, agencies in charge of interstate and foreign commerce, mailing rooms, archives, certain communication rooms, etc., would become "honeycombed with subversives," if I may quote once more Justice Clark.

If we permit the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States to stand, we would simply open what Mr. Churchill so aptly called our "soft underbelly" to agents of the Communist conspiracy, who from that soft spot, skillfully worming their way upward, could easily reach the very nerve center of the Nation. In addition to that, if we do nothing about this decision, we would condone the Supreme Court's attempt to invade that area of Government which, under the Constitution, is reserved to the Congress and the President.

The 3 dissenting Justices were quite outspoken in that regard, actually accusing their 6 colleagues responsible for the Cole decision of raising a question as to the constitutional power of the President to authorize dismissal of executive employees whose further employment he believes to be inconsistent with national security.

In reading the Supreme Court's decision in the Cole case, I cannot help but feel that I was right several months ago when in reading another of our Supreme Court's decision,

394363—59607

I felt that the illustrious Justices dwell in ivory towers with windows shut tight and shutters drawn, carefully looking away from the mortal danger facing our freedom—the freedom which our laws are designed to protect and not to help destroy.

There is something uncanny in the stubbornness of some of our courts, including the Supreme Bench, with which they refuse to appraise properly the true meaning of the new skin that the Soviet leopard has now clothed itself. They refuse to see the same old spots on the leopard's skin, thus aiding and abetting the Soviet's effort to confuse and disarm the free world by stressing their peaceful intentions while intensifying their attempt to conquer through infiltration rather than through an open attack. It could be that the Supreme Court is not afraid of the danger of Soviet infiltration through actions of the Communist conspiracy because some of our Justices have shortsightedly accepted the opinion of the Fund for the Republic, the opinion which maintains that the Communist Party is nothing else but a political party of the United States just as is the Democratic Party or the Republican Party. That opinion was clearly and unequivocally stated in the report of the Fund for the Republic, dated May 31, 1955, a report for which Mr. Robert M. Hutchins, the fund's president, must accept responsibility.

In spite of congressional findings made in two legislative enactments, the Internal Security Act of 1950 and the Communist Control Act of 1954, where on the basis of irrefutable proof it was found that "the Communist Party of the United States, although purportedly a political party, is in fact an instrumentality of a conspiracy to overthrow the Government of the United States"—Mr. Hutchins and his research specialists arrived at the opposite conclusion.

What the Congress found is, of course, of little interest to the Fund for the Republic and I wish therefore to invite their attention to a most recent pronouncement coming from a source to which they might want to give more credence. I have in mind a major pronouncement printed in the official organ of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Pravda, just a few days ago, on July 16, 1956.

On that day, Pravda sounded a warning to the free world in general and to the United States in particular. Said Pravda:

"One should remember that among people who are insufficiently mature politically and excessively credulous, there may be some who would fall for the contention that international connections of Communist parties became superfluous. The consolidation of international connections is a historical necessity both for the working class parties of the lands of socialism and for the Marxist parties of all capitalist countries."

If you strip that Marxist "gobbledegook" of its dialectical embellishments and if you translate it into plain English, it simply means that Communist parties of both the captive and the free nations remain but a foreign branch or an arm of the Soviet Union. Accordingly, to treat persons disloyal to the United States because of their adherence to the international Communist conspiracy simply as persons who disagree with us on certain political issues, just as anyone of you, or I, myself, would disagree with a Republican or with a Democrat, is simply a case of suicidal folly.

Mr. Hutchins, of course, and some of the occupants of our Supreme Bench do not agree with that. However, in judging whether or not Communists and their sympathizers are agents of the Soviet Union and of the international Communist conspiracy, I prefer to accept Pravda's expert word rather than that of Mr. Hutchins. I feel today as if I should be making an award to you because after all it is you who are leading the fight to win the cold war in which it is my privilege to make some contribution. The things that are being done today by the committee of which I happen to be chairman are merely those things which have been of interest to our great organization for so long a time. I say with all the sincerity at my command it is you who should be receiving the award today because you have been steadfast in this cold war and I am sure that by your remaining steadfast we are going to win it, despite the opposition we find from many places today.

394363—59607

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE: 1956

JC to attach memo circulating ltrs to state gps. etc.

HCF
from GSM

I would appreciate it if you would draft suitable reply to the Sumter newspaper, and despatch it, over your sig, as Acting Executive Director. GSM willing sign, but doubts wisdom of two weeks' delay.

Nice, crisp reply from Hon. Walter.

Why don't you leave Sumter. You are a fool to stay here. K K K

SUMTER COUNTY CITIZENS' COUNCIL

P. O. DRAWER 429

SUMTER, SOUTH CAROLINA

TO ALL MEMBERS OF THE SUMTER COUNTY CITIZENS' COUNCIL:

Recently a press release in the Sumter Daily Item, as well as The State and The News & Courier, brought to light that a small group of Sumter people, both colored and white, were planning a "workshop" at Morris College, the colored college in Sumter, for the purpose of "finding workable ways of further extending the lines of communication between responsible leaders in our community, to break down barriers, to change thought, and to widen the reach of goodwill." This group styled themselves a "Bi-racial" group, and appears to be connected with the South Carolina Council on Human Relations, which receives annual grants of approximately $12,000.00 from the Southern Regional Council. The Southern Reginal Council has been listed by the House Un-American Activities Committee. This workshop was scheduled for 18 July 1956, and was to be held from 5:00 P. M. to 9:00 P. M., accordng to the announcement made by Earle L. Kirby, the owner of Kirby's, a business establishment on East Liberty Street in Sumter, S. C., who is the chairman of the "Bi-racial" group. The Secretary of the group is Anna D. Reuben, the wife of O. R. Reuben, the President of Morris College. The meeting was to have been conducted by Ira Kaye, a lawyer who is a native of New York, but who has settled in Sumter after coming here while in the armed forces.

Insofar as can be determined by your Committeemen assigned to study the Press release and the information on the "Bi-racial" group which has been assembled, the group is composed of persons who believes that the Decree of the Supreme Court of the United States with regard to integration of the races should be obeyed and that all barriers should be broken down and our thoughts on the subject changed, and that Negroes should be accepted by us in all walks of life. Accordingly, it was determined that a member of any such "Bi-racial" group could not possibly have the same standpoint as that expressed by the Citizens' Councils, for the reason that such a group favors integration on a gradual basis while we of the Citizens' Councils have unequivocably taken the position that there will be no integration at all.

Immediately a meeting of the Policy Committee, the Membership Committee and the officers of the Sumter County Citizens' Council met and adopted the following resolution:

WHEREAS, the sole purpose of this organization is to maintain and preserve segregation; and

WHEREAS, this organization does not condone the actions of any group seeking to bring about integration in the public school or elsewhere in this State, whether directly or through the process of "gradualism," now therefore,

BE IT RESOLVED: That any member of the Sumter County Citizens' Council who knowingly joins or affiliates with any group seeking to bring about integration in the public schools of South Carolina, or in the lives of our people, shall immediately be expelled from this organization.

Thereupon, as Earle L. Kirby was a member of the Sumter County Citizens' Council, he was summarily expelled from membership, was so notified by letter, and his membership fee returned.

The "workshop" was called off.

This report is made for the information of Members of Citizens' Councils. For additional information the following news is furnished: The "workshop" panel, chosen, according to the Press release, "because they have wisdom and experience in ways that work to relieve tensions and promote understanding for better living in South Carolina," were, in addition to Ira Kaye, the attorney from New York, Jack O'Dowd, of the Florence Morning News, who has written many editorials favoring the Decree of the Supreme Court and integration (Mr. O'Dowd has now moved to Chicago), Rev. Henry L. Parker, Orangeburg, Rev. Hawley Lynn, Columbia, and Rev. J. D. Rice, from Morris College.

It should be noted that the "workshop" was scheduled from 5:00 P. M. to 9 P. M., a time during which most of us are at home eating supper.

After the occurrance of the matter reported above, the Mayor of the City of Sumter, M. Priscilla Shaw, who is also the Vice-President of Shaw Lumber Company, wrote from North Carolina that she was in favor of the "Bi-racial" group established here. She mentioned on several occasions in her letter which was published in the Sumter Daily Item that she thought the group would prevent "violence" and "bloodshed." The Citizens' Councils have not advocated any such bloodshed and violence. Your Committee does not understand the frequent reference to "violence and bloodshed" in that the Citizens' Councils initially went on record as being opposed to any violence and, having so stated, has quietly stood on its record, believing that such a course is calmest and best, rather than to continuously refer to such unsettling phraseology.

Your Committees and your officers have met frequently to discuss questions raised by the turn of events as related. Your Policy Committee and the officers recently adopted the following resolution:

"*WHEREAS*, the purpose of the Sumter County Citizens' Council is to maintain and preserve segregation and

WHEREAS, any person or Bi-racial group advocating and seeking to bring about integration of the races in our public schools or otherwise in the lives of our people are instruments of destruction of our society and therefore should be recognized as such, now, therefore

BE IT RESOLVED, by the Policy Committee of Sumter County Citizens' Council in meeting assembled that these facts be brought to the attention of the membership of the Sumter County Citizens' Council.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that a copy of this resolution be sent to all members of the Sumter County Citizens' Council for their consideration."

Your Committees and your officers realize, of course, and appreciate the sentiment of the members of this Council. The foregoing is brought to your attention to show how insidiously those opposed to our views approach this situation, and the necessity of a watchful and united effort of those who wish to preserve our way of life.

Your Committees wish to commend to your attention that Ford, Phillip Morris, Philco, and others have been forced to retreat from certain active support of the forces of integration and the NAACP by actions of members of the Citizens' Councils and other anti-integration groups. Let us keep up the good work. We never know when, where, and in what form, the forces of integration and the destruction of our country may show themselves.

F. E. GIBSON, Chairman
Policy Committee

T. D. KEELS, Chairman
Sumter County Citizens' Council
August 14, 1956

August 21, 1956

The Honorable Francis E. Walter
Chairman
House Committee on un-American Activities
The Capitol
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Walter:

A broadsheet lately issued by the Sumter County Citizens' Council, P. O. Drawer 429, Sumter, South Carolina, and issued over the printed names of F. E. Gibson, Chairman, Policy Committee and T. D. Keels, Chairman, Sumter County Citizens' Council, dated August 14, 1956, complains of a bi-racial meeting proposed to have been held in Sumter at some date in July. The broadsheet runs on: "This group styled themselves a 'Bi-racial' group, and appears to be connected with the South Carolina Council on Human Relations, which receives annual grants of approximately $12,000.00 from the Southern Regional Council. The Southern Reginal [sic] Council has been listed by the House Un-American Activities Committee."

Our Council is not aware that it has at any time been listed by your Committee.

We would appreciate information from you as to whether the Southern Regional Council has or has not been listed by your Committee.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

cc: Mrs. Alice Spearman
Mr. J. T. McCain

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES
WASHINGTON

August 30, 1956

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432 - 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

This will acknowledge receipt of your letter of August 21, 1956, concerning the Southern Regional Council.

For your information, the Southern Regional Council has not been cited as subversive or un-American by this Committee nor by the Attorney General.

Sincerely yours,

Francis E. Walter
Chairman

September 5, 1956

Mrs. Alice Spearman
1508 Lady Street
Columbia, South Carolina

Dear Alice:

Here are the promised copies of the material concerning the Sumter County Citizens' Council's accusation against SRC. Harold's advice is that you should talk the matter over with people in Sumter County and decide whether or not you want to release Mr. Walter's letter to the Sumter County newspaper. We think that the release of the statement is the only thing that should be considered at this time.

Three points in consideration are: whether the South Carolina Council should release the statement to the paper, whether we, SRC, should release the statement to the paper, or whether the statement should be released at all?

Let us know what your wishes are.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Information Service

JC/eab
Encls. - 2

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF

. . . . JOHN CONSTABLE . . . .

September 5, 1956

Re: Attack on SRC by Sumter County (S.C.) Citizens Council.

Called Alice Spearman and advised her of the letter from Chairman Walter of the House Un-American Activities Committee regarding SRC. Spearman requested copies of the letter from Walter and the original sheet distributed by the Council. Copies were mailed. Spearman said she would talk the matter over with certain persons in Sumter County concerning the advisability of releasing the Walter letter to the Sumter County press.

Letter to Spearman attached.

The South Carolina Council on Human Relations

1508 Lady Street
COLUMBIA, S. C.

Hold to handle

Sept. 14, 1956

Dr. Geo. S. Mitchell,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.,
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Dr. Mitchell: ATTN.: MR. JOHN CONSTABLE

The steering committee of the Sumter group has asked me to express to you their thinking as to the handling of the Sumter County Citizen's Councils accusation against the Southern Regional Council.

If you sent Mr. Francis E. Walter a copy of the broad sheet, do you suppose he would respond favorably to your request that he write Mr. T. D. Keels, giving him the information that SRC has not been cited as subversive or un-American by the Committee nor by the Attorney General, and request that he give the same distribution to the correction as he did to his erroneous statement? If so, please ask Mr. Walter to send you a copy of his correspondence. The Sumter group would like copies of this correspondence; also, several copies of the original broadsheet and reply to you by Mr. Walter.

If the above is not feasible, would you be willing to write Mr. Keels, quote from your letter by Mr. Walter and request him to make a public correction of his statement? Mr. Ira Kaye, attorney, who is a member of the Sumter steering committee, thinks we all need copies of your correspondence (if handled this way) as proof of the response or lack of response of Keels and Co!

Thank you.

Sincerely,

Alice N. Spearman

(Mrs.) Alice N. Spearman,
Executive Director

ANS/ig

September 18, 1956

Mrs. Alice N. Spearman, Executive Director
The South Carolina Council on Human Relations
1508 Lady Street
Columbia, South Carolina

Dear Alice:

This is in regard to the Sumter County Citizens Council's accusation against SRC and Congressman Walter's letter which refutes it.

I am sure that Mr. Walter would feel that he has done all that is required of him by answering our letter as he did. The matter now is one for us to handle.

We will be glad to do whatever you and the Sumter group feel is wise. If you would like us to write Mr. Keels enclosing a photostatic copy of Mr. Walter's letter and requesting a public retraction of his earlier statement, we will do so. Let me know if this is the course you would like us to follow.

Meanwhile, enclosed are several copies of Mr. Walter's letter and of the broadside distributed by the Citizens Council.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo
Encs.

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF
. . . HAROLD C. FLEMING . . .

9/18/56

1 copy each ltr from and to Congressman Walter sent to Executive Committee - also to each State Executive Director

RECEIVED OCT 24 1956

South Carolina Council on Human Relations
Meeting of Board of Directors
1420 Lady St., Columbia, S. C.
Sunday, October 7, 1956, 2:30 P.M.

Present:

Mrs. Morris S. Young	A. R. Suritz
J. M. Dabbs	Dr. D. M. Duckett
Dr. E. C. Jones	W. W. Jones
James Burrell	Mary E. Frayser
Rev. Howard G. McClain	Rebecca Reid
Earle Kirby	James T. McCain
Rev. Hawley Lynn	Alice N. Spearman

In the absence of Rev. Claude Evans, due to illness, the vice-president, Dr. D. M. Duckett presided.

Call to order by the First Vice-President
Invocation
Because the minutes of the last meeting were sent to all members of the Board, the reading of the minutes was dispensed with.

I. Treasurer's Report was given by Mr. McClain:
Books will be audited by Mr. J. W. Hunt, C.P.A.
Balance in bank September 30, 1956, $610.27.
Received $430.00
Treasurer's report accepted.

II. "New Look" for the Southern Regional Council, Inc. as planned at the last Executive Committee meeting was reported by Mr. Dabbs. The Executive Committee feels there can be no cutting down of program now, but there must be expansion. Urge that Fund for the Republic enlarge its contribution for larger scale, nation-wide objectives. Three year grant not sufficient for the whole nation is involved. More responsibility should be put on individual states, with more consideration of individual states needs. Grants should be based on achievements of separate states. Should be cut off altogether if no progress is in evidence. Mississippi specially unhappy in failing to meet standards. States will receive less each year and are expected to raise more. $3,500.00 last year, $6,500.00 next year for South Carolina.

A statement submitted to Dr. George Mitchell, Executive Director, by Rev. Claude Evans, Chairman of the South Carolina Council on Human Relations, asserted that the S. C. Council has not, during the fiscal year October 1, 1955-September 30, 1956, engaged in carrying on propaganda, or otherwise attempted to influence legislation, or otherwise engaged in any form of political activity. Signed by Mr. Evans. This document was accepted as information.

III. New Local Council in Spartanburg in process of organizing and hope to affiliate if and when they can qualify.

#2
Minutes, October 7, 1956

IV. Quaker Meeting in Philadelphia attended by Mr. McCain, September 17th, Lincoln University. A document will be issued in April consistent with Southern point of view, broadly representative, dealing only with Negro-white relations. Plan to get reactions to document in new year.

V. Personnel: Mrs. Paul resigns, Mrs. Spearman reports, from representation on SRC because dates conflict with her professional obligations. Mrs. Paul, as chairman of the SCCHR nominating committee placed in nomination the name of Mrs. Young. She was elected.

VI. Mr. McCain reported on research made in the State for the SRC, which is being carried on in ten states on Negro Suffrage. Forty-six counties were visited by him in the month survey. In two counties in S. C. there were no registrations of Negro voters: McCormick and Calhoun. There are 99,890 registered Negro voters in S. C. Reasons for not registering mostly apathy; also lack of education and pressures. Under the latter were listed economic dependence on white landowners; discriminatory practices on registration days; threats; a lot of fear. The smallest percentage of non-voters among tenant farmers. Apathy true in both white and Negro. Percentage of voter, average white 75.1%, Negro 25.6%. The Southern Regional Council will release this information in pamphlet form. Information limited by refusal in some case to allow books to be seen. Negroes have trouble registering in 10 counties, intimidation. In 21 of the 46 counties Negro population exceeds white. In some counties qualified voters exceed whites. In Conway and Darlington County certain precincts are controlled by Negroes. Mr. Lynn asked if there was any way to break the barriers in McCormick and Calhoun Counties. The reply was that the matter was being worked on, but the fear is great. It was suggested that the difference between Alabama and South Carolina in this connection is that there is closer alliance between Citizens Councils and political powers in South Carolina.

VII. Vacancies: Mr. Lynn reported that Rev. Clyde Helms is leaving the State and Mr. Gil Rowland has resigned. The Nominating Committee, Mrs. Paul, Mr. McClain, Mr. Lynn and Mr. Solomon, suggest for consideration and further thought, Rev. Dan Williams of Greenville, Baptist minister, and Mr. B. B. Compton of the Epworth Childrens Home. More suggestions are requested. The suggestion that Rev. Redd is leaving the State was postponed till further developments. These matters were accepted as information and the Nominating Committee instructed to continue investigations till the next meeting.

VIII. Sumter: A report was made about the effort to have a workshop in Sumter in the early summer, and the pressure brought to bear on Mr. Earle Kirby as chairman of the Sumter group. Relative to the charge brought by the local Citizens Council that the SRC was on the list of the Un-American Activities Committee

in Washington, and the statement by that Committee that the accusation was not true, it was stated that Dr. Mitchell was asking the Citizens Council to give this denial the same circulation as that given by the false statement. The final result of this correspondence was not known at this time. As to the suit brought against the NAACP and especially 12 of its members in Sumter by Shepherd Nask, the case was finally concluded without jury verdict for $10,000.00 instead of $120,000.00. The NAACP refused the first suggestions for compromise, and accepted the one that left them free to carry on. Special mention was made of Mr. Kirby's attitude under persecution, commending his refusal to back down or compromise because of pressure.

IX. Anderson: Mrs. Young expressed her reluctance to accept the position on The SRC Board because of her sense of confusion on procedures and methods of indirection which she does not know how to share. She stated that while all is confusion, she is even more confused, not being a native to this situation. She is speaking before numerous Negro organizations.

X. Rock Hill: Dr. Duckett reported a communication to the School Board by a committee of Negro leaders and the reply that the Board had no power to act at present on the matter of desegregation. Dr. Duckett also stated that the Mayor's Committee had not met in a year; it has become a "stand-by" committee. It is stated that 300 Rock Hill citizens are ready to sign up with the White Citizen's Council. The Parochial Schools are integrated. The question came up as to whether relations are worse at the present time or a stage to mark the revolution of progress. Mr. Suritz quoted Dr. George Mitchell as saying they are worse than 2 years ago.

XI.. Greenville: Mrs. Spearman reported that Greenville is in process of finding a chairman.

XII. Charleston: Dr. W. W. Jones reported conditions improving in relations between the races.

XIII. Mr. McClain quoted Dr. Nicholas Mitchell of the University of S. C. as saying that a new and creative South must let hate go in an atomic age. The Christian Action Council, President Rev. Wright R. Spears, holds there should be better opportunities for Negroes and whites to think together. The organization has been authorized to appoint a bi-racial committee to study the processes of citizenship, and they are asking for suggestions on citizenship education.

XIV. Mrs. Spearman reported that more requests are being received in the office for statements to help reduce confusion. Especially requested are definitions of words being carelessly used and misused in press--such as "Segregation", "Integration", "Mongrelization", etc. These requests are coming from intelligent citizens and will be taken up in the next Newsletter.

#4
Minutes, October 7, 1956

XV. Membership: Mr. Suritz reported 534 members in South Carolina.

XVI. Finance: Mr. Dabbs reported $10,000 from Atlanta next year, $3,751.03 raised last year, $430.00 now on hand deposited since October 1, 1956 and that $6,000.00 must be raised this year. Each member of the Board is asked to be responsible for $50.00. Eight people did this last year. The contributions should be gotten in as soon as possible. $20.00 was contributed this afternoon. Of membership dues, $2.00 goes to Atlanta. Membership lasts a year from date of payment of dues.

XVII. Pamphlets: Rev. Hawley Lynn reported the judgment that pamphlets should be printed by the Atlanta office. Mr. Dabbs'statement refuting Mr. Byrnes assertion seems to be lost in the office of The State. Is Mr. Booker responsible? Mrs. Spearman was asked to investigate and follow up. Mr. Dabbs authorizes its publication. So much nonsense being circulated, it ought to be answered.

XVIII. The secretary was asked to write letters relative to the: Death of Mrs. Marian B. Wilkinson; Resignation of Mrs. Warren Greene; Illness of Mr. Evans; and Hospital experiance of Dr. Duckett.

IX. Mrs. Spearman brought up the question of a meeting of the SCCHR in connection with the State Conference of Social Work November 1st. This meeting was encouraged and Mrs. Spearman was authorized to proceed with arrangements. Members were also urged to attend the Conference meetings to be held before and after as a part of the Conference of Social Work.

XX. A meeting of the Board to be held in three months, time, place, etc, at the discretion of the Chairman.

XXI. Mrs. Spearman called to attention an announcement by the Ford Foundation of the establishment of an "American Traditions Project", which will award $20,000 for true stories of Americans whose actions "have advanced the cause of freedom and justice in their communities". Names of several people in South Carolina who might qualify for first, second or third prize. A committee was appointed by the chairman to submit a letter to the project regarding Mr Earle Kirby:

Rebecca Reid
Mr. Suritz
Mr. Dabbs

Meeting adjourned about 5:30 p.m. with a sense of having accomplished somthing of value.

October 12, 1956

Mr. T. D. Keels, Chairman
Sumter County Citizens' Council
P. O. Drawer 429
Sumter, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Keels:

Several weeks ago our attention was called to a printed circular, dated August 14, 1956, distributed by the Sumter County Citizens' Council and bearing your name as chairman. In the first paragraph of this circular the statement is made: "The Southern Reginal Council has been listed by the House Un-American Activities Committee."

This statement is wholly untrue, as evidenced by the enclosed copy of a letter from Representative Francis E. Walter, Chairman of the House Un-American Activities Committee.

See original in folder Marked Walter E Francis Chm. House Un-Amer. Act. Comm.

I trust that you will recognise the seriousness of such an unfounded charge and that you will give equal circulation to a correction.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mbo
Enc.

BCC: Mrs. Alice Spearman

RECEIVED OCT 24 1956

Morris College
Sumter, South Carolina
October 23, 1956

F BP - for your info -

Dr. George S. Mitchell
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

My dear Dr. Mitchell:

Your correspondence with the Committee on Un-American Activities concerning the charges brought by the Sumter WCC, was brought before the Planning Committee of the Sumter Bi-racial Group at its regular meeting on September 11. Three options were discussed:

1. Release of statement by the Atlanta Office
2. Release of statement by Sumter Group
3. No release at all

It was definitely agreed that any release should be made by the Atlanta Office, since the charges were brought against the Southern Regional Council.

However, a fourth line of procedure was unanimously adopted as preferable, if possible, and the secretary was instructed to convey this suggestion for your consideration:

That the Committee on Un-American Activities be asked to write a letter stating that the Southern Regional Council has not been cited as subversive and is not on the list of subversives of the Committee on Un-American Activities, and that this letter be sent directly to the Sumter Officials who signed the false statement, with the request that it be given the same circulation and publicity given their members in the letter circulated. That Dr. Mitchell would be the proper person to make this request if he considered it favorable or practicable.

The general opinion was that the avoidance of press publicity might be advisable at this time of tension here and certainly the avoidance of bringing the matter down to a local controversy, which reduces the whole matter into the smog of emotion and prejudice.

The opinion was that if this fourth line of procedure was not possible, the release to the press of the statement from the Washington Committee would come with more grace from the Atlanta Office.

Your judgement will be respected in this matter.

Very cordially yours,

Anna D. Reuben

(Mrs. O. R. Reuben)
Secretary
Sumter Bi-racial Group

November 6, 1956

Mrs. O. R. Reuben, Secretary
Sumter Bi-racial Group
Morris College
Sumter, South Carolina

Dear Mrs. Reuben:

This is in reply to your recent letter to Dr. Mitchell.

Enclosed is a copy of a letter written by Dr. Mitchell to the head of the Sumter Citizens Council. This action was taken at Mrs. Spearman's request after we pointed out the unfeasibility of asking Representative Francis E. Walter to write the Citizens Council directly.

I trust this will have a helpful effect on the Sumter situation.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbc
Enc.

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF
. . . HAROLD C. FLEMING . . .

We've already done this — at Mrs Spearman's request — as you know. I explained to her the impracticality of asking Walter to write the WCC direct

H

Thanks for the info —
F.

JACKSON DAILY NEWS

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ SUNSET EDITION

Mississippi's Greatest Newspaper

JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI, FRIDAY, AUGUST 31, 1962 UNITED PRESS INTERNATIONAL 22 PAGES PRICE 5c

Secret Communist Document Is Bared

RACE MIXER

Carl Braden's Background:

Who is Carl Braden?

He is an identified member of the Communist party who serves as field secretary of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc., an organization cited as a front for the Communist Party

He served 10 months in the federal penitentiary in Greenville, S. C., for contempt of Congress.

He was sentenced to 15 years in prison and fined $5,000 for dynamiting a house he bought.

It was charged "the dynamiting was a communist plot to incite a racial disorder in the city (Louisville)."

Richard Arens, staff director of the U. S. House of Representatives Subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities, told Braden at a hearing in Atlanta in July ot 1958:

"Sir, it is our understanding that you are now a Communist, a member of the Communist Party; that you have been identified by reputable witnesses under oath as a Communist, part of the Communist Party which is a tentacle of the international Communist conspiracy.

"It is our information further, sir, that you as a Communist have been propagating the Communist activity and the Communist line principally in the South; that you have been masquerading behind a facade of humanitarianism; that you have been masquerading behind a facade of emotional appeal to contribute

The action nullified Kentucky's sedition laws and, consequently, his conviction was reversed on June 22, 1956.

It was during that trial that both Braden and his wife, Anne, were identified as members of of the Communist Party.

He denied the charge.

NATIONAL 'LEADER'

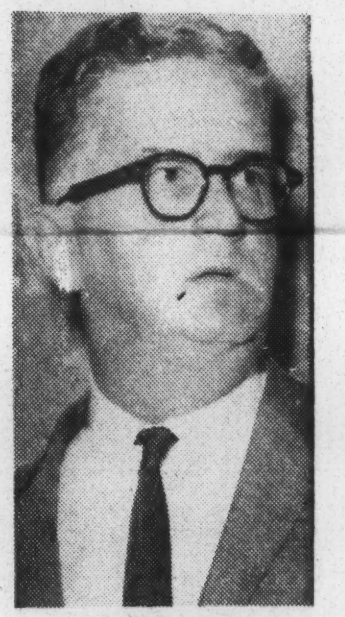
Mrs. Braden was listed on a letterhead of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee in 1957 as a member of the organization's national council, with headquarters in New York.

The House Un-American Activities Committe and the Senate's Internal Security Subcommittee has cited the organization as a Communist front.

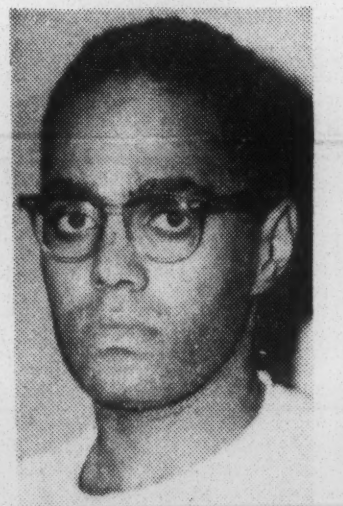
Mrs. Braden was subpenaed with her husband to testify at the 1958 hearing in Atlanta. She was excused, however, because she had to be at home with their children.

The Supreme Court later upheld his contempt conviction.

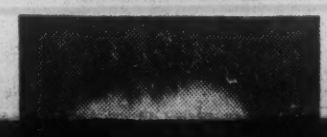
He started serving his sentence on May 1, 1961, and was



CARL BRADEN
Toured Mississippi



BOB MOSES
Braden's Partner



Red Helped Plan Jackson Integration

Carl Braden, a man identified by several witnesses under oath as a Communist, has been active in Mississippi recently.

The Jackson Daily News has intercepted a highly confidential report by Braden of his activities during a field trip into the state from July 13 to 19. In his secret memorandum, Braden identifies persons with whom he worked on his survey mission and he names the places visited. He says there are "heartening and saddening factors" in the integration program in Mississippi.

Braden says he worked with people in Jackson, Hattiesburg, Tougaloo, Laurel, Greenwood, Holly Springs and Clarksdale, setting up workshops on "civil liberties, nonviolence and the First Amendment."

In addition to these workshops, he held meetings with what he called "key leaders" at Edwards, Tougaloo and Cleveland, Braden's report reveals.

Braden who once dynamited his own home and then screamed "racial prejudice and bigotry" in Louisville, Ky., charges state law enforcement authorities with beating prisoners "in order to maintain the feeling of terror in the community." Braden has plans for getting the maximum of national publicity out of these alleged acts of "police brutality."

He plans to establish a seminar near Edwards this fall to concoct techniques of "using" the wire services, newspapers and magazines to spread his propaganda about "police brutality," a phrase frequently used by racial agitators in Mississippi. Although scores of charges of "police brutality" have been broadcast by the wire services and supposedly investigated by

I needed to get some perspective on the situation, as there are both heartening and saddening factors in the situation in that state.

Bob Moses and I traveled about 925 miles up and down and across the state in a period of six days — from July 13 to 19. We used three different automobiles, as Amzie Moore's gave out under us at the end of about 450 miles. We then used the Rev. James Bevel's car for about 350 miles and wound up returning to Jackson with Charles Butts, editor of the Mississippi Free Press. (The Rev. Mr. Bevel is Diane Nash Bevel's husband.)

We conducted workshops on civil liberties, nonviolence, and the First Amendment in Jackson (two there); Hattiesburg, Tougaloo, Laurel, Greenwood, Holly Springs, and Clarksdale. The latter was really more of a mass meeting, as more than 150 people were present. All Told, we reached about 300 of the key leadership in Mississippi, including a few whites.

In addition to the workshops, we had conferences with key leaders at Edwards, Tougaloo, and Cleveland. At Edwards, which is between Jackson and

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"It is our information further, sir, that you as a Communist have been propagating the Communist activity and the Communist line principally in the South; that you have been masquerading behind a facade of humanitarianism; that you have been masquerading behind a facade of emotional appeal to certain segments of our society; that your purpose, objective, your activities, are designed to further the cause of the international Communist conspiracy in the United States."

GOES SILENT

Braden invoked the first amendment many times during the committee hearing in Atlanta.

"I stood on the same grounds as I stood before," Braden testified. "You are probing into private beliefs and associations, which are protected by the first amendment of the United States."

Braden challenged the "pertinency" of the committee's questions.

He says he studied for the Catholic priesthood from 1928 to 1930, when he halted his formal education.

Braden worked for several newspapers and labor publications.

DYNAMITE INCIDENT

The dynamiting conviction came on Dec. 13, 1954, on a charge of advocating sedition against the state of Kentucky. He was charged with instigating the purchase of a house in the Louisville suburbs and then transferring its ownership to a Negro family. Braden and several other persons were convicted.

The U. S. Supreme Court, however, ruled in another case an individual state could not enact anti-subversive laws. Congress, it held, had preempted that right.

The action nullified Kentucky's sedition laws and, consequently, his conviction was reversed on June 22, 1956.

It was during that trial that both Braden and his wife, Anne, were identified as members of of the Communist Party.

He denied the charge.

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The Supreme Court later upheld his contempt conviction.

He started serving his sentence on May 1, 1961, and was released on Feb. 1 of this year.

The National Guardian, an ultra-leftwing publication, reported on his conviction and said 17 white and Negro Southern leaders had initiated a petition to President Kennedy asking clemency.

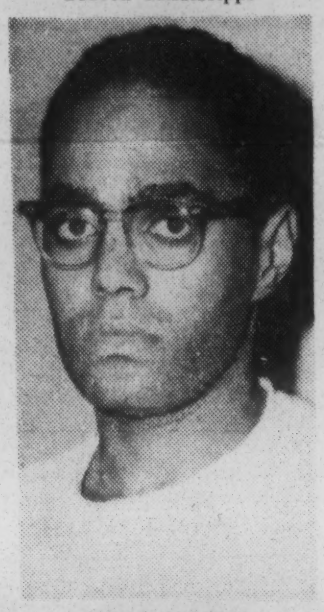
DR. KING'S FRIEND

The publication quoted Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., one of the clemency petition initiators, as saying: "I have no doubt they are being punished — particularly Mr. Braden — for their integration activities. We are not upholding Communism in any way. We simply feel the House Un-American Activities Committee should not be used to thwart integration."

Arens said this as he question-

Continued on Page 3

CARL BRADEN
Toured Mississippi



BOB MOSES
Braden's Partner

CHARLES BUTTS
Jackson Writer

Butts Admits Touring State With Braden

Charles Butts, editor of the Mississippi Free Press, admitted to the Jackson Daily News today that he traveled from Cleveland to Jackson with Carl Braden, an identified Communist active in the state recently.

Butts, almost 21, said he was in Cleveland to contact Amzie Moore, identified as an integration worker by Braden.

"Braden was in contact with Moore," Butts said, "and Braden was coming to Jackson. Four of us drove to Jackson."

He identified the other two as Sally Woodman of New York, who was working for Butts, and Bob Moses, who traveled in the state with Braden.

"I was glad to have him (Braden) drive in my car," Butts said, "and I would certainly invite him again."

He said they "talked about many things—including my work and families."

"I think the fact that he was before the House Un-American Activities Committee is not an indication of his guilt or innocence." Butts said in an interview. "He just retained his rights under the fifth amendment not to answer certain questions."

"The fact that he did not reveal certain names is no reflection on his guilt or innocence," he added.

Butts said Moore introduced him to Braden.

Butts made his remarks in an interview today. He later asked if they could be retracted.

Last night, he told a Daily

Continued on Page 6

Moses Jailed In Indianola

INDIANOLA, Miss. (Special) — Bob Moses, a Negro linked with identified Communist Carl Braden in a tour of the state in July, was arrested here today for distributing handbills without a permit.

Police Chief William Love said Moses, 27, was held but could probably be released on $50 bond.

Love said Moses lived in New York. He has spent time in Jackson.

FBI Probes Closing Of Integrated School

BURAS, La. (AP) — The FBI today started to investigate the rocky road to desegregation at the Our Lady of Good Harbor Catholic school "at the specific request of the Attorney General of the United States."

H. G. Maynor, special agent-in-charge of the New Orleans office of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, announced the inquiry.

As FBI agents began their probe, the pastor of the school unexpectedly called off classes for the day, fearing violence. The action came only 20 minutes before the third day of classes was to start.

The Rev. Christopher Schneider apparently hoped trouble might subside during the long Labor Day weekend.

About 100 persons were milling outside the brick school building which enrolled five Negroes Wednesday and became the first desegregated parochial elementary school in Louisiana. Many carried the same placards which appeared Thursday.

The spectators, swatting at a sudden invasion of mosquitoes, were not immediately told of the decision not to hold classes.

Father Schneider, a member of the Franciscan order, read a short statement to newsmen:

"There is no school today because of numerous threats of physical violence and fear of insufficient police protection."

He asked newsmen to read the statement back and declined to elaborate.

The five Negroes who attended classes the first day of school Wednesday stayed home Thursday.

Only 25 white children attended the school Thursday. Last year the school had an enrollment of about 340.

Excommunicated political leader Leander H. Perez Sr., said he would go to the school today to

Continued on Page 6

whom he worked on his survey mission and he names the places visited. He says there are "heartening and saddening factors" in the integration program in Mississippi.

Braden says he worked with people in Jackson, Hattiesburg, Tougaloo, Laurel, Greenwood, Holly Springs and Clarksdale, setting up workshops on "civil liberties, nonviolence and the First Amendment."

In addition to these workshops, he held meetings with what he called "key leaders" at Edwards, Tougaloo and Cleveland, Braden's report reveals.

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He plans to establish a seminar near Edwards this fall to concoct techniques of "using" the wire services, newspapers and magazines to spread his propaganda about "police brutality," a phrase frequently used by racial agitators in Mississippi. Although scores of charges of "police brutality" have been broadcast by the wire services and supposedly investigated by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, not a word has been reported of any indictments or substantiation on these nationally publicized charges.

Braden ruefully indicates the people of Mississippi have changed in attitude in the past year and that the people who run things are making a great effort to keep down violence.

He ended his memorandum with a tone of encouragement. "Despite the attempts at terrorism and the lack of funds, those engaged in the (integration) projects are happy and enthusiastic. They are not only registering people to vote, but they are laying plans to have sit-in demonstrations, picketing, parades, etc."

He adds, "It is my judgment that we should seriously consider raising some funds as a special project to aid the work in Mississippi."

Following is Carl Braden's secret report in full:

A REPORT BY CARL BRADEN ON A FIELD TRIP THROUGH MISSISSIPPI

July 13-19, 1962

CONFIDENTIAL — Not for publication, July 23, 1962.

I have waited until today to start my report on the Mississippi trip for two reasons: (1) I was worn out when I got back; (2) I needed to get some perspective on the situation, as there are both heartening and saddening factors in the situation in that state.

Bob Moses and I traveled [illegible] 925 miles up and down and [illegible] the state in a period of six [illegible]ys — from July 13 to 19. We [illegible]sed three different automobile[illegible] as Amzie Moore's gave out under us at the end of about 450 miles. We then used the Rev. James Bevel's car for about 350 miles and wound up returning to Jackson with Charles Butts, editor of the Mississippi Free Press. (The Rev. Mr. Bevel is Diane Nash Bevel's husband.)

We conducted workshops on civil liberties, nonviolence, and the First Amendment in Jackson (two there); Hattiesburg, Tougaloo, Laurel, Greenwood, Holly Springs, and Clarksdale. The latter was really more of a mass meeting, as more than 150 people were present. All Told, we reached about 300 of the key leadership in Mississippi, including a few whites.

In addition to the workshops, we had conferences with key leaders at Edwards, Tougaloo, and Cleveland. At Edwards, which is between Jackson and Vicksburg, we met with David Lollis and his wife. They are operating the Mount Beulah Christian Center about two miles from Edwards.

This center is on a 1,300-acre tract which was formerly Southern Christian Institute, a junior college. After S. C. I. was combined with Tougaloo Christian College at Tougaloo, Miss., this campus was made available to the student movement for work shops and seminars.

The conference with the director had to do with plans for an Adult Education Workshop which the students were planning for this week. Recruits for this workshop were enlisted by Bob and me during our travels throughout the state. The response was very good and they probably have as many as 50 to 75 people there this week.

Bob and Dave Lollis and I also met with A. D. Beitel, president of Tougaloo Christian College, in regard to plans for the workshop. He (Beitel) is most interested in this project and pledged whatever help he could give in making the project a success.

Beitel was getting ready to leave for an interracial Conference at Lexington, Ky., sponsored by the Christian Churches and the United Church of Christ. I gathered from him the feeling

Continued on page 3

JAMES AND DIANE NASH BEVEL
Prominent in Jackson "Freedom Rides"

BUTTS

Continued from Page 1

News staff writer he was graduated from Oberlin High School, near Cleveland, in 1960. He said his father is a professor at Oberlin College.

His present job his first full-time newspaper post but he said did some part-time news work in the North.

He said he feels "there is real opportunity in the South."

Butts listed these basic goals of the Free Press:

1. Help establish good government.

2. Improve economic standards, including democratic labor unions.

3. Improve educational and social freedoms.

4. Improve better communications with labor unions, and management, with the white and the Negro, and urban with rural segments.

"I am very much in favor of voter registration campaigns to encourage people to vote," Butts said. "They should be qualified to the extent of knowing what good government is."

Butts said they should be educated on government and added his paper is publishing a series of articles on voter qualifications and state elective offices.

He is of the opinion that a recent strike in Jackson against building contractors for increased wages "was right."

Butts said he is against labor bosses like James Hoffa and "I'm not siding with them."

"We need responsible labor union leaders and the labor union members should be educated as to their responsibility," the young editor, not yet old enough to vote, said.

Butts said he is "definitely opposed to the Communist methods and the general dictatorship of Communism."

"I am opposed to the whole works," he added.

Butts said his paper, printed in Memphis, has a subscription list of some 400. Additionally, he added, some 1,200 are sold on Jackson streets and another 500 over the state.

He assumed his post last June.

"I have had many encouraging calls on our editorial policy," Butts said.

SCEF Is Identified As Commie Front

What is the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc?

This is a timely question because of exposure of a secret memorandum from Carl Braden, field secretary of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, on his recent agitation junket into Mississippi.

The U. S. Senate's Judiciary Committee has said the SCEF is operating with "substantially the same leadership and purposes as its predecessor" — an organization "conceived, financed and set up by the Communist Party in 1938 as a mass organization to promote Communism throughout the southern states."

The earlier organization was The Southern Conference for Human Welfare.

"Earl Browder, former general secretary of the Communist Party in the United States, in a public hearing, identified The Southern Conference for Human Welfare as one of the Communist Party's 'transmission belts,' the committee reported following a hearing in March of 1954.

J. B. Matthews of New York City, an acknowledged opponent of communism, told Mississippi's General Legislative Investigating Committee in November of 1959 the Southern Conference Educational Fund has had a "continuing history from November, 1938."

"In November, 1938," he said, "the founding convention of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare was held in Birmingham, Ala. There were distinguished individuals brought in to support the founding of this Communist outfit.

"When I say it was a Communist outfit," Matthews added, "I'm not dealing in generalities, I'm dealing with the specific fact that at least five well-known Communists, most of them young Communists, were of major importance in the founding of this organization. They were manipulating every move of the conference behind the scenes."

Matthews pointed out the fund organization retained the same executive secretary, James A. Dombrowksi, when it assumed the functions of its predecessor.

He said it also kept the same headquarters address in New Orleans and "didn't bother to have its telephone number changed."

"It kept the same magazine, The Southern Patriot," Matthews added, "and was supported by the same individuals, by and large, throughout the South."

Mississippi Sen. James O. Eastland's Judiciary Committee reported the human welfare organization was cited by two congressional committees as a "Communist-front organization."

It quoted a report saying the organization "seeks to attract southern liberals on the basis of its seeming interest in the problems of the South." It said its "professed interest in Southern welfare is simply an expedient for larger aims serving the Soviet Union and its subservient Communist Party in the United States."

Matthews told the Mississippi panel he considered "Dombrowski to have been, all these many years, one of the shrewdest Communist operators in the history of the Communist movement of this country."

He cited "an aggregation of veteran Communist fronters, a few of whom are party members, supporting the southern Conference Educational Fund in its drive to create social chaos in the South."

"In 1956," Matthews testified, "the Communists in New York set up an organization known as the provisional Committee for Justice in Mississippi.

"The organization put on a rally in New Orleans in February of that year, as announced in The Worker (official Communist publication)," he said, adding:

"They had as their principal speaker, Mrs. Andrew W. Simkins, NAACP leader, Southern Regional Council leader, Southern Conference for Human Welfare and Southern Conference Educational Fund — not to mention dozens of others which are in the record before me.

"She has been a vice president of the Southern Conference Educational Fund.

"Mr. Chairman, I have here the complete tabulations on the records of 251 individuals who have been affiliated in one way or another with the Southern Conference Educational Fund.

"Their records involve many thousands of separate affiliations of the Communist apparatus. .

WORK PROGRESSES ON NEW ARMORY

PHILADELPHIA, Miss. (Special) — Work is progressing on the new armory at the lower end of the industrial site on the Longino road. The steel was raised last week for the drill hall and masonry work has begun.

The building will be finished in pink chipped brick and is being built on a concrete slab. Central Construction Co. of Philadelphia is the contractor.

COMMIE

Continued From Page 1

that the atmosphere in Mississippi has changed greatly just within the last year. He indicated the belief that people who run things in Mississippi are making a great effort to keep down violence against persons favoring integration.

In traveling over Mississippi, we did hear of fewer cases of people beaten to death in the jails and on the streets. This was formerly routine, especially in the Delta. Nowadays it seems that police content themselves with beating prisoners in order to maintain the feeling of terror in the community. For example, beatings at Greenwood are regularly administered with a leather whip about four feet long.

Greenwood is the core of White Citizens Council activity in the U. S. A. and was formerly the center of an area where the killing of Negroes was an everyday affair. Now a killing is rare, resulting mostly when police beat a prisoner too much, without realizing that they have gone past his limit of endurance. A case of this kind was reported at Greenwood recently.

The continued beatings have caused the leadership people in the state to see the great need for a constant stream of reports going out across the country. However, there is nobody in the state equipped to do this job. It requires proper gathering of facts and then presenting them so that they will be used in the news media.

In line with this, Bob Moses and I discussed the possibility of holding a seminar on news media at Mount Beulah in the fall. You will recall that Ella Baker and I have been proposing this for some time; Original plans were knocked askew by my being detained in federal custody for 9 months.

Bob planned to discuss this further with Ella this week at the Mount Beulah workshop, as she was to be one of the resource people there. It is our idea that an intensive course in news coverage should be given over a period of two weeks. Participants would not be limited to people from Mississippi, but would come from all over the South.

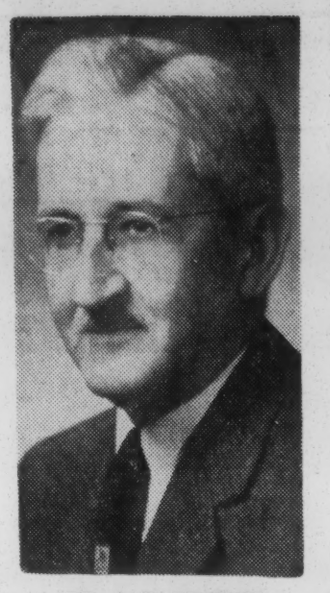
We should also consider the possibility of concentrating our efforts in Mississippi and Alabama and exposing the police brutality in both states. I believe we could put a stop to it within six months by proper publicity.

The student movement now has bases in Jackson, Laurel, Hattiesburg, Greenwood, Holly Springs, Vicksburg, and Greenville. Amzie Moore's place in Cleveland provides a base there for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and it is also available to the students.

The wisdom of keeping Amzie Moore in Cleveland is demonstrated by the fact that both SCLC and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee make use of his facilities, contacts, and resources in pushing the voter registration drive in the Delta. In fact, James and Diane Bevel live at Amzie's house and others stay there as the occasion arises. They spread out from Cleveland all over the Delta.

The operation of so many bases strains the finances of the student movement greatly. They do not have money for gasoline and food toward the end of the period of an allotment. They got $5,000 from the Voter Education Project to operate in Mississippi during May, June, and July. It is now near the end of that period, and the fact was reflected in the eating habits of field secretaries on the project.

One field secretary at Greenwood told me he eats once a day — about 2 o'clock in the morning before going to bed for a few hours. I guess he doesn't like to go to bed hungry.



DR. A. D. BEITTEL
Tougaloo President

You can see why funds are so thinly spread when there are seven offices to maintain and about a dozen staff to feed.

Despite the police attempts at terrorism and the lack of funds those engaged in the projects are happy and enthusiastic. They are not only registering people to vote, but they are laying plans to have sit - in demonstrations, picketing, parades, etc.

This was one of the reasons they wanted me to conduct workshops around Mississippi — to tell the people their rights under the First Amendment and to discuss the philosophy of nonviolent direct action. Which we did.

It is my judgment that we should seriously consider raising some funds as a special project to aid the work in Mississippi, if the Voter Education Project does not come through with more money. When I left Mississippi, Bob Moses had not heard whether the V. E. P. was going to give them funds for the three - months period starting August 1. He planned to let you know if nothing materialized.

There is also a great need for cars to transport potential voters to the registration offices. The problem is particularly acute in Jackson and Cleveland. I sent David Dennis of CORE the names of five people from our mailing list in Jackson who might be helpful. Amzie Moore is in bad shape since the rear end fell out of his car after Bob and I made a trip in it.

BRADEN

Continued From Page 1

ed Braden: "And let is be clear also, sir, that I do not propose, nor have I thus far at any time undertaken, to probe any private beliefs.

"We are interested here solely in your participation in an organization which is controlled by a Godless, atheistic conspiracy, which is seeping the world and which ultimately threatens, and will threaten, the integrity of this Nation; and if this committee of the United States Congress cannot solicit from a citizen information respecting the operation within the confines of the border of this Godless, atheistic conspiracy, God help this country."

WORKS FOR INTEGRATION

Braden testified his organization is a "southwide interracial organization working to bring about integration, justice, and decency in the South."

More testimony taken from the committee records:

"Arens: Now would you kindly tell us whether or not Mrs. Alberta Ahearn, A-h-e-a-r-n, was in error which she took an oath before the Committee on Un-American Activities and testified that while she was a member of the Communist Party she knew you, sir, as a member of the Communist Party. We would like to now afford you an opportunity to deny that identification while you are under oath, sir. Do you care to avail yourself of that opportunity?

"Braden: I stand on the same grounds as I stood on before. You are probing into private beliefs and associations, which are protected by the first amendment of the United States. The question has no possible pertinency to any legislative purpose. The mandate of this committee is so vague that nobody know what you are supposed to be investigating.

"Arens: We will tell you now, communism and Communists —

"Braden: Integration is what you are investigating. All the people subpenaed here are integrationists.

"Donald L. Jackson, representative from California: Are all the people subpenaed here also Communists:

"Braden: I leave that to you.

"Jackson: We are trying to determine that fact; and it would certainly seem that when we have testimony under oath which so identifies witnesses, that there must be some flame with all of the smoke."

Jackson told Braden that "we are not going to be clouded, so far as I am concerned, by talking about integration and segregation."

"This committee is concerned in what you are doing in behalf of the Communist conspiracy," he said.

The exchange continued:

"Braden: Two hundred Negro leaders in the South petitioned the Congress of the United States last week in connection with this hearing in Atlanta.

"Jackson: After looking at some of the names on this list, the letters went into the circular files of many members because it was quite obvious that a number of names on that letter were names of those that had been closely associated with the communist Party.

"Their interest and major part does not lie with honest integration. Their interest lies with the purposes of the Communist Party. And that is what we are looking into, and let us not be clouding this discussion and this hearing this morning by any more nonsense that we are here as representative of the United States Government to further, or to destroy, or to have anything to do with, integration. I resent it as an individual member of the Congress.

"Braden: I think the 200 Negro leaders who signed that statement ought to resent your statement about political affiliation."

Braden also identified himself as associate editor of the Southern Patriot, "which is a paper that disseminates information on integration in the South and about the people who are working for integration."

ON YOUR GUARD

Pro-Red Abolitionists Make Carl Braden A Hero

To help its reader keep on guard against propaganda, the Daily News brings you an authoritative weekly roundup of pro-Communist activities. The following is reproduced from a recent column by Mr. Lotto.

By JACK LOTTO

The "wreckers" have moved into Washington.

The smashers call themselves the "National Committee to Abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee which tells their goal and target.

A bigger batch of pro-Communists would be hard to find. At least six top leaders of this group have been identified as Communist Party members by the House committee.

They are Harvey O'Connor, of Little Compton, R. I.; Rev. William Howard Melish, of New York; Miss Florence Luscomb of Cambridge, Mass.; Russ Nixon of Washington, Richard Criley of Chicago, and Frank Wilkinson, of Los Angeles.

The pro-Red lobbying in the nation's capital is aimed at scuttling the House committee by the side door method — getting its budget chopped to the point where it would become inoperative.

They, of course, would prefer to try to get Congress to kill the committee outright, but they know they don't have a chance on this goal this year. So, they decided the realistic short term project should be to concentrate their fight on the funds.

The Washington office is being used by these birds and some affiliated pro-Red organizations to "coordinate" the cut-the-budget campaign.

Meanwhile, a hero's welcome was being prepared for the "big brains" behind the over-all abolition drive—whose jail term ends on Feb. 1.

COMMIE AND PARTNER

The "coming out" parties are planned for Wilkinson, an identified Communist Party member, and another imprisoned partner, Carl Braden, of Louisville, Ky.

Braden, identified under oath as a Red, is active in the anti-House committee drive and integration propaganda in the South.

Both received one year prison terms, which end Thursday, Feb. 1, for contempt of Congress.

Wilkinson will be hailed at a New York reception the night he gets out of jail. A pro-Communist Chicago group does the honors the next night, with a welcome home party scheduled in Los-Angeles, on Feb. 14th, among others.

CHEERS FOR BRADEN

Braden isn't being overlooked either in the cheers department. Braden will be the honor guest at a New York reception sponsored by a group called the "N. Y. Committee of the Friends of Southern Conference Educational Fund."

BOB ZELLNER
Jailed At McComb

The star attraction is field secretary of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc., of New Orleans, cited by a Senate committee as a national Red front.

Listed speakers at the Braden party are Rev. Wyatt T. Walker, executive secretary of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Ella J. Baker, of Atlanta, member of the executive committee of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, and Bob Zellner, Southern student recently jailed in McComb, Miss.

JACKSON DAILY NEWS

HOME FINAL

Mississippi's Greatest Newspaper

ESS NEA SERVICE JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI, SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 1, 1962 UNITED PRESS INTERNATIONAL 16 PAGES PRICE 5c

Commies Recruiting Members In Hinds?

REGISTRATION BLANK: ADULT EDUCATION WORKSHOPS CONDUCTED BY THE MISSISSIPPI ADULT EDUCATION COMMITTEE.

NAME:_____ AGE:_____

STREET ADDRESS:_____

CITY:_____ STATE:_____

TELEPHONE:_____

I. IF YOU ARE A STUDENT:

1. What school are you attending?_____ (Print name of school)
2. What is your classification? Freshman ( ) Sophomore ( ) Junior ( ) Senior ( )
3. If still in High School do you intend to go to college?

16. Do your political views differ basically from those of your parents? yes___ no___
Do they approve of your working in programs for the greater equality of the races? yes___ no___
Do they or have they participated in such programs themselves? yes___ no___

17. Do you think that the Negro has a better life in Mississippi _____ or in Africa_____?

18. If you had the opportunity to move to Africa, would you be willing to do so? yes___ no___

19. Do you think that a transition to the communist system of government would better or worsen the lot of the Negro in Mississippi? better____ worsen____

20. Do you think that the need to improve the lot of the poor White is greater than____, equal to____, or less than____ the need to improve the lot of the poor Negro in the South?

21. If you marry a person? yes no

"SEMINAR" REGISTRATION FORM

The Jackson Daily News has intercepted an inflammatory registration form to be completed by Negroes attending "workshops" and "seminars" that are conducted under the sponsorship of Carl Braden, an identified Communist who recently visited Mississippi to drum up support for voter registration and integration activity. The Braden meetings are being held at Mount Beulah Christian College near Edwards, Tougaloo Christian College and other points throughout the state. Special attention is called to Question No. 19.

Application Form At 'Workshop' Cited

By JAMES M. WARD

At a "voter registration" workshop held at Mount Beulah Christian Institute near Edwards under the sponsorship of Carl Braden, an identified Communist and field secretary of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, an inflammatory registration blank was passed out for prospective participants.

A source qualified in such activity said the questionnaire has all the earmarks of a snare for Communist Party membership.

Soliciting various personal background data on candidates for the workshop, the registration blank also asks for information on the participant's desire to engage in voter registration work and agitation for integration in schools, churches and private facilities.

The explosive portions come near the end of the long form with such questions as:

"Do your political views differ basically from those of your parents. Do they approve of your working in programs for the greater equality of the races?

"Do you think that the Negro has a better life in Mississippi—— or in Africa——?

"If you had the opportunity to move to Africa, would you be willing to do so?

"Do you think that a transition to the Communist system of government would better or worsen the lot of the Negro in Mississippi?"

WHAT IT MEANS

An authority on subversion said the latter question was highly interesting. After giving a group of Negroes a heated lecture on how they are being mistreated they would tend to answer they favored a transition to the Communist system. If they did answer in that manner, they were then considered ripe prospects for recruitment into the party. If the signed "yes" and later changed their mind, their original answer could be used as blackmail to make them conform to party discipline and the victim could be used as a dupe.

The questionnaire was used at Mount Beulah in connection with an Adult Education Workshop conducted by the Mississippi Adult Education Committee.

A confidential report by Carl Braden published in full in yesterday's Jackson Daily News revealed Braden instrumental in setting up the workshop and Braden reported that he and Bob Moses, 27-year-old Negro native of New York who has been active in integration attempts in Mississippi within the past two years, recruited participants, signing up some 50 to 75 people.

Moses was arrested in Indianola yesterday on a charge of passing out handbills without a permit. Police said he went to jail and made no effort to post the $50 cash bond necessary to be released.

Braden has revealed that he will return to Mississippi in the near future to set up a special workshop at Mount Beulah to plan means of getting the maximum amount of national publicity on "violence and police brutality" in Mississippi.

In connection with his plan, Braden said:

"The continued (police) beatings have caused the leadership people in the state to see the great need for a constant stream of reports going out across the country."

Braden's deep interesst in voter registration, integration of schools, churches and private places is not new. Upon release from a Federal prison last February he has resumed a busy schedule of agitation in the South.

Much of the planning for his current crusade was made at a conference on "The Deep South: Ways and Means to Integration" at Birmingham last April 13-14.

The conference was sponsored by the Alabama Christian Move-

Continued on Page 16

REDS

Continued from Page 1

ment for Human Rights, Student Non-Violent Co-Ordinating Committee and the Southern Conference Education Fund, Inc.

Participants on the program included Bishop Edgar A. Love, president, Southern Conference Education Fund, Baltimore; Aubrey W. Williams, president emeritus, who made a financial reward to the Rev. F. L. Shuttlesworth, president, Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights and agitation leader in Alabama; Miles Horton, director of the Highlander Center at Monteagle, Tenn., an institution that was closed by the State of Tennessee upon exposure of its pro-Communist training work.

Braden's chief role at the Birmingham rally was to explain his plan for "Getting better and fuller coverage in the news media."

Listed on the printed program was the Rev. Murray Cox, Gulfport minister and chairman of the Mississippi Advisory Committee to the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights. Rev. Cox, like Braden, has an intensive dislike for the House Committee on Un-American Activities. He recently was a co-signer of an ad in the New York Times urging abolition of the committee.

Rev. Cox did not attend the meeting due to "a "conflict" but he said he gave his name to be used as a participant.

Highlander Folk school, shut down by Tennessee as a public nuisance, is out of business and its property is being auctioned.

With Braden's intensive interest in Mount Beulah near Edwards and Tougaloo College, is the successor to Highlander Folk school to be established at one or both institutions?

JACKSON DAILY NEWS

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ MID-DAY EDITION

Mississippi's Greatest Newspaper

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Mt. Beulah Denies Link To Braden

Official Says Investigation Of Workshop Report Planned

The president of the missionary society that owns Mount Beulah Christian Center, near Edwards, today denied that Carl Braden had sponsored a workshop there and said he is investigating charges based on Braden's "confidential report" on his activities at Mount Beulah.

In Braden's report, published by the Daily News Friday, the identified Communist wrote that he and Negro Bob Moses had recruited 50 to 75 people to attend a workshop at Mount Beulah during a six-day tour of Mississippi last July.

"As a matter of simple fact I want to state categorically that the workshops at Mt. Beulah were not held under the sponsorship of Carl Braden," declared A. Dale Fiers, Indianapolis, Ind., president of the United Christian Missionary Society.

Fiers said he flew to Jackson to make a personal investigation of the workshop story. Before returning to Indianapolis this morning, he said he had conferred with the Mount Beulah center's director and that he intends to "find the truth or misinformation which may be contained in reports of the situation and to take whatever remedial action or make whatever clarifications are appropriate."

However, Fiers said, "there is no present plan for a workshop to be held under (Braden's) sponsorship in the future nor will there be."

In the "confidential report" published Friday, Braden said "we had conferences with key leaders at Edwards, Tougaloo, and Cleveland. At Edwards, which is between Jackson and Vicksburg, we met with David Lollis and his wife. They are operating the Mount Beulah Christian Center about two miles from Edwards.

"The conference with the director had to do with plans for an Adult Education Workshop which the students were planning for this week (July 13-19)," the Bra-

An effort is being made by a left-wing writer in a national magazine to make a hero out of Robert Moses, a 27-year-old Harvard-educated New York Negro who is active in racial agitation on Mississippi. Moses was the chief traveling companion of Carl Braden, an identified Communist and field secretary of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc., who recently visited Tougaloo College in Jackson, Mount Beulah Christian Center near Edwards and several other communities. Read tomorrow's Jackson Daily News for details of the Moses plan to "UPSET THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF THE DEEP SOUTH AND CHANGE PARTY POLITICS IN THE UNITED STATES."

revealed will be a vindication of the center and staff."

FIERS' STATEMENT

Fiers' statement, in full, follows:

"The articles which appear in your paper on August 31st and September 1st linking Carl Braden to the program of the Mt. Beulah Christian Center were brought to the attention of the United Christian Missionary Society of Christian Churches (Disciples of Christ) which owns the property at Mt. Beulah, em-

Continued on Page 16

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"The conference with the director had to do with plans for an Adult Education Workshop which the students were planning for this week (July 13-19)," the Braden report continued. "Recruits for this workshop were enlisted by Bob (Moses) and me during our travels throughout the state. The response was very good and they probably have as many as 50 to 75 people there this week.

"Bob and Dave Lollis and I also met with A. D. Beitel, president of Tougaloo Christian College, in regard to plans for the workshop," the report added. "He (Beitel) is most interested in this project and pledged whatever held he could give in making the project a success.

NEWS SEMINAR DISCUSSED

The report continued to say Bob Moses and Braden "discussed the possibility of holding a seminar on news media at Mount Beulah this fall. . .It is our idea that an intensive course in news coverage should be given over a period of two weeks. Participants would not be limited to people from Mssissippi, but would come from all over the South.

Braden's report said purpose of the seminar was to train people in the "proper gathering of facts" regarding alleged police brutality and "then presenting them so that they will be used in the news media."

Fiers said today in completing his investigation of the Mount Beulah situation, he would "give full and careful consideration to any further evidence that may still be presented either publicly or in private."

Fiers said he has "good reason to believe that the full story when revealed will be a vindication of the center and staff."

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Continued on Page 16

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MT. BEULAH

Continued from Page 1

ploys the staff and is responsible for a program of Christian work which has been in continuous operation at that place over 85 years.

"As president of the society I flew from Indianapolis ot Jackson, accompanied by Mrs. Mary Dale, executive secretary of our department of Home Missions Ministries, to make a personal investigation of the charges and information contained in your paper.

"We have been in contact with our director and staff at Mt. Beulah. We have consulted with leaders of our churches in the Jackson area. It is our intention to find any truth or misinformation which may be contained in reports of the situation and to take whatever remedial action or make whatever clarifications are appropriate in light of our findings.

"In the meantime I respectfully ask the privilege of making a statement through your columns to the people of this community.

"The United Christian Missionary Society has no connection whatever with Carl Braden. He is not known to me nor to the departmental executive responsible for the supervision of Mt. Beulah. At this point in our investigation there is good reason to believe that the full story when revealed will be a vindication of the Center and staff so far as charges based on Mr. Braden's confidential report are concerned. We shall in completing our work give full and careful consideration to any further evidence that may still be presented either publicly or privately.

"As a matter of simple fact I want to state categorically that the workshops at Mt. Beulah were not held under the sponsorship of Carl Braden. There is no present plan for a workshop to be held under his sponsorship in the future nor will there be. Also there has never been and will not be any plan to establish the Highlander Folk School at Mt. Beulah."

QUESTIONNAIRE QUERIES

During the weekend the Jackson Daily News received numerous queries about the registration blank passed out at Mount Beulah by the Adult Education Workshops conducted by the Mississippi Adult Education Committee.

Portions of the inflammatory questionnaire were reproduced in Saturday's editions with special attention devoted to Question No. 19 which asked, "Do you think that a transition to the Communist system of government would better or worsen the lot of the Negro in Mississippi? Better—— Worsen——."

In order to acquaint readers with the full details of this application form, it is reproduced in full below.

REGISTRATION BLANK: ADULT EDUCATION WORKSHOPS CONDUCTED BY THE MISSISSIPPI ADULT EDUCATION COMMITTEE.

NAME: _____ AGE: _____
STREET ADDRESS: _____
CITY: _____ STATE: _____
TELEPHONE: _____

I. IF YOU ARE A STUDENT:

1. What school are you attending? _____
(Print name of school)
2. What is your classification? Freshman ( ) Sophomore ( ) Junior ( ) Senior ( )
3. If still in High School, do you intend to go to college? ____
What college do you plan to attend? _____
4. What are your favorite subjects? _____
5. What is your major, (if you are in college?) _____
6. What are your special interests? Reading ( ); Speaking ( ); Music ( ); Dramatics ( ); Dancing ( ); Sports ( ); Other _____
(Please check "X" or list those not mentioned above)
7. What offices, or positions, have you held in school? _____
8. What offices have you held in church or community organizations? _____

II. IF YOU ARE NOT IN SCHOOL:

1. What is your Business or Occupation? _____
2. What offices do you hold or have held, in church or community organizations? _____
3. What are your major interests? Reading ( ); Speaking ( ); Music ( ); Sports ( ); Others: _____
(Please check "X" and list any interests not mentioned

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2. What is your classification? Freshman ( ) Sophomore ( ) Junior ( ) Senior ( )
3. If still in High School, do you intend to go to college? _____
What college do you plan to attend? _____
4. What are your favorite subjects? _____
5. What is your major, (if you are in college?) _____
6. What are your special interests? Reading ( ); Speaking ( ); Music ( ); Dramatics ( ); Dancing ( ); Sports ( ); Other _____
(Please check "X" or list those not mentioned above)
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1. What is your Business or Occupation? _____
2. What offices do you hold, or have held, in church or community organizations? _____
3. What are your major interests? Reading ( ); Speaking ( ); Music ( ); Sports ( ); Others: _____
(Please check "X" and list any interests not mentioned above)

III. VOTER REGISTRATION INTERESTS:

1. Why are you interested in Voter-Registration? _____
2. Have you done work in voter-registration? _____
Where _____
3. Would you be willing to take off a semester ( ), a year ( ), a summer ( ), to work in the Mississippi Voter Registration Program? _____

1. What is your age? _____ Where are you from? _____
2. You have completed work through what grade level in high school or college? _____
3. You eventually plan to complete your education through what level?
high school _____; junior college _____; college _____; graduate school _____
4. Upon completing your education, what vocation or profession do you plan to enter? _____ undecided _____
5. If opportunities were greater, for what profession might you prepare? _____
6. What do you consider the major obstacles that prevent your entering the profession that you want to enter?
cost of higher education _____
lack of books in your home _____
poor elementary and secondary school preparation for college____
other _____
7. When you have finished school and entered a vocation, do you intend to remain in Mississippi _____? in the South _____? in the United States _____?
8. Wherever you are, do you think that your working for Negro rights can have an effect on racial patterns? yes _____ no _____
9. If you intend to work for Negro rights, do you plan to work as an individual _____, or with an organization _____?
On a full time _____ or part time _____ basis?
10. If you had the opportunity, would you attend a white school in the South? yes_____ no_____
Would you attend a predominantly white school in the North? yes_____ no_____
11. What would you consider the advantages and/or disadvantages of attending a white or predominantly white school?
12. You are a member of or attend what church? _____
none _____
Would you mind having a white person as a member of your church? yes_____ no_____
Could a white person become a member of your church? yes_____ no_____
Would a white person be accepted by the members of your church? yes_____ no_____
13. Do you think that a greater percentage of Negroes _____ or Whites in the South are Christian?
14. Do you expect to see segregation eliminated from public places in the South? yes_____ no_____
If you do, in about how long? _____years
15. Do you expect to see segregation eliminated from private places in the South? yes_____ no_____
If you do, in about how long? _____years
parents? yes_____ no_____
Do they approve of your working in programs for the greater equality of the races? yes_____ no_____
Do they or have they participated in such programs themselves? yes_____ no_____
17. Do you think that the Negro has a better life in Mississippi _____ or in Africa _____?
18. If you had the opportunity to move to Africa, would you be willing to do so? yes_____ no_____
19. Do you think that a transition to the communist system of government would better or worsen the lot of the Negro in Mississippi? better_____ worsen_____
20. Do you think that the need to improve the lot of the poor White is greater than _____, equal to _____, or less than _____ the need to improve the lot of the poor Negro in the South?
21. Would you marry a white person? yes_____ no_____
22. Do you consider yourself as more knowledgeable _____, of equal knowledge _____, or less knowledgeable _____ than your parents in matters concerning the racial situation in America.
23. Which of the white person's fears do you think makes him most afraid of integration?
fear of loss of economic power _____
fear of loss of political power _____
fear of no longer being racially superior _____ (in his mind)
other _____
24. How would you describe your relationship to the white citizens of your community?
Feel free to expand or explain more fully your answer to any question, using the back of the sheet on which that question appears.

Jan. 18, 1956

Dear Dr. Wells;

Thank God for one Georgian with conviction and courage to speak out!

In this mornings news I read of your speech in Brunswick, and it lifted me from the slough of despondency and I felt I must let you know that one 75 yr. old native Georgia woman hopes you will keep up the good work. God bless you.

Sincerely,

Julia B. Hodges
Savannah, Georgia

INTEGRATION ASKED BY WELLS

Brunswick, Jan. 17 (AP)--A native Georgian and long-time educator Tuesday called upon the people of his state to abide by the U.S. Supreme Court's decision requiring an end to public school segregation.

Dr. Guy H. Wells of Atlanta, former president of the Georgia State College for Women declared:

"We need in Georgia today a group of sane people to solve the race problem. We don't have that today--only the politicians are telling us what to do."

Wells, now associated with the Georgia Council on Interracial Cooperation, told the Brunswick Rotary Club that all the Supreme Court asked was that the south proceed with "deliberate" speed toward integration. He expressed the opinion that Negroes will want most things to continue as they are for a long time, "but we must be willing to make some intelligent compromises."

Three schools of reaction to the court's ruling were described by Wells--politicians who say it is "absolutely silly," people who accept it but hope they are dead before segregation ends, and those who acknowledged the decision as law.

He expressed hope Rotary members would be in the last group.

Criticism

Jan. 19, 1956

Dr. Guy Wells
Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation
63 Auburn Ave. N. E.
Atlanta, Ga.

Sir

After reading the clipping attached I can Well under stand why you are no longer president of the Georgia State College for Women as you know, the citizens and not the Policticans expressed their view on the matter on November 2nd 1954.

The officials of this state are only carring out the Voters Demand that segregation stay. All the trouble would stop if men like you and Ralph McGill would stop stirring it up.

The negro, does not want to mix. It's so called White men like you that taking their money and using the Negro for money gain.

I sincerely hope the attorney General of Georgia will see fit to place your organization and the Southern Regional Cancil name on the Subverive organiga-tions list of the State of Georgia:

Signed:- Robert R. Jackson, Sr.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mr. Cook:

I have your letter of February 21 and the enclosure which purports to be an account of my remarks at Paine College on Feb 13th 1956.

Please be advised that the written statement which bears the name of Mr. C. Brescott is in no sense an accurate account of what I said. It is a distorted, garbled account obviously dictated by the bias of the writer. Neither you, the Governor, nor any member of the General Assembly were even mentioned.

Aside from this misrepresentation of my remarks, I am disturbed by the tone and implications of your letter, particularly your expression of "hope" that I, "the recipient of a substantial retirement fund, did not so discredit Georgia's official segregation plan and libel members of the General Assembly, the Governor and me," and your threat to transmit the Prescott "charges" to the Governor and General Assembly. This obvious attempt on the part of the chief legal officer of the State to intimidate a private citizen in the expression of his opinions is an offense to the very concept of free speech. I am appalled by your suggestion that my retirement fund, based upon my years of service as an educator, denies me the right to express my views on the most critical questions affecting our State.

(a) Because I regard this as a grave and immediate threat to the liberties of every Georgia citizen, I am making public your letter with enclosure and this reply.

Alternate ¶ over

~~Very truly yours,~~

(b) I trust that subsequent events will demonstrate that my present interpretation of your letter is not warranted.

Your implied threat to my retirement benefits, earned by my ~~xxxx~~ 40 years of service as an educator, can only be interpreted as an attempt to stifle freedom of speech.

~~Your implied threat to my retirement~~

Insert

decision. ~~We sincerely urge that you lend the resources and influence of your organization to this purpose, in order that your state and the South may realize their bright promise in our time.~~

File - Guy Wells

The Department of Law
State of Georgia
Atlanta

EUGENE COOK
THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

February 21, 1956

Dr. Guy H. Wells
974 Los Angeles Avenue, N E
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Wells:

Mr. Carl C. Prescott of Millen, Georgia, handed me a typed statement, copy of which is herewith enclosed, respecting some alleged inflammatory and disparaging remarks you made at a meeting of the Inter-racial committee at Paine College a few days ago.

Please examine these alleged statements attributed to you and others present and advise me whether they are true. Should you fail to unconditionally deny them, I feel it my duty to transmit them to the Governor and members of the General Assembly, properly sworn to by Mr. Prescott.

I sincerely hope that you who are honored by the State to hold the position of President Emeritus of one of our highest institutions of learning and the recipient of a substantial retirement fund, did not so discredit Georgia's official segregation plan and libel members of the General Assembly, the Governor and me.

Incidentally, Mr. Prescott advises me that his brother accompanied him and will verify the charges made.

Sincerely yours,

Eugene Cook

The Attorney General

EC:s
Encl

My Experience at Inter-racial Meeting

In beginning, I would like to make some explanation as to why I attended this meeting. In my church, which is Methodist, some of us were very much concerned about this Interracial committee. We understood that the Ford Foundation and the Methodist church was paying this committee. I had talked with some very influential people about this committee and some of them seemed to think that there was no harm being done. I still was not convinced.

On Monday, Feb. 17th, I saw in the Augusta Chronicle that there was going to be an interracial meeting at Paine College. Dr. Guy Wells was to be the speaker with Dr. Lester Rumble, Pastor of St. John's Methodist Church introducing him. Right then I made up my mind to attend that meeting, hoping that my opinion of this committee was wrong and that they were trying to do a good work for the general public; so, on the date of the meeting, I stopped by Waynesboro, picked up my brother, Eugene Prescott, and went to Paine College.

To my utmost surprise, this committee was putting out propaganda that was detrimental to any real Georgian or to our State of Georgia.

Dr. Rumble introduced Dr. Wells and seemed very happy in endorsing everything he had to say. On looking out over the group of Negroes and White (Appr. 12 White, 25 Negro) sitting mixed in audience. Dr. Rumble made the statement, "What a beautiful setting this is."

Dr. Wells praised the Supreme Court decision as great. He told this group that he wanted to apologise for the crazy, stupid Legislators and Governor of this State. He said some one once asked to see a peanut and was shown a Georgia Legislator; he then wanted to see a mule and was shown the Governor of Georgia. (This was highly applauded.) Dr. Wells stated that two-thirds of the people of the World were colored people and that it was time for the White to look up to them. He told of three politicians going to Heaven. One asked St. Peter if there was any separation there and St. Peter replied, "Get back, Eugene Cook, to Hell where you belong." High applause again. He told the group, We must work on the Women, they are more lenient to our cause. He stated that Bishop Moore was with them 100 per cent; also, most of the Daily Newspapers, Preachers, and Educators; although, the Atlanta newspapers had not come out as bold as he would like for them to, mainly on account of business and economy reasons. (some private paper might come in.) He said the Educators would not express themselves on account of the Gov. we have, but that, they hoped, would be eliminated.

Then he told the group this tale- A man once bought some mules that was not broke or tamed, so the buyer asked the seller to break them for him. The seller said that is easy. He haltered one, took up a crow bar, knocked the mule to his knees, and said the first thing you have to do is to make a mule respect you. Dr. Wells then pointed his finger over the group and said, Now that is what you have to do to make the White respect you. He said they had not been able to organize insome areas on account of the criticism and general feeling of the public on the situation but they would get in to all of them before they were through with it.

After finishing the speech he called for any comments or questions. One Negro said there were six Parks in Augusta, and he was not permitted to enter one of them. He said that the thought that he or any negor should be allowed to enter with the White. Dr. Wells replied, "how right you are."

Speaking personally, I think Religion is the basis of a good, lawful state of life; however ministers are now making it seem impossible for any one to go to Heaven unless he permits the Negro and White race to mingle and inter-marry.

Speaking as a Methodist, I think it is time for us to wake up and see what kind of men we have for leaders in our churches. Do we have the right man for Bishop and do we have the right kind of men for our District Supt. and ministers, or xxxxxx as a Georgia citizen, are we going to let a few Half-Communists crackpot Whites lead the Negro into overriding and destroying the peaceful and traditional way of life that we have known and lived all our lives.

Signed

C. C. Prescott

P. S. I think if the good Methodist people and the General Public of Georgia knew what their Church leaders and this Committee are trying to do, We could put a stop to this nonsense and put this inter-racial in its knees.

DR. GEORGE E. CLARY, CHAIRMAN
DEAN B. R. BRAZEAL, FIRST VICE CHAIRMAN
DR. J. McDOWELL RICHARDS, SECOND VICE CHAIRMAN
MRS. A. A. McPHEETERS, SECRETARY
MR. L. D. MILTON, TREASURER

DR. GUY H. WELLS, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
DR. MOZELL HILL, ASSOCIATE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

GEORGIA COMMITTEE ON INTERRACIAL CO-OPERATION
AN AFFILIATE OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
ATLANTA, GA.
TEL. AL. 4063

February 24, 1956

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

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DR. A. N. WHITING
DR. SAMUEL WILLIAMS

Honorable Eugene Cook
Attorney General of Georgia
State Capitol
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Gene:

I have your letter and the copy of the alleged account of my Augusta talk. It is very inaccurately reported and many statements attributed to me are untrue. I at no time mentioned the Governor or you, and the injection of names into the stories was unfounded.

I did deplore the passage of the so-called "private school" laws which most people believe are unconstitutional. At no time did I recommend violence or extreme measures, but suggested cooperation between the two groups to work out a satisfactory solution. Dr. Lester Rumble, President E.C. Peters, and other persons who were present can verify these facts.

Yours sincerely,

Guy H. Wells

GHW/lk

Wells File

St. John Methodist Church

LESTER RUMBLE, D. D., PASTOR
JOHN M. MINTER, ASSOCIATE PASTOR
736 GREENE STREET
AUGUSTA, GEORGIA

LOUISE CLEAVELAND
DIRECTOR CHRISTIAN EDUCATION

MRS. E. FRANK CLARK
CHURCH SECRETARY

MRS. DORAH RICHARDSON
HOSTESS

W. M. FULCHER,
CHAIRMAN, OFFICIAL BOARD

J. W. CARSON,
CHURCH TREASURER

March 14, 1956

Dr. Guy Wells
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Wells:

I sincerely regret that anybody would so misrepresent the meeting held at Paine College on February 13 that out of it would come any hostility to yourself or anyone else.

For more than twenty years I have attended meetings of state and local chapters of the Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation. These meetings have furthered racial understanding through the years. The meeting at which you spoke on the subject, "The Marks of an Educated Man" was very mild in character. Your message might have been given to any Rotary or Kiwanis Club in the state and have received applause. It would have been a fine message to deliver to a college audience in chapel.

It so happened that previous to coming to the interracial meeting at Paine that night I led prayer for a Kiwanis meeting at the Bon Air Hotel, next morning the paper carried a report of that meeting. I remarked to someone upon reading it that you did not say anything in your address that was stronger than the speaker at the Kiwanis meeting uttered. The report of his speech was in the Chronicle for February 14.

It so happened that I had a call from someone previous to our meeting asking if it was to be an "open one". I said "yes." During our meeting I saw two men present who seem not to be a part of what was going on. They left before the time to pay dues or get new members. When I got home after the meeting there was a phone call and a voice, that remains "anonymous," cursed me out in no uncertain terms. I judge the source of your difficulty and my being abused is the same.

Sure we have not come to such a condition on our state that what is attempted against you can succeed.

Sincerely,

Lester Rumble

LR:kc

COPY COPY

Dear Mr. Cook:

I have read Mr. Prescott's account of the Interracial meeting in Augusta on the night of February 13. This account is very inaccurate and biased. I was present at the meeting. Dr. Wells did mention and deplore the passage of the Private School laws, and said many people thought them unconstitutional.

He made the point we needed to keep our good sense of humor, and Christian tolerance, and told some stories, and did not put names into these stories. He never mentioned any Government official. Mr. Prescott has supplied these names. He at no time recommended anything but tolerance and cooperation between the races. He did say we would have to rely on Christian ministers and the women to help work out the problem.

I saw nothing but good common sense in his speech. This is how it impressed me.

Sincerely,

(signed) J.E.C. Peters
President, Paine College

MEREDITH COLLEGE
RALEIGH, NORTH CAROLINA

DEPARTMENT OF RELIGION

October 11, 1956

RECEIVED OCT 13 1956

Dr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Here is the manuscript about which I talked with you yesterday.

I have long been aware that something of this sort needs to be said. The need has, of course, been made more critical by the events following the decisions of the Supreme Court. I am not sure that I have said it the way it should be said; you be the judge of that.

In the event that you decide that you can use the manuscript, I shall be glad to make whatever changes you may consider wise, provided it does not alter the basic approach.

Sincerely yours,

Roger H. Crook

Roger H. Crook

November 2, 1956

Mr. Roger H. Crook
Meredith College
Department of Religion
Raleigh, North Carolina:

Dear Mr. Crook:

One of us has read carefully your manuscript, and I am well into it. We both like it. But what that will mean about finding a publisher I am not as yet prepared to write.

However, I suggest that some of the statistics as to colleges open to Negro entry (say around page twenty-three) could be brought more nearly up to date by the use of a new pamphlet -- copy of which I separately send you.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Under separate cover:
Integration North and South

November 9, 1956

Mr. Roger H. Crook
Department of Religion
Meredith College
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Crook:

I sent the MS. on today to Mr. Miller, at 161 Eighth Avenue, North, The Christian Life Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention, in Nashville, with my warm commendation. I think he will be writing you, and soon. Meanwhile, I would get word to him through friends.

By sending it to Mr. Miller I do not dismiss it. I think SRC would have a hard time printing it ourselves, but I don't rule out that possibility; and if this present hope fades I would try other devices to get it into print.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

November 9, 1956

Mr. A. C. Miller
Executive Secretary
The Christian Life Commission
of the Southern Baptist Convention
161 Eighth Avenue, North
Nashville 3, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Miller:

Here's the Ms. I 'phoned about.

Poor man will be anxious to hear what may seem its quality; and the possibilities with it. Let me know what you decide, please. (But only incidentally to your writing him.)

I think it's a beautiful job. Right, but never fussy.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

MEREDITH COLLEGE
RALEIGH, NORTH CAROLINA

DEPARTMENT OF RELIGION

December 4, 1956

RECEIVED DEC 5 1956

Dr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I am enclosing a copy of a letter which I received yesterday from Dr. A. C. Miller, of the Christian Life Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention, together with a carbon of my reply to him.

I am grateful for your help in seeking a publisher for my manuscript, and shall certainly keep you informed of developments with Broadman Press.

Sincerely yours,

Roger H. Crook

Roger H. Crook

Roger Crook.

You rejoice me, and I gladly take it works out.

Sincerely,

Dr. Roger Crook
Meredith College
Raleigh, N. C.

Dear Dr. Crook:

Mr. Mitchell of the Southern Regional Council sent to me your manuscript of "Sit Down With Abraham". I have read it with much interest. It is the kind of objective and factual treatment we need. It must be published and distributed everywhere.

Our mutual friend, Dr. Lamm has discussed the matter with me some. He has told me about you. After his conversation I recalled I had seen you at the Seminary although briefly and not often.

To the point: If Broadman Press will publish your book and make it available through all their channels do you want them to have it? I do not think they would make but little revision if any except to revise it in spots for clarity and style.

I have shown it or mentioned it to no one except to and with Dr. Lamm. I am leaving for ten days, returning December 11. Write to Dr. Lamm, if you wish. He will see me when I return.

Our Commission would be very happy to sponsor the printing of your book, but that might reduce its circulation. We want it everywhere we can get it. Either Broadman or Abingdon will do a whale of a job in promotion and circulation.

Sincerely yours,

A. C. Miller

December 4, 1956

Dr. A. C. Miller
The Christian Life Commission
161 Eighth Avenue, North
Nashville 3, Tennessee

Dear Dr. Miller:

I appreciate very much your letter of November 30, and the nice things you said about my manuscript, "Sit Down With Abraham."

When I talked with Dr. George Mitchell before he sent the manuscript to you, he indicated that he believed that it should be published by a denominational agency here in the South, and asked my permission to sent it on to you. I was quite in agreement with him that if The Christian Life Commission, or even better the Broadman Press, were to publish it, it would reach many people who need some help in the Christian approach to the problem.

If, therefore, the Broadman Press will publish the book, I will be happy for them to do so. I will appreciate your taking up the matter with them.

Sincerely yours,

Roger H. Crook

Site Dem. with Abraham.

December 5, 1956

Mr. Roger H. Crook
Department of Religion
Meredith College
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Crook:

You rejoice me, and I greatly hope it works out.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

MEREDITH COLLEGE
RALEIGH, NORTH CAROLINA

DEPARTMENT OF RELIGION

April 1, 1957

RECEIVED APR 3 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

You may remember that I have been in correspondence with Mr. George Mitchell concerning my manuscript, Sit Down With Abraham. I believe that you and Mr. Mitchell discussed it before he sent it on to Mr. A. C. Miller, of the Southern Baptist Christian Life Commission.

I have just heard from Mr. Joseph Green, of the Broadman Press. I am quoting one paragraph from his letter:

> As I implied in my earlier letter, we believe that it has real possibilities for publication. There are, however, some revisions that are necessary. Although I cannot commit us to publication before seeing a revised manuscript, our interest is serious enough that I feel justified in encouraging you to revise for resubmission to us.

Since you expressed such a definite interest in the manuscript, I am passing this information on to you. I am now at work revising it, and hope to get it back to Mr. Green in a short time.

Sincerely yours,

Roger H. Crook

Roger H. Crook

April 8, 1957

Mr. Roger H. Crook
Department of Religion
Meredith College
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Crook:

It was very thoughtful of you to write me about the reception your manuscript received at the Broadman Press. I very much hope that your revisions will be satisfactory to the Press and that we will soon see your book in published form.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF:mm

95 Ford Ave.
Oneonta, N.Y.
September 22, 1953

Dear Mr. Mitchell

I want to thank you for your hospitality and interest in our interne-in-industry group this summer. The summer was a great success as far as I am concerned, in spite of our collective hard luck with jobs. Financially I might have done better other places but educationally Georgia was tops. I think I learned much more about race relations than industrial relations, and I'm not sorry about it.

After the project ended I took a trip to Koinonia Farms, a cooperative enterprise near Americus in the heart of conservative south Georgia. The sheriff there once paid a visit to the founder of the farm because

somebody had reported a seeing a white girl and a Negro boy working in the fields together. No wonder Negroes move to Atlanta.

I hope future Interner groups will have the pleasure of hearing from you.

Sincerely,
Arthur Curtis

FLORIDA STATE TEACHERS ASSOCIATION

SAMUEL O. COHEN, President
S. W. CURTIS, Executive Secretary
BEN D. GRIFFIN, Treasurer

Headquarters Office:
P. O. Box 726
CLEARWATER, FLORIDA

September 24, 1953

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Many thanks for the sample copy of the pamphlet you wrote me about on August 13th. Our Board of Directors seemed intensely interested and I feel that I am safe in saying that within a few weeks they will be in a position to make some definite commitments about the number of these pamphlets they will purchase this year.

If you fail to hear from us within the next six weeks, please send us another note on this matter.

With kindest personal regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

FLORIDA STATE TEACHERS ASSOCIATION

S. W. Curtis, Executive Secretary

SWC/cgy

4,000 TEACHERS UNITED FOR PROGRESS

October 1, 1953

Miss Jessie Cunningham
19 Waltnut Avenue
Wheeling, West Virginia

Dear Miss Cunningham:

At the request of Mr. William G. Carr of NEA, I take pleasure in sending you a copy of a pamphlet we have just put out. It tries to be a temperate and balanced treatment of the current school issues before the Supreme Court.

We are in hopes that it will be widely used by local discussion groups, especially in the South, as a means of getting in as many counties as possible, at least a small body of people who understand the issues and can help the general public in avoiding confusion when the Court does finally make its ruling.

If you think well of the pamphlet and care to suggest ways in which its disrribution can be furthered, we would be most grateful.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director

GSM/allo
enclosure

October 13, 1953

CURRENT EVENTS
American Educational Publications
400 South Front Street
Columbus, Ohio

Dear Current Events:

This we thought might deserve a listing mention in Current Events. Certainly it is topical; and it is also a balanced, factual and simple discussion of the issue.

Sincerely yours,

George S Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm-t
enclosure:

Scarritt College for Christian Workers
Nashville 4, Tennessee

October 19, 1953

RECEIVED
OCT 20
Southern Regional Council

Dr. Geo. S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear. Dr. Mitchell:

We are looking forward to your coming to Scarritt on Wednesday, November 4th. We will expect you for dinner at 6:00 P.M. and the meeting will follow at 7:00 P.M.

Would you prefer accomodations on the campus or at a hotel for Wednesday night? Also, we will be glad to meet your train or plane if you desire.

I will appreciate your reply so that necessary arrangements can be made.

Sincerely,

Roma A. Cupp

(Miss) Roma A. Cupp

Ar. 1.24

Lv Atl. 1.15

17.02

2.54

October 20, 1953

Miss Roma A Cupp
Scarritt College for Christian Workers
Nashville 4, Tennessee

Dear Miss Cupp:

I will fly on Eastern Airlines Flight No 254 which arrives at Nashville Airport 1:24 P M, Wednesday, November four.

No real need for me to be met; but if someone does come out I will go directly with conductor to Scarritt and gladly take up a room at the College for the night of the fourth.

Dinner at six with pleasure and meeting at seven.

As you know, I am to stay over for the fifth to talk to Truman Pierce's group at Peabody College and plan to get back to Atlanta the night of the fifth.

Sincerely yours,

George S Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm-t

Scarritt College for Christian Workers
Nashville 4, Tennessee

October 28, 1953.

RECEIVED
OCT 30
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Nothing preventing, I plan to meet you at 1:24 P.M. on next Wednesday for your visit with us here at Scarritt.

Yours truly,

Roma A. Cupp

Roma A. Cupp

October 30, 1953

Miss Roma A Cupp
Scarritt College for
Christian Workers
Nashville 4, Tennessee

Dear Miss Cupp:

Agreed and many thanks.

I expect to arrive at the airport at

1:24 P M Wednesday.

Sincerely yours

George S Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm-t

November nine, 1953

Miss Roma Cupp
Scarritt College for
Christian Workers
Nashville 4, Tennessee

Dear Miss Cupp:

I am all gratitude for your own and the whole College's kindness to me in the two days in Nashville. Most comfortable quarters, delightful meals and the best of company; and a lot of fun doing the map talk for the two groups; and it was most kind of the College to cover my expenses so generously.

Appreciatively

George S Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm-t

Scarritt College for Christian Workers
Nashville 4, Tennessee

RECEIVED
NOV 11
Southern Regional Council

November 9, 1953

Dr. Geo. S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

From comments made by students and faculty, your recent visit to our campus was most worthwhile. At the one o'clock hour we had a number of off-campus students and other interested persons as well as a large group of our own students, so, as a result, the value of the occasion was broader than the campus.

Thank you again for giving us of your time and thought.

Sincerely,

Roma A. Cupp

Roma A. Cupp

SAIN PAUL CHURCH
PRESBYTERIAN

7200 BELLAIRE BOULEVARD
AT SOUTHWEST FREEWAY
HOUSTON 36, TEXAS
GYPSY 4-1121
MAIL: BOX 3334
BELLAIRE, TEXAS

THOMAS W. CURRIE, PASTOR
6127 REAMER
GY 4-2222
HOUSTON 36, TEXAS

June 12, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir:—

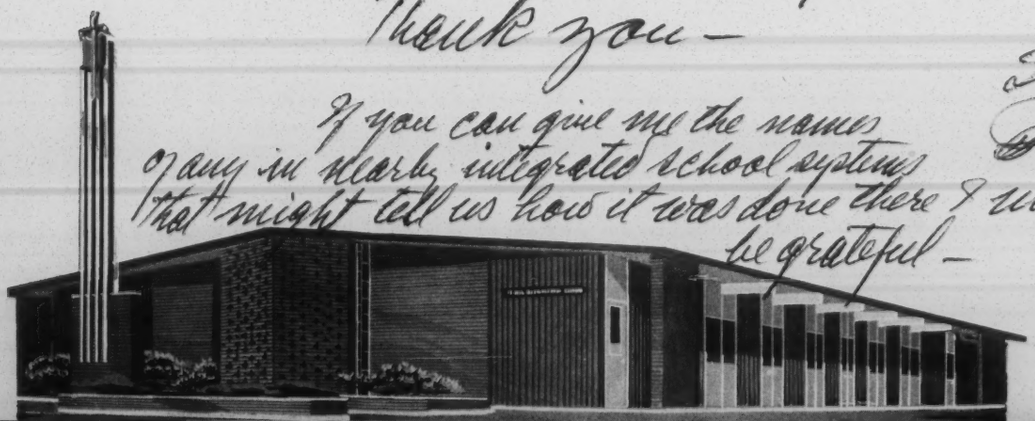
For the Council of Churches of Greater Houston I am Chairman of the committee on Race.

Can you give me the names of the communities in Texas where the public schools are now integrated. If that is too much to ask, can you give me the names of, say, the 15 largest communities closest to Houston. If you cannot do this can you tell me where I can get this sort of information in an authoritative way—

Thank you—

Sincerely,
Thomas W. Currie

If you can give me the names of any in nearby integrated school systems that might tell us how it was done there I would be grateful—



June 13, 1958

Reverend Thomas W. Currie
6127 Reamer
Houston 36, Texas

Dear Mr. Currie:

I am glad to have your letter of June 12.

Enclosed is a copy of Southern School News for May 1958. The map facing page 9 shows the status of desegregation in all of the Southern states including Texas. Those counties in Texas where school desegregation has been begun or completed or is in prospect, are indicated. For detailed information on whichever of these communities seems to be most appropriate, I suggest that you write to the Superintendent of Schools of the city or county involved and request such background information.

As of more general usefulness, I am asking our information staff to send you separately such materials as we have that shed light on successful steps to desegregation.

If we can help you and your committee further in any way, please don't hesitate to call on us.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures - 1 (Southern School News, May 1958)

SAIN PAUL CHURCH
PRESBYTERIAN

• 7200 Bellaire Boulevard
at Southwest Freeway

Houston 36, Texas
GYpsy 4-1121

Mail: Box 3334
Bellaire, Texas

Thomas W. Currie, Pastor
6127 Reamer
GY 4-2222
Houston 36, Texas

June 16, 1958

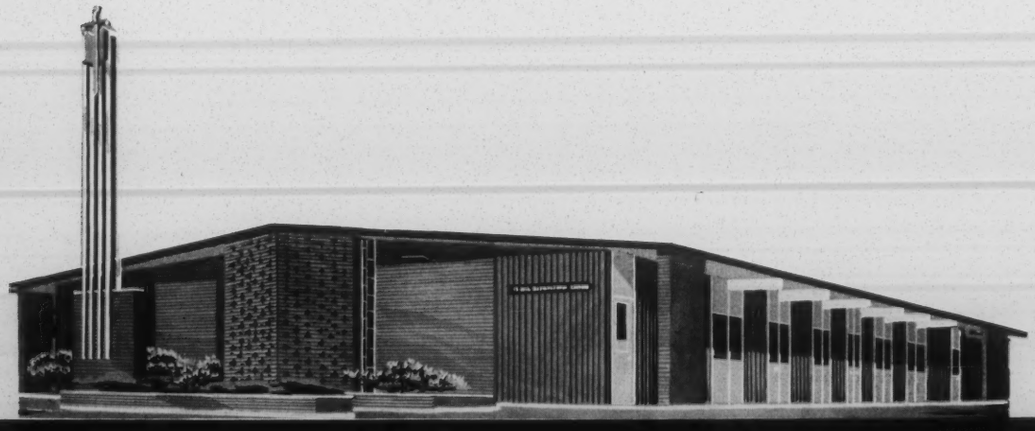
Mr. Harold C. Fleming

Dear Sir:

Thank you for your prompt & helpful reply —

Sincerely —

Thomas W. Currie



MC copy
PA - please reply

CURRENT

905 Madison Avenue New York 21

YUkon 8-7900

January 18, 1962

Mr. Leslie Dunbar, Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

We would be interested in distributing your report "Albany" by Howard Zinn through our Readers Service. Could you let me know whether a thousand copies would be available.

Best wishes,

Aryeh Neier

Aryeh Neier
Associate Editor

AN:add

January 25, 1962

Mr. Aryeh Neier
Current
905 Madison Avenue
New York 21, New York

Dear Mr. Neier:

Leslie Dunbar, who is out of the city, has asked that I respond to your inquiry of January 18th. We are pleased that you want to distribute the "Albany" Special Report and will be happy to make the copies available, if possible.

There is a complication, however. A limited number of these reports were run and we do not have a thousand copies available. We do have five hundred available and they are being mailed to you today. We very likely will re-run the report in about two weeks. If by that time you will let us know whether you still need the additional five hundred copies, or more or less, we will get them to you as promptly as possible.

Sincerely,

PA:bp

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

CURRENT

905 Madison Avenue New York 21

YUkon 8-7900

May 23, 1962

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

I would like to call your attention, for circulation promotion purposes, to Current, a monthly publication, which I'm sure you are familiar with.

An issue is enclosed as well as a brochure describing our publishing objectives. Our readers have been enthusiastic about your materials offered through Current's readers service and therefore we feel that those on your mailing lists will be interested in Current. I am particularly interested in your list of the New South, which I would like to use to promote Current. I would greatly appreciate your making this available to us and would, of course, be willing to rent it from you, or make any other arrangements with you that you might suggest.

Sincerely,

Jane E. Perry

Jane E. Perry
For Current

May 25, 1962

Miss Jane E. Perry
CURRENT
905 Madison Avenue
New York 21, New York

Dear Miss Perry:

We will be happy to share with you our New South mailing list. On the several occasions when this list has been used for book promotions it has not been particularly productive, but this we leave to your judgment.

As soon as possible we will mail you gummed tapes of the list. Our mail room is unusually busy just now, but you should receive the tapes within the next several weeks.

Sincerely,

PA:bp

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

File
"Cu" gen

August 10, 1966

Mr. Milton Cummings, President
Brown Engineering
Huntsville, Alabama

Dear Mr. Cummings:

Enclosed is the speech you requested a copy of.

I am grateful for the opportunity we had yesterday to discuss our mutual interests. I hope that at times when you are in Atlanta we may be able to get together more.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Enclosure - Copy of Marion Wright's Chicago Speech as Chairman of Board - Humble Oil Company

BROWN ENGINEERING COMPANY, INC.
300 SPARKMAN DRIVE, NW
HUNTSVILLE, ALABAMA
PHONE 532-1306

RESEARCH
DEVELOPMENT
MANUFACTURING

MILTON K. CUMMINGS
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

September 19, 1966

Mr. Charles E. Spahr, President of Standard Oil of Ohio and Chairman of the Plans for Progress Advisory Committee, has written to the committee's corporate contacts urging them to seek expanded public relations activities in their equal employment opportunity programs. Mr. Spahr is further asking Plans for Progress companies to organize, or to participate in, local merit employment councils at their various plant locations.

In an effort to carry out the recommendations of Mr. Spahr and the committee -- and to promote the economic growth and human resources development of Alabama -- we have scheduled in Huntsville an event to quietly explore chances of expanding such local merit employment councils throughout this state. We would like to include in this event Alabama representatives of firms which are members of Plans for Progress, plus representatives of firms which are not members. This local employment council idea is a vital factor in any state's attempt to escalate its economic growth and to enhance its general business climate.

We in Huntsville are fortunate in that we already have such a local group -- The Association of Huntsville Area Contractors, established three years ago. It works closely with Plans for Progress and is considered the equivalent of a local council. It has enjoyed considerable success.

I have promised Mr. Spahr and Mr. E. G. Mattison, Plans for Progress Administrative Director, that I will work with them in implementing the new emphasis on local and state councils. Consequently, I would like to extend a cordial invitation to the representative of your company's outlet in Alabama to join us in a one-day conference on November 4, 1966 -- on the occasion of the annual meeting of The Association of Huntsville Area Contractors. At that time we hope to examine the possibility of supplementing efforts of Plans for Progress, which is establishing local and state-wide councils over the nation. Mr. Spahr is expected to be with us as guest speaker.

We are interested mainly in assembling a limited number of responsible company officials to tentatively explore this plan, without the usual attendant publicity. If your company wishes to participate, would you send us the name, title, address and telephone number of the official who will represent you. I will then be pleased to extend him a personal invitation to attend the luncheon and meet with Mr. Spahr afterwards.

We shall be most grateful for your cooperation.

Sincerely,

Hugh K. Fleming

Mr. A. J. Schroder, II
Scott Paper Company
Administrative Vice President
Philadelphia, Pa. 19113

Mr. W. J. Pedicord
Director of Personnel
IBM Corp.
Old Orchard Road
Armonk, New York 10504

Mr. Arthur M. Doty
Manager of Personnel Relations
Aluminium Company of America
1501 Alcoa Building
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15219

Mr. Bob Stargell
The Kroger Company
1014 Vine Street
Cincinnati, Ohio

Mr. P. W. Maloney
Manager of Manpower Planning
Armour & Company
401 North Wabash Ave.
Chicago, Illinois 60690

Mr. Eugene F. Rowan
Personnel Relations Manager
J. C. Penney Co., Inc.
1301 Avenue of the Americas
New York, N. Y. 10019

Mr. Harold S. McFarland
Director of Personnel Services
General Motors Corp.
3044 W. Grand Boulevard
Detroit, Michigan 48202

Mr. John Oliver
Special Assistant, Industrial Relations
E. I. duPont de Nemours & Co.
10th and Market Streets
Wilmington, Delaware 19898

Mr. Joseph B. Copper
Vice President, Personnel
U. S. Steel Corp.
525 William Penn Place
Pittsburgh, Pa. 15230

Mr. Nelson G. Ball
Vice President - Industrial Relations
Goodyear Tire and Rubber Co.
1144 East Market Street
Akron, Ohio 44316

Mr. Joseph E. Gore
Labor Law Specialist
St Regis Paper Company
633 Third Avenue
New York, N. Y. 10017

Mr. Robert S. Dunham
Director, Personnel Relations & Services Office
Ford Motor Company
The American Road
Dearborn, Michigan 48121

Mr. W. C. Stoner
Assistant to Director of Industrial Relations
Republic Steel
P. O. Box 6778
Cleveland, Ohio 44101

Mr. Thomas J. Kiernan
Manager Personnel
Uniroyal, Inc.
1230 Avenue of the Americas
New York, N. Y. 10020

Mr. Glenn H. Sengpiel
Director of Employee Relations
B. F. Goodrich Co.
500 South Main Street
Akron, Ohio 44318

Mr. J. W. Kingsbury, Asst. Vice President
American Telephone & Telegraph Company
195 Broadway
New York, N. Y. 10007

BROWN ENGINEERING COMPANY, INC.
300 SPARKMAN DRIVE, NW
HUNTSVILLE, ALABAMA
PHONE 532-1306

RESEARCH
DEVELOPMENT
MANUFACTURING

MILTON K. CUMMINGS
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

September 26, 1966

File

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

I am enclosing for your information a copy of the letter which I have sent to various companies in Alabama who are members of Plans for Progress, list enclosed. I know of your interest and will appreciate any suggestions or assistance you can give in making this meeting successful.

Yours very truly,

Milton K. Cummings

November 1, 1962

Dr. Kenneth Snyder
Cultural Exchange Program
Department of State
Washington, D. C.

Dear Dr. Snyder:

I wonder if you could send information--and requisite application forms if there are any--regarding the program of sending American specialists abroad.

Sincerely yours,

LWD:A

Leslie W. Dunbar

More available - Cunningham

(also ministers application form)

The Perkins School *of* Theology

JOURNAL

SYMPOSIUM:

CHRISTIANITY AND RACE

BOOK REVIEWS

SUMMER SCHOOL 1958

SPRING NUMBER: 1958

Southern Methodist University, Dallas, Texas

JC
F/I
please return for filing
WJ

June 13, 1958

Dr. Merrimon Cuninggim
Dean - Perkins School of Theology
Southern Methodist University
Dallas, Texas

Dear Dr. Cuninggim:

C. H. Parrish, who was through here yesterday, spoke warmely of his short conversation with you. The materials he passed along leave me to ask several favors.

First, let me say that I am most impressed by the Spring No. of the Perkins School of Theology Journal. This is as thoughtful and constructive a symposium as I have seen anywhere. I am particularly impressed by your own analysis, "The Southern Temper." All of us who are deeply concerned with race relations in the South often feel frustrated by our inability to formulate clearly what we feel about the complexities of Southern opinion. You have succeeded magnificently in doing this, and I should like to do what I can to enlarge the readership of your article. May we have your permission to reprint it? And would you also let me know how many copies of this issue of the Journal are available and at what unit cost?

Dr. Parrish also told me that a faculty member of the School is preparing two lists identifying

the signers of the opposing statements by Protestant ministers of Dallas. If these lists will be available to others, we should greatly appreciate receiving copies.

The leadership you are giving increases our pride in your membership on the Board of the Southern Regional Council.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

SOUTHERN METHODIST UNIVERSITY
DALLAS . TEXAS

PERKINS SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY
OFFICE OF THE DEAN

June 16, 1958

Dr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432 - 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Fleming:

In the absence of Dr. Cuninggim from the office for several weeks, I am taking the privilege of acknowledging your letter of June 13.

I will try to answer some of your questions, before taking up the matter of reprinting with Dr. Cuninggim. We had several thousand additional copies of the Journal printed at $21.75 per 100 copies. Do you intend to announce that it is available here at Perkins or do you want a large quantity for distribution yourself?

Dr. Douglas Jackson is our faculty member who is preparing the two lists and he said that it would be available for others.

Please let me know the number of Journals you would like?

With all good wishes,

Very sincerely,

Mrs. Joe Nettles
Secretary to the Dean

June 18, 1958

Mrs. Joe Nettles
Secretary to the Dean
Southern Methodist University
Dallas, Texas

Dear Mrs. Nettles:

Thank you for your letter of June 16.

We should like to purchase a hundred (100) copies of the Spring issue of the Journal. Please have them sent to us with an invoice.

I shall hope for favorable word from Dr. Cuninggim, granting us permission to reprint his article on his return to the office.

W With kindest regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

SOUTHERN METHODIST UNIVERSITY
DALLAS . TEXAS

PERKINS SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY
OFFICE OF THE DEAN

June 24, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

In answer to your recent letter, that I forwarded to Dr. Cuninggim in California, asking for permission to reprint his article that appears in the Perkins Journal, he phoned yesterday and asked me to write to you that he would be happy for you to reprint his article. He asked that I call your attention to the errata sheet for two of the errors, on page 25 and on page 28, appeared in his article.

We have asked the Mailing Room to send you 100 copies of the Journal and hope you will receive them soon.

With all good wishes,

Very sincerely,

Mrs. Joe Nettles
Secretary to the Dean

July 2, 1958

Mrs. Joe Nettles
Secretary to the Dean
Perkins School of Theology
Southern Methodist University
Dallas, Texas

Dear Mrs. Nettles:

Thank you for taking care of my requests so promptly and efficiently. The copies of the Journal have arrived, and the invoice will be processed shortly. I am most grateful to Dr. Cuninggim for permission to reprint his article. We shall see that the two errors are corrected and that he receives several copies of our publication in wh ch his article is reprinted.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

PACIFIC SCHOOL OF RELIGION
1798 SCENIC AVENUE
BERKELEY 9, CALIFORNIA

Evergreen, Colo.,
July 16, 1958

Dear Mr. Fleming —

Thank you very much for your letter of June 13 to me. A couple of weeks or so ago my secretary told me about it, by long distance, and then later sent me the whole correspondence that she had had with you. I assume that she has long since sent you my permission to use the material in the Perkins Journal in any way you wish, and I'm most grateful for your interest. This letter is simply to acknowledge directly your communications to her and to me.

I'm hoping that we can have a visit together one of these days. Will you be coming to Dallas anytime soon? My wife and I are now on the way home from six weeks or so of real refreshment, though I had to do a teaching stint in Calif. to pay for the trip.

With best personal wishes,

Very sincerely, Merriman Cunnyngim

VIA AIR MAIL

July 24, 1958

Dr. Merrimon Cuninggim
Dean, Perkins School of Theology
Southern Methodist University
Dallas, Texas

Dear Dr. Cuninggim:

Thanks so much for your welcome note. We will make a selective distribution of the Perkins Journal, and will be reprinting your article in an early issue of New South, copies of which will be sent you at that time.

I, too, have been hoping for some time for an opportunity to visit with you. But since I assumed the directorship of the Council, I have been terribly desk-bound with paper work - and New York-bound with fund-raising. Soon, though, I hope to get a chance to get about more within the South. When I do plan a trip to Dallas you can be sure that I will write you ahead for an appointment. If this does not happen before November, I very much hope that we will meet in Atlanta at the SRC's Annual Meeting.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

SOUTHERN METHODIST UNIVERSITY

DALLAS, TEXAS

PERKINS SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY
OFFICE OF THE DEAN

October 7, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thank you very much indeed for sending me a copy of the Southern Heritage. This is most gracious of you, and I am finding the book to be most stimulating and altogether sound. I do hope that I will have an opportunity some day of meeting Mr. Dabbs, for I have the highest respect for him.

With best personal wishes,

Very sincerely,

Merrimon Cuninggim

Merrimon Cuninggim

MC/wn

SOUTHERN METHODIST UNIVERSITY
DALLAS, TEXAS

PERKINS SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY
OFFICE OF THE DEAN

Dictated November 28, 1959

December 1, 1959

RECEIVED DEC 3 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432 - 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

It was awfully good to be able to be present for the recent meeting of the Southern Regional Council, and I found it to be a most stimulating session.

When I planned to make the trip, I did not realize that my expenses would be covered by the Council. This is a great help indeed, but I do not feel that I should charge the whole amount to the Council. My total expenses came to $134.06, but the amount I am submitting to you, as per the enclosed statement, is half of this, namely, $67.03.

With deep appreciation for the leadership you are giving through the program of the Council, and with best personal wishes,

Very sincerely,

Merrimon Cuninggim

MC/wn

Dictated but not signed
by Dr. Cuninggim.

Enclosure
Check Received
to Refs

Dear Dr. Cuninggim:

Thank you for your letter and for what is, in effect, a contribution to the Southern Regional Council. Next time, I will hope to convince you that the cost of your travel is a modest price for the Council to pay in order to have your participation.

It was good, indeed, to meet you after so long a time. I am looking forward with pleasure to our continued association in the work of the Council.

With kindest regards,

HCL

December 9, 1959

Dr. Merrimon Cuninggim
Southern Methodist University
Dallas, Texas

Dear Dr. Cuninggim:

Thank you for your letter and for what is, in effect, a contribution to the Southern Regional Council. Next time, I will hope to convince you that the cost of your travel is a modest price for the Council to pay in order to have your participation.

It was good, indeed, to meet you after so long a time. I am looking forward with pleasure to our continued association in the work of the Council.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

LWD
Reaction?

THE DANFORTH FOUNDATION
INCORPORATED
835 SOUTH EIGHTH STREET
St. Louis 2, Mo.

November 22, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Thanks very much for sending me a copy of your Annual Report. It is excellent, and I have enjoyed reading it very much indeed.

Have you given any thought to the possibility of commissioning a systematic study of the role of the churches in the desegregation story? It might be a kind of companion piece to the study of the role of the Southern press, though I hope, if it were done, it would be considerably more solid. Christianity and Crisis gave an issue to this subject a couple of years or so ago, but it was by no means the kind of scholarly analysis that I'm thinking of. Perhaps the time is not yet right, and what might happen to be said now would probably be forced to be so overwhelmingly negative in its conclusions that many church leaders might be unnecessarily offended. Maybe I am wrong, however; and maybe such a study might show that churches and church leaders have been more effective than I know. One way of getting such a study done on a basis of competent scholarship might be to get somebody like Waldo Beach at Duke or Douglas Jackson at Perkins, SMU, to put one of their graduate students to work on the question as a thesis or dissertation task.

You and the Council as a whole are doing a simply magnificent job in these difficult times. Blessings on you.

Most cordially,

Merrimon /mb

Merrimon Cuninggim
Director Designate

MC/mb

Dictated by Dr. Cuninggim
but signed in his absence.

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, VICE-PRESIDENT AND CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
HAROLD C. FLEMING, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

December 6, 1960

TO: HCF

FROM: LWD

There is something interesting here, undoubtedly, though the field has been worked over a good bit. Pettigrew and Campbell's Little Rock study is not "systematic," but there is always the question of whether a systematic study--assuming it is feasible--would be more enlightening. On the other hand, what does "systematic" mean?

Perhaps a study of steps taken and problems encountered by two or three of the largest denominations in implementing at the local level their conventional pronouncements would be an approach. A study of how the denominations and local churches have reacted to pressure and overt attacks might be another.

At any rate, it might be worthwhile to invite Cunninggim to write another and larger letter explaining what he has in mind.

I have always been intrigued by the notion of having a graduate student work on a question for us as part of his thesis research. On several grounds, however, I have generally thought it impractical. I am, nevertheless, willing to explore it again. But I would like to do it at one of the Negro universities.

In raising the question, is Cunninggim implying that his Foundation might be financially interested?

If he is, maybe a sensible first step would be to call a few people together--Campbell, Tarplee, Morris, etc.--and throw at them the questions 1) whether there is anything which needs doing 2) how it would be best defined.

December 28, 1960

Dr. Merrimon Cuninggim
Director Designate
The Danforth Foundation
835 South 8th Street
St. Louis 2, Missouri

Dear Merrimon:

This is an unpardonably long delay in replying to your thoughtful letter concerning a possible study of the role of the churches in desegregation. I held the letter until I could discuss it with other staff members, then fell ill before I could reply.

We are agreed here that the idea has great merit, though the means of carrying it out raise questions about which we are uncertain. First, such studies on a fairly large scale have been drawn up as proposals by two different institutions -- the National Council of Churches, and the Emory University Theology School. Neither has been able to secure foundation support, possibly because the projects are so ambitious as to be forbiddingly costly. The Emory University group, with whom I have been in frequent touch, is willing to scale its study down and make further attempts to get foundation support.

Feeling that such auspices would be far better than ours, we have persisted in the hope that one of these efforts, or another like it, would succeed. Our experience in encouraging needed research through theses or dissertations has not been rewarding. However,

this may reflect only the lack of proper faculty guidance in the instances we know about.

Thanks to your good suggestion, Dr. Douglas Jackson is now a new member of the Southern Regional Council. If you have no objection, I should like to share your letter with him and solicit his reactions. In view of your longstanding relationship, you might prefer to write him yourself. But unless I hear from you to that effect in the near future, I will feel free to raise the matter with him.

We value your suggestions here, and I hope you will continue to give us the benefit of them. With best personal regards and every good wish for the New Year, I am

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

January 11, 1961

Dr. Douglas Jackson
Professor of Sociology of Religion
Southern Methodist University
Dallas, Texas

Dear Dr. Jackson:

Some weeks ago Dr. Cuninggim wrote me as enclosed. A copy of my reply is also attached.

I would be most grateful if you can find the time to consider the questions raised by Dr. Cuninggim and to give me the benefit of your judgment. This will be of great help to us in determining the Council's role, if any, in the study of the churches and race relations.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures - 2.

WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

WUF69 PD LOUISVILLE KY NOV 11 807AME

HAROLD C FLEMING

69 SOUTHERN REGIONA

ATLANTA UNIV. COUNCIL MEETING AT HARKNESS HALL ATLANTA

UNIVERSITY ATLA

DEEPLY REGRET INABILITY TO ATTEND COUNCIL MEETING BEST

WISHES

MERRIMON CUNNINGGIM.

945

DELTA COUNCIL
Stoneville, Mississippi

REPORT OF EDUCATIONAL POLICY COMMITTEE

A subcommittee to the Delta Council Educational Policy, consisting of W. E. Bufkin, S. H. Kyle, J. H. Pettey, Walter Sillers, W. T. Wynn, Fred Young, and P. F. Williams, was appointed by order of the Board of Directors at its meeting in Cleveland on June 5, 1945, to study Senate Bill 619, which has for its purpose the enlargement of vocational education in Mississippi; and to make recommendations regarding Negro education in Mississippi. The special subcommittee met Thursday, June 14, 1945, and the Educational Policy Committee met Friday, June 15. The Delta Council Educational Policy Committee recommended as follows on each of the two problems:

A. That the Delta Council endorse the principles of Senate Bill 619 for the enlargement of vocational education in the State, but that the bill be so amended as to permit State control of the grant of Federal funds and that there be no interference or dictation to the State Department of Education by the Federal government.

B. The following recommendations regarding Negro education be endorsed by the Delta Council and be transmitted to the Kyle Legislative Committee, which is now studying the public school system with the idea of making recommendations to the Legislature at its meeting in January, 1946;

1. That better school buildings and equipment be furnished to Negroes of the State, this to be effected by legislation permitting counties to levy up to a two-mill levy and a biennial appropriation by the Legislature of two million dollars to match funds secured by the two-mill tax.

2. That the multiple adoption of textbooks be recommended.

3. That increased salaries be paid to better trained Negro teachers.

4. That a junior college be established in the Delta for training Negro teachers, this college to be established and maintained by State appropriation.

5. That the county superintendents of schools in the Delta counties be urged to have county surveys made of their respective Negro school systems, with the idea of relocating schools where necessary and to establish a county vocational high school, if necessary.

6. That the Delta Council urge the Board of Trustees of Higher Institutions of Learning appoint a liaison man to supervise the training and instruction in Negro institutions of higher learning.

Winter, 1945
VIRGINIA QUARTERLY REVIEW

"What the Negro Wants", edited by Rayford W. Logan

Every thoughtful white person in the United States should read this book. Moreover, W. T. Couch of the North Carolina Press deserves citation for arranging for its writing and publication. Here fourteen Negroes of experience and unquestioned leadership among their people have set forth in frank unflinching language what they desire and what they expect for their race in this country, North and South. The papers are remarkably well written and logically presented; from this statement only two of the fourteen should be excepted. The views represented are intended to include the "conservative, liberal, and radical opinion." They differ little, however, in what they demand for the Negro, which is no less than everything that anyone else has and on the same terms. They differ in the methods by which they think these desires can be achieved and in the tone and spirit of the arguments. There is in practically all of these papers an amazing failure to recognize the historical implications of the story of the Negro race in the South and the necessity of living in a world in terms of how things came to be and how they are, as well as how they are imagined ideally to be and how we would like to have them.

There is no more ominous cloud hanging over America today than that of aroused racial consciousness. This book is an important book because it is a sincere statement of a racial creed. It asserts objectives that most thinking white Southerners will not believe possible of realization within the vision of this generation. It will broaden the views of most Americans to read and ponder these papers, including the able dissent of Mr. Couch; it will probably also toughen the determination in the hearts of many Southern readers.

From: Jordan Davis —— file

6-13-45

SUPREME COURT OF ARKANSAS

TEE DAVIS ..... **Appellant**

vs. No. 4340

STATE OF ARKANSAS ..... **Appellee**

APPEAL FROM CRITTENDEN COUNTY CIRCUIT COURT

STATEMENT OF FACTS

The appellant lived in Crittenden County, out in the country, about three-quarters of a mile West of a little Negro town known as Edmondson, on a plantation. On the night of March 22, 1943, same being the date on which this trouble happened, the appellant was at his humble home in company with his wife attending strictly to his own business. He was not expecting any trouble and had no reason to expect any so far as the law was concerned; however, his house had been robbed some two or three weeks prior thereto and some meat stolen. He had only been in this particular neighborhood since February and only knew a few people. This neighborhood and the town of Edmondson is inhabited entirely by Negroes except Mr. Weaver and possibly one other white family.

It so happened that a certain Negro by the name of Eddie Maberry, who lived in the immediate neighborhood, had stolen a cow and officers Ivan Dixon and Bob Holland were searching for Eddie Maberry. They had come to Edmondson and gotten Mr. Weaver to accompany them. They had searched all the houses in this neighborhood, the last one being Will Gilyard's home, who lives about 200 yards from Tee Davis, with the exception of Tee Davis' home, which was the last home to be searched. The three officers searched Gilyard's home and Tee Davis, appellant lived about 200 yards south of Will Gilyard's place. There was a swamp or muddy slough between Gilyard's and appellant's home and officers Dixon and Holland went down the railroad track, which was East, towards Edmondson. Mr. Weaver went South, as he had on boots and could cross the slough to Davis' home.

When Mr. Weaver got to his house, which was after dark, he started rapping on the door and kicking the door so hard that it burst the door and said his name was Weaver and to open the door. Appellant asked him what he wanted and replied according to evidence of appellant: said, "Open the door, you God damn, black son of a bitch" and appellant asked him again what he wanted and he continued to kick the door, whereupon appellant fired twice through the door near the bottom and Mr. Weaver—who it developed later was the man—fired three or four shots through the door and ran and jumped into a ditch.

Officers Dixon and Holland, who were going East towards Edmondson heard the shots and rushed to Davis' home. Upon reaching the home they asked Weaver if he was hurt and he answered that he was all right. They then went to the house, upon the porch and Mr. Dixon, according to his own testimony said "Open the door, you God damn, black son of a bitch, I am the law." Appellant immediately opened the door. Two of the officers went in and searched the house, although they had no search warrant, but found no trace of Eddie Maberry, whom they were looking for. The officers arrested Davis and carried him to Marion where he was placed in jail and remained until this case was tried.

EVIDENCE UPON THE PART OF THE STATE

The state introduced Mr. Weaver, Mr. Dixon and Mr. Holland and relied upon their testimony for conviction.

MR. WEAVER'S EVIDENCE

Mr. Weaver testified that he went alone to Davis' house; that it was dark; that he rapped on the door and said that his name was Weaver. He admitted that he did not announce that he was the law. He admitted that appellant asked him what he wanted and he only stated open the door. He admitted that appellant had only seen him one time some weeks prior thereto and had only talked to him a few minutes then. He denied that he used any profane language, but admitted that he did not announce that he was the law; admitted that it was dark and that appellant could not have known that he was the law when he fired; that officers Dixon and Holland came up sometime after the shooting, admitted that Davis was in his own home and that he said his house had been robbed and some meat stolen a few weeks before.

This is the true story of Tee Davis, Negro farmer, exactly as it appears in a brief in the official records of the Supreme Court of the State of Arkansas. Tee Davis is now serving a ten year sentence in an Arkansas Prison Camp for firing a shotgun to frighten away an intruder who was breaking down the door of his home. When he asked who it was, a voice said, "Weaver." And when he asked what he wanted, through the splintering door came the shout "Open the door, you God damn black son-of-a-bitch." And so to protect his home and his family, Tee Davis aimed his shotgun at the bottom of the door and reluctantly pulled the trigger.

Weaver, in his own words, testified that he never said he was an officer of the law.

EVIDENCE OF MR. IVAN DIXON

Mr. Dixon testified that they were looking for a Negro by the name of Eddy Maberry for stealing a cow; that appellant Tee Davis had no connection and was not charged with anything; that he and officer Holland, when they heard the shots, went to Davis' house; that he knew nothing about what had taken place before they arrived, except they heard shots; that when he arrived, he asked Mr. Weaver if he was all right and he said he was, whereupon they went upon the porch and Mr. Dixon, according to his own testimony, said, "Open the door you God damn, black son of a bitch, we are the law" and that appellant immediately opened the door as soon as he heard him say this is the law; that they went in the house and searched it and found nothing suspicious or illegal, neither did they find Eddie Maberry, whom they were looking for.

Dixon admitted that Davis was not wanted for anything, and that as soon as he said, "... we are the law," Davis immediately opened the door.

EVIDENCE OF MR. HOLLAND

Mr. Bud Holland, Marshal of West Memphis accompanied Mr. Dixon to the scene of the trouble and his testimony was the same as Mr. Dixon's.

SUMMARY OF EVIDENCE UPON THE PART OF THE STATE

Now let us see by way of summary, just what evidence the state introduced and whether or not this is sufficient to warrant a conviction. The state has three witnesses, two of which know nothing at all about what actually happened at the place, except they heard a shot. Appellant and his wife and Mr. Weaver are the only three people who know what actually happened. Mr. Weaver admitted that he had only seen appellant one time and that he wouldn't have recognized his voice and wouldn't have remembered his name and that he, Weaver, did not announce that he was the law. Admits that appellant was at his home, admits that he had no warrant and no charges against appellant; that he did rap on the door and that appellant asked him two or three times what he wanted and never did say what he wanted, just kept knocking; that it was dark, that he had no badge or anything on that would indicate in the slightest that he was an officer; that appellant had no reason to suspect that an officer was calling; that appellant lived out in the country on a plantation and that stealing had been going on, in fact he was looking for a cow thief at the time; that appellant opened the door immediately upon learning that it was the law and that appellant said his house had been robbed.

Weaver conceded that he had no search warrant, and that when Davis asked him two or three times who he was - he didn't answer.

EVIDENCE UPON THE PART OF THE APPELLANT

Appellant introduced two witnesses besides himself in support of his defense; that he had a right to defend his home and family; that of Will Gilyard and appellant's wife, Elizabeth Davis.

EVIDENCE UPON THE PART OF TEE DAVIS, APPELLANT

When Mr. Weaver came to my house on that night, he came upon the porch and he kicked the door with his foot, so hard that he burst the door from the cross bar on the bottom. He said, you, God damn, black son of a bitch, open this door and I said what do you want. He said open the door and open it quick. I was frightened and I hit the trunk and fell and when I fell I got my shot gun and turned back and shot it off. I did not recognize Mr. Weaver's voice. I made no connection with his name. I wasn't expecting anybody and I did not know it was the law. He did not say he was the law. The reason I fired the shot, I didn't know but what he was trying to break in or what he was intending to do. I couldn't imagine what it was all about. I hadn't bothered anybody or done anything. I thought he was breaking into my house. My wife was there at home and she broke out and went into the back room. I didn't find out it was the law until Mr. Dixon and Mr. Holland came upon the porch and Mr. Dixon said, "Open the door, you, God damn, black son of a bitch, this is the law" and I immediately opened the door. This was the first time I had any idea this was the law. My house had been robbed and meat stolen a few weeks before. I did not fire the gun with the intent of killing anybody and fired it, thinking they would quit, that it would scare them off. I had no reason to expect the law, as I hadn't done anything to anybody. I have nothing against Mr. Weaver, never saw him but once, was not mad at him or anyone else and I am not now mad. I was trying to protect and defend my home and family.

Davis swore under oath that he didn't know why Weaver was breaking down the door, or what he wanted. All he knew was, "... that I hadn't done anything to anybody."

EVIDENCE OF ELIZABETH DAVIS, WIFE OF APPELLANT

Elizabeth Davis corroborated the testimony of appellant to the effect that they were home; that it was dark, that someone kicked the door; I was undressed. My husband opened the door as soon as they said that it was the law. I had two dogs and there were other dogs there and they had been barking for the longest.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

EVIDENCE OF WILL GILYARD

Will Gilyard testified that he lives 200 yards from appellant's house; that the three officers searched his house, after which Mr. Holland and Dixon walked down the railroad East; that Weaver went to Davis' home by himself, which is in the opposite direction somewhat South. The two officers were going East; that he heard shots fired at Davis' home, that the dogs were barking and raring; that he heard the shots and dogs barking, but couldn't hear what was said; that he had known appellant about eight or ten years; that appellant moved on this plantation in February, 1943. After the shooting was over, I heard the words, "Open the door, you black so and so" and this was all that I could hear. It was dark. I am not related in any way to appellant and I have nothing against Mr. Weaver or anyone else.

Davis' neighbor stated that all he could hear was, "Open the door you black so-and-so."

When the officers came to my house, I had my gun and was standing in my house, as the dogs were raring, charging and barking and I asked my wife to see what the dogs were barking at. He (the dog) was circling around my house. She said nothing and I said the dog is after something and I got up and stood in the floor and said I will get a gun. I don't know what it is and about that time someone came up and I asked "Who is that and what do you want" and Mr. Bud spoke to me and said "Mr. Bud" and I said "Yes, sir," and opened the door. I knew Mr. Bud and liked him well.

ARGUMENT

The writer now limits the argument to a few brief statements, as the evidence is so plain and very little controversy and the principle of law, that a man has a right to defend and protect his home and family and property, that I feel it is not necessary to burden the court with the discussion of these principles of law as this court has repeatedly held that the law requires a search warrant in order to search a person's house; that any man has a right to defend his home, his family and his property; that if he thinks his house is about to be burglarized or that he and his family are in danger, that he has a right to defend himself, home and property, even to the extent of taking life if it is necessary, in order to defend himself.

Now let us see just what we have in this case. The state has failed to prove any motive whatsoever for the reason that there was no motive upon the part of appellant to fire the shots, except in the defense of his home and family and property. Appellant testifies that he thought his house was being broken into for the purpose of robbery; that his house had been robbed a few weeks before; that he was not expecting the law and it is admitted that nothing had been said to indicate that it was the law; that the door was being pounded upon and he, appellant, repeatedly asked what do you want and the only answer he got was, "Open the door you God damn, black son of a bitch." Mr. Weaver denies that he used this profane language, but admits he did not say that he was the law and while Mr. Dixon admits that he did say you God damn, black son of a bitch, open the door, can we not reasonably conclude that Weaver used this same language? It is proven and admitted that as soon as appellant learned that it was the law, that he *immediately* opened the door. It was a dark, wet, foggy night and appellant was not expecting anybody, had violated no law and his home had been robbed a few weeks before and appellant testified that he thought his home was being broken into and fired to scare them off. How can it be said in fairness and justice that appellant honestly believed under the circumstances otherwise than that his house was being broken into for the purpose of being robbed and possibly harm or even lost his life or that of his wife? Stealing and robbing had been going on in that immediate neighborhood, the officers were looking for Eddie Maberry, who had stolen a cow and who later was apprehended and pled guilty and sentenced to the penitentiary and as above stated appellant's home had been robbed; therefore, how can it be argued that under these admitted circumstances that a man would not have a right to protect his home and how else could he have protected himself, his family and his property when the man was kicking his door so hard as to burst it and refusing to tell what he wanted after repeatedly being requested? We contended that if a man ever had the right and if circumstances ever were such as to justify a man in defending his home, that the facts and circumstances in this case certainly justify appellant in doing what he did.

According to law, Weaver definitely exceeded his rights. Arkansas law requires a "search" warrant. As a matter of fact, it even justifies homicide if necessary to protect your home. But See Davis is a Negro.

INSTRUCTIONS OF THE COURT

The court instructed the jury as follows: (Tr. page 67).

"The defendant contends that he fired the shot in defense of his home or place of residence. Section 2998 of Pope's Digest of the Statutes of Arkansas provides: Every man's house or place of residence shall be deemed and adjudged in law his castle. And Section 2999 provides that a manifest attempt and endeavor in a violent, riotous and tumultous manner to enter the habitation of another for the purpose of assault or offering personal violence to any person dwelling or being therein shall be justification of homicide. A bare fear of those offenses, to prevent which the assault is alleged to have been committed, shall not be sufficient to justify the assault. It must appear that the circumstances were sufficient to excite the fears of a reasonable person, and that the party committing the assault really acted under their influence and not in a spirit of revenge."

There is no question that Weaver was "violent and riotous." He refused to say who he was, and left Davis no alternative but to fire in self-defense.

How can it be said that there was any revenge, as appellant did not have the slightest reason for such, had only seen Mr. Weaver on one occasion and how can

it be said that there was only a bare fear, as it was dark, appellant had been called a God damn, black son of a bitch and to open the door and open it quick? The door was being pounded upon and kicked with such violence as to burst the door and the apparent intruder, although requested two or three times to state what he wanted, refused to do so. We contended that if there ever was Gestapo Tactics used, it was in this case and the appellant had every right to believe as he did and to act as he did.

The court further instructed the jury, as follows:

"If you find from the evidence of this case that the defendant made the assault, acting in good faith and as a reasonable person under the apprehension that his home or residence was about to be entered by some person for the purpose of committing burglary or robbery or for the purpose of assaulting or offering personal violence to any person dwelling therein and that he fired the shots under that belief, acting in good faith and as a reasonable person, then he would not be guilty of any crime and your verdict should be not guilty."

This was the law as given by the court and the jury was bound by this instruction and therefore we say that the verdict was absolutely contrary to the law as given the jury by the court and that the verdict was contrary to the evidence, as all the evidence showed that appellant had every reason to believe, acting in good faith and as a reasonable person, that his home was about to be burglarized or robbed.

Furthermore we contended that the jury was prejudiced by reason of detailed evidence being offered; that the appellant was formerly convicted of shooting into a bunch of Negroes during a cotton-chopper's strike in Crittenden County. The defendant was not convicted, but entered a plea of guilty, in order to get off light and we further contend that the court erred in permitting detailed evidence concerning this affair and that the jury, being composed of all white men principally planters and their friends, were so prejudiced because of this that they could not give appellant a fair trial.

We charged that the verdict was excessive. Mr. Weaver testified that only one shot hurt his finger and that he didn't discover that until he had gone a distance of approximately a mile to his store at Edmondson. Furthermore, he told officers Dixon and Holland that he was all right when they arrived upon the scene; therefore we contended that this testimony should not be given any weight and even assuming that his thumb was blazed with a shot; that the judgment is excessive and proves prejudice and malice upon the part of the jury.

WHEREFORE appellant contends in the first place that considering all of the facts and circumstances that this case should be reversed and dismissed and in event that this court should not agree, we further contend that the verdict should be reduced to not more than one year. It is not our purpose in contending that the verdict is excessive and should be reduced, that we do not earnestly, sincerely and solemnly contend that the case should be reversed and dismissed, because we do sincerely believe that it should be reversed and dismissed.

Very respectfully submitted,

K. T. SUTTON,

Attorney for Appellant.

Davis acted in "good faith." It was proved that he fired only to scare off the intruder – even at point blank range, Weaver was not hurt. But Davis is a Negro and this was Arkansas

Investigation of this incident, showed that Davis had fired into the air to warn the incoming Negroes that they were being imported as strike-breakers. But the jury, being white planters and their friends were satisfied to overlook the circumstances. The previous governor also used this same reason for denying a pardon and continuing the unjust imprisonment of Tee Davis

Add Your voice to the thousands who say . . . TEE DAVIS MUST BE FREED!

REV. ARON S. GILMARTIN, *Chairman*
WORKERS DEFENSE LEAGUE
112 East 19th Street
New York 3, N. Y.

Please, be Generous!

Here is my contribution of $..... It is a great privilege to join Lillian Smith in her effort to FREE TEE DAVIS and to continue the vital work of the WDL in its fight against intolerance, hate and injustice.

Name .....

Address .....

City and State .....

Thank you so much for your Help!

And please don't forget! send a letter to Gov. Ben Laney, Little Rock, Arkansas, requesting an immediate pardon for Tee Davis, now serving ten years in an Arkansas Prison Camp for defending his home and his family.

Rev. Aron S. Gilmartin, Chairman
WORKERS DEFENSE LEAGUE
112 E. 19th Street, New York 3

Please, be Generous!

Here is my contribution of $_____. It is a great privilege to join Lillian Smith in her effort to FREE TEE DAVIS and to continue the vital work of the WDL in its fight against intolerance, hate and injustice.

Name _____

Address _____ City _____ State _____

If you will include, with your contribution, a letter to Gov. Ben Laney asking him to Free Tee Davis at once, we will forward it to Little Rock, Arkansas

MEMO

This is a special message to you from Lillian Smith, author of the best seller novel and play STRANGE FRUIT.

She, like General Holdridge, felt that a nation-wide publicity drive must be organized to free Tee Davis, now serving ten years in an Arkansas Prison Camp because he is a Negro.

TEN YEARS OF A MAN'S LIFE IS BEING TAKEN AWAY FROM HIM. Please read this letter carefully.

Thank you,

M. Milgram

Lillian Smith

RECEIVED
MAR 18 1946
Southern Regional Council

March 11th, 1946

You can help free
Our conscience of its
Guilt and Shame.

Gentlemen:

I want to tell you the story of a black man in Arkansas.

It is an old heartbreaking story familiar to us who live in the South. We have heard it a thousand times. Always it is the same story of a black man stripped by white men of his rights as a human being.

This time it is about Tee Davis. One night, Tee Davis, a black man, refused to open the door of his little shack when a white man kicked the door and yelled at him to open up. Instead Davis, afraid of thieves, picked up his shotgun, aimed it at the bottom of the door and fired. No one was hurt. But the voice ordering him to open the door belonged to a white sheriff and though he had no warrant and had not said that he was sheriff, he arrested Tee Davis. The white plantation owners saw to it that the black man was sentenced to ten years in prison.

Tee Davis's crime was that he did not do what a white man told him to do. Simple as that.

Your crime and mine is that we let things like this happen to human beings in our country. We can not blame the sheriff too much; nor the plantation owners too much; for these men would not dare do these things <u>if we did not let them.</u> We cannot release ourselves from guilt by blaming a "villain" far away. We "good people" of America are permitting this to happen. We can stop it if we want to.

One way is to support the Workers Defense League in their work of dramatizing specific cases such as this one of Tee Davis. For one Tee Davis we hear about, there are a thousand others unknown to us. But by turning the spotlight on Davis, we turn it also on the others. If Tee Davis is freed it will not be as easy next time to put a man in jail and keep him there just because he doesn't do what a white man wants.

Your money will help. Your letters to the governor, who has refused a pardon, will help. These are the <u>things to do now.</u> But the big thing is to reach out with your heart and mind and learn to feel what it means to be a Negro in America today. If you once do that, you will never rest until he is treated like a human being. The simple truth is that none of us can be human unless we all are human.

Don't forget it. Do something about it today. Send a contribution to Rev. Aron S. Gilmartin, Chairman, Workers Defense League, 112 East 19th Street, New York 3, N. Y. Send in $100, $50, $25, whatever you can spare to help to free Tee Davis, and to help the League in all the vital work it is doing in the defense of black and white workers.

Sincerely yours,

Lillian Smith

LILLIAN SMITH

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(*Additional names reverse side*)

COMMITTEE FOR A DEMOCRATIC FAR EASTERN POLICY

58 PARK AVENUE · NEW YORK 16, N. Y. · LEXington 2-2164

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JUL 19 1946
Southern Regional Council

INFORMATION FOR FRIENDS OF THE COMMITTEE

Readers of the Information Bulletin and supporters of the work of the Committee will like to know some of the activities of the Committee.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE COMMITTEE

INFORMATION BULLETIN goes out monthly to over 2,000 readers.
PRESS RELEASES on critical developments in the Far East are issued constantly; over forty such releases have been sent out to editors, writers, and commentators.
ANALYSES AND MEMORANDA, more lengthy and documented studies of Far Eastern situations, are made when specifically requested by government officials, responsible commentators or groups.
ACTION LETTERS are issued from time to time urging individuals and groups to make their views known to the authorities.

ACTIVITIES OF THE COMMITTEE

Speakers are furnished for groups, forums, panels, conferences, conventions, labor unions, citizens organizations, women's clubs, and mass meetings.

Groups of American Veterans of Asiatic Theatres have been organized for men and women who saw service in the Far East, were impressed by the democratic movements in the Orient and have returned deeply alarmed by the trend of American foreign policy in its relation to democracy in Asia. Groups of veterans from China, Japan, Korea, Philippine Islands and India meet to discuss, produce material, and engage in responsible citizenship action to further a democratic foreign policy.

Cooperation with other organizations with like purpose is carried on constantly.

Interviews and conferences with Washington officials by officers of the Committee help carry out the purpose of the Committee.

Press conferences and off-the-record luncheons and teas help disseminate "inside" information by returning correspondents and Far Eastern experts.

An Information Committee of about twenty Far Eastern correspondents and experts meets regularly to furnish the Committee with information, analyses and interpretations of developments in Asiatic countries.

In April a "Spotlight on the Far East" dinner was held in New York City. Over seven hundred people attended. Speakers included Madame Sun (by record flown from Shanghai), Agnes Smedley, Theodore White, Hugh Deane, Congressman DeLacy, Senator Tobey, Richard Watts, Jr., Albert Kahn, and others.

Miss Maud Russell has succeeded Mr. H.A. Fletcher as Executive Director.

June, 1946

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PUBLICATION RECORD

News Releases

1. ~~Why The Marines~~ Did Not Land in Chefoo

2. Extracts From Speech by Rep. Mike Mansfield (Montana), in Congress, "American Policy in the Far East" October 11, 1945

3. Yenan Says Kuomintang Troops Attack Communists Throughout China

4. Letter from U. S. Army Officer in China

5. What We Have Intervened in China To Protect

6. Chungking Troops Refuse To Fight In Civil War; The First Occasion

9. U. S. Policy in China Since Stilwell and Its Present Results

10. U. S. Officer Writes of Army's Role in China

11. Speech of Hugh DeLacy in House of Representatives on Introduction of Resolution "Return of U. S. Troops From China"

12. Why is Chiang Kai-shek's Book "Top Secret"?

13. Results of Equipping Kuomintang: U. S. Arms Used to Bomb Chinese

15. The Philippine Situation: MacArthur Supports Ex-Quisling Roxas: War Prepared Against Patriot Guerrillas

16. American Writers Answer Attack On Stilwell

17. The National Assembly In China: Its History and the Current Problem

18. "Stars and Stripes" Exposes Fascist Activities of Kagawa

19. The Manchurian Crisis and Manchurian Unity

20. America's Prestige At Stake in the Philippines

21. Extermination of Chinese Political Prisoners?

22. Strong Man Tai Li

23. New Maneuvers in India

24. AMG Resists Korean Democracy

25. In North China

26. What High Commissioner McNutt Is Doing in the Philippines

27. Paul McNutt vs Philippine Independence

28. The Situation as Japan Goes To The Polls

29. Mme Sun Yat-sen Says Big Power Friendship Essential For Political and Economic Democracy in China

30. Kagawa: Bait For Americans

31. New American Loan To China Will Foster Civil War

32. President Truman Urged to Withhold Loan to China

33. Why the People of Manchuria Are Opposed to the Kuomintang

34. Kuomintang Seeks U.S. Million Man Army Equipment

35. The Embarrassing Record of Manuel Roxas

36. Is President-Elect Roxas A War Criminal?

37. Indian Independence or British Rule?

38. Inside Southern Korea

39. Japan's Reactionary Cabinet

40. Disorder Charges Against Philippine Guerrillas Proved Forgeries

41. Chinese Groups Protest American Intervention

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June, 1946.

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(Continued)

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Of What Policy Is Wedemeyer The Agent? 4 pages. A Record of Statements vs Facts on Armed U. S. Intervention in China. Wedemeyer's Statement in San Francisco October 30, 1945
U.S. Policy in China As Carried On By Ambassador Hurley Responsible For Civil War Outbreaks - Hurley's Return Means This Policy Has Been Endorsed By Washington. 7 pages.
U.S. Policy in China Since the Resignation of Ambassador Hurley. 9 pages.
U.S. Policy in the Philippines. 12 pages.

Analyses and Memoranda Are Available Two Weeks After Issue - at One Dollar Per Copy

Information Bulletins (Subscription - $1 per year)

Volume 1 No 1 August 1945
- General Wedemeyer's Statement on The Use of American Arms in China
- The Danger of Civil War

Volume 1 No 2 September 1945
- Generalissimo Chiang's V-J Day Message
- Carson Chang Interviewed in N.Y.
- Soviet-Chinese Pact
- Leaders of the Democratic League Oppose Dictatorship and Civil War

Volume 1 No 3 November 1945
- American Intervention in China: Official Statements vs Facts
- Americans Want Troops And Arms Withdrawn
- Behind Our Present Policy
- Yenan Leader Appeals To U.S.: Asks People to Halt Gov. Intervention
- Chinese People Say Intervention Leads to Civil War

Volume 1 No 4 January 1946
- Within China: The Truce Is A Great Opportunity
- The House Resolution on America's China Policy
- American Policy: How To Consolidate The Peace
- The Story of A "Top Secret".

Volume 1 No 5 March 1946
- Japan After Six Months
- Why China Needs A New Constitution
- Quislings Bid For Control of the Philippines

Volume 1 No 6 April 1946
- General Marshall's Statement Gives Cause For New Anxiety Over China
- War Criminals Continue to Run Japan
- Kuomintang Central Committee Goes Back on Truce Terms
- The Need For A Change in American Policy Toward Korea

Volume 1 No 7 May 1946
- Chiang Bases Hopes on US-Soviet Rift
- Old Faces in Japanese Diet Wear New Masks
- Is President-Elect Roxas a War Criminal?

Volume 1 No 8 June 1946 - American Intervention Fosters Chinese Civil War. Continuance of Split in Korea Is Result of Ignoring Peoples Wishes & Parties

COMMITTEE FOR A DEMOCRATIC FAR EASTERN POLICY
58 Park Avenue
New York City.

MEMBERSHIP INVITATION

The Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy has now had one year of work. The accompanying "Information" sheet brings you news of the activities of the Committee.

There are increasing demands for the resources of the Committee - its reliable material, its research facilities, its speakers, its help in the organization and work of other American groups with like purpose in the field of foreign policy.

There are also inquiries from individuals asking if they "may join the Committee?", saying they want to feel more identified with the purpose and work of the Committee.

The Executive Committee recommended and the Board of Directors authorized that the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy be put on a Membership basis; and that the 2500 people now receiving our publications be invited to become Members of the Committee.

Anyone who approves the purpose and program of the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy -

1. To support an American foreign policy which encourages the democratic aims and efforts of the peoples of the Far East

2. To oppose an American foreign policy which involves any cooperation with or support to reactionary, feudal, or fascist groups in Far Eastern countries

is invited to become a Member of the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy.

Membership categories are as follows:-

General	$3.00	Supporting	$10.00
Subscribing	5.00	Sustaining	25.00

Committee Associates $50.00
Foundation Members $100 and up

All members receive The Information Bulletin, Occasional Information Sheets, and Action Letters.

(Please note: New Address after July 20th - 111 West 42nd St. 5th Floor, New York City.)

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From

COMMITTEE FOR A DEMOCRATIC FAR EASTERN POLICY

111 West 42nd Street (5th Floor)

New York 18, N. Y.

MEMBERSHIP APPLICATION

I support the aims and program of the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy

1. To support an American foreign policy which encourages the democratic aims and efforts of the peoples of the Far East.

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I wish to become a member of the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy.

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BIRMINGHAM

WEEKLY REVIEW

CLEAN-CONSERVATIVE-CONSTRUCTIVE! ALABAMA'S GREATEST NEWSPAPER

1602, 6th Avenue No. — Phone 3-1973
BIRMINGHAM 3, ALABAMA

RECEIVED
Jul 9 1948
Southern Regional Council

July 8, 1948

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

For five months or more, I have given a great deal of time to getting an Urban League unit going in Birmingham against the wishes of some very powerful anti-Negro and anti-right forces in this community.

I had a pledge of several thousand dollars early this year - money which I needed in my business, but when I would not agree to the substitution of a "doing nothing" setup in place of the Urban League, I did not get the money.

In order to get the league established, I have had to personally invest upwards of $500 in the effort, but we have it. We are in the midst of our first annual "Goodwill Week" celebration during which newspapers, radio stations, civic-minded citizens of both races are holding forth on the general theme of "What Can We Do To Create A More Friendly Atmosphere In Birmingham?" - prior to actual effort to raise our first year's operation budget.

Some weeks ago when tension was so high in Birmingham, I was called upon by the President of the Mineral District Medical Association to give a week's time to calling upon white people in key positions and urging upon them the importance of taking a stand against this business of aiding and abeting hypertension between the races.

I did not have the time, but I did it and fortunately when the Girl's Camp incident broke, the persons previously contacted, moved constructively against the KKK and similiar groups and their nefarious activities.

After my series of interviews were over, I was convinced as never before of the importance of someone on the local level taking the time out necessary to personally contact and talk with key people in the community -- pointing out how they can use their good offices to affect understanding, appreciation and the making of justice the key to action in our day to day dealings with out fellow men.

The newspapers, ministers and enlightened organizations in the community have followed our suggestion and it has, indeed, made things better.

I have decided to do a lot more of that sort of thing in this area. It is going to take time, but it is a thing which should be done.

I need some help. The leader of our Urban League Campaign has assured me that once the campaign is over, I will be reimbursed the upwards of $500, I am out on the proposition. I was wondering if your office could advance me $350 to enable to keep up the contact work referred to - to be repaid when our Urban League Campaign is over and I am reimbursed for money advanced by me in that effort.

This is a low advertising season and the cost of production climbs higher and higher each day.

If you could and will do as requested, I will give you a detailed report of the total effort after the November election. Out of it may come that which will enable the SRC Program to be made most effective on the local level in areas susceptible to hypertension.

If you look with favor on this, the advance would be worth a thousand dollars to me if in hands by Saturday A. M.

Respectfully,

Robert Durr

ols

Durr, Robert

BIRMINGHAM WEEKLY REVIEW

"COVERS ALABAMA LIKE THE DEW"

1602 Sixth Avenue, North Phone 3-1973

BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA

January 19, 1948

RECEIVED
JAN 20 1948
Southern Regional Council

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I count it a very great privilege to be of service to The Southern Regional Council at any time you wish to call upon me.

Sometime, I think so far as is able, I have on the whole armor of faith in what we are trying as a team to do for all the people of this region.

If at any time in the future you want to get a message over through my syndicated columns as we did on the erroneous AP release on the Council's position on the President's Civil Rights Committee report, please do not hesitate to command same of me.

As soon as copies of my presentation on the Negro Press is off the press, kindly send me a few copies for friends who have asked for same.

Cordially,

Robert Durr

Robert Durr, Editor

bw

9-Di - Durr, Robert

July 9, 1948

Mr. Robert Durr
Weekly Review
1602 Sixth Avenue North
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Mr. Durr:

I was glad to have your letter of yesterday with its additional useful news of the special problems of Birmingham just now.

What you have been doing is surely very helpful. I should like to see some special unit of people of good will set up in Birmingham to keep ahead of this present tension. That is, of course, a standard thing to do in situations of that kind. Quite possibly the various groups you mention can either do the job as they are or with some further fitting together for this purpose.

I don't feel authorized to send over money to meet your present need, particularly as the Council is still struggling with the deficit left from last year. However, I called the Reverend Mr. W. H. Marmion and told him that you had special problems and asked him to get in touch with you today. I hope that in this way whatever can be done locally will be furthered.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:eb

Throw a Wall of Protection Around America's Homes

W. Leonard Davis
Crusader
Against All Forms of Liquor

2110 Hutchins Street
Houston 3, Texas

July 26, 1948

Mr. George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir,

I appreciate very much the pamphlet which Mr. Luther Jackson suggested that you send me. I have read it with much interest.

Please convey to Mr. Jackson my sincere thanks for having remembered the small contribution I made in helping him to obtain certain information when he was here last summer.

Let me know just what will be expected of me to become a member of the Southern Regional Council. I am deeply impressed with the literature I have read.

Cordially yours,
W. L. Davis
W. L. Davis

RECEIVED
JUL 29 1948
Southern Regional Council

8-D- Misc-
Davis, W. L.

August 4, 1948

Mr. W. L. Davis
2110 Hutchins Street
Houston 3, Texas

Dear Mr. Davis:

Thank you for your letter of July 26. We are glad you like Mr. Jackson's pamphlet.

The Council has a little short of three thousand members of both races, scattered over the South. Our members pay two dollars a year in dues or, for a joint membership of husband and wife, three dollars. Members get a copy of each of our publications, including the monthly magazine, New South, of which I enclose a recent copy or two.

We expect those who join to be alert to situations of racial tension and do what they can, individually or in cooperation with others, to smoothe the path of progress in the South.

As Texas has continued the Texas Interracial Commission (under an affiliation agreement with the Southern Regional Council), we have not attempted any separate organization of Council members in Texas, but rely upon the Commission to undertake its own program of betterment within Texas. The Chairman of the Interracial Commission is Mrs. James S. Crate, 2410 Inwood Drive, Houston 6, Texas, and you should be in touch with her.

We do hope that you will send us your membership.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Enclosures: Oct '47 New South
April '47 New South
SRC (Fleming)

GSM:eb

D-Musical

August 10, 1948

Professor Walter G. Daniel
Department of Education
Howard University
Washington 1, D. C.

Dear Professor Daniel:

Very many thanks for your kindness in sending us the further information about salary equalization. We still are only getting ready to do this study.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:eb

8-D-Misc - Davie, Maurice

YALE UNIVERSITY
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY
NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT

August 13, 1948

Mrs. Jane P. Simpson
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Jane:

How very pleasant to receive a reply from you in response to my letter to the SRC. I am glad to know that you are working with them; you are an ideal person for the job. Congratulations on your article on hospital construction. Thanks for the pamphlets; they are just what I wanted. Enclosed please find $2 and a membership or subscription form. However it is handled, the Department would like to receive all the Council publications.

I will extend your greetings to the group here. With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Maurice R. Davie

Maurice R. Davie

2.00
W.K.

MRD:jb

8 - D - Alsc
Davie, M.R.

August 2, 1948

Dr. Maurice R. Davie
Department of Sociology
Yale University
New Haven, Connecticut

Dear Dr. Davie:

I have meant to write you for all these many months, and I am ashamed to say that it took your recent letter to the Council to give ~~the~~ me the prod I needed. That does not mean that I have not thought nostalgically of New Haven and the Graduate School many times. But Atlanta, we have found, is a most interesting and pleasant place to live. I have been at the Council since January as researcher and sort of general helper-outer, and I have have enjoyed it tremendously.

I am sending you, in the attached envelope, the material you requested. The survey of Negro police was made almost a year ago, but I have enclosed a mimeographed copy of our latest count. An up-to-date report will be published this September in New South, the Council's monthly magazine.

I have also enclosed a recent survey of civil rights practices in the South which I thought you might find useful. Also, purely out of maternal pride, an article I did myself!

If you are interested in receiving Council publications regularly, we would be delighted to have you become an associate member. Or, instead, you or the Sociology Department could subscribe to our publications service. Either way, we would have to assess you two dollars.

Please say hello to everyone for me. And my very best to you. I shall always remember last year as one the most valuable and pleasant years I have had -- and certainly an excellent background for what I am doing now.

Sincerely,

Jane P. Simpson

YALE UNIVERSITY
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY
NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT

July 28, 1948

Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

I am interested in the reports of the survey of Negro voting in the South and the survey of employment of Negro policemen which I believe you made. Will you please advise where they were published and how I may obtain copies. Besides your pamphlets, do you publish a periodical? If so, I would appreciate hearing the details.

Sincerely,

Maurice R. Davie

Maurice R. Davie

RECEIVED
JUL 30 1948
Southern Regional Council

UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA
COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES
GAINESVILLE

DEPARTMENT OF
HISTORY AND POLITICAL SCIENCE

RECEIVED
SEP 8 1948
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I wish to thank you indeed for the material you sent me on the Southern Regional Council last November. One of the pamphlets was marked to be returned to you but I regret that I have not done so until this time. It is being sent forward to you under separate cover together with a reprint of my article in which I used the material.

I wish to thank you very much indeed for your kind help and the information that you provided.

Sincerely yours,

Manning J. Dauer

Manning J. Dauer
Professor of Political Science

MJD:jw

CC Dr. Alexander

8 - D - Misc.
Dent, A. W.

September 17, 1948

President A. W. Dent
Dillard University
New Orleans, La.

Dear Mr. Dent:

The Council lately put on a super-industrious file clerk, who came up with a long list of things relating entirely to Dillard.

Dr. Alexander was here yesterday and I consulted him about what ought to be done with the Dillard items. He said express them down to you. His idea was that someone at Dillard would sort out whatever items might be considered at Dillard as interesting and valuable there. The rest, presumably, to be destroyed in your discretion.

I have not examined the material closely and therefore I don't know to what degree it contains items which you might wish to have confidential treatment. Dr. Alexander said he trusted entirely to your judgment on that.

The bulk is not great - don't be worried. It will all arrive by express within a few days' time.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:r

8-D-Misc-
Dent, A. W.,
X

DILLARD UNIVERSITY

NEW ORLEANS 19, LOUISIANA

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

September 24, 1948

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Doctor Mitchell:

The Dillard material from Dr. Alexander's old files has arrived and we have carefully packed it away in a store room.

Some of the correspondence will certainly be interesting as our records are looked over twenty-five or fifty years hence.

I very much appreciate your having sent it to us.

Sincerely yours,

A W Dent

A. W. Dent
President

AWD:McA
c.c. Dr. Alexander

8 - D - Misc.
Dauer, Manning J.

September 29, 1948

Mr. Manning J. Dauer
Professor of Political Science
University of Florida
Gainesville, Florida

Dear Mr. Dauer:

I have read with much interest the reprint of your fine article "recent Southern Political Thought".

I have never heard of the man Fitzhugh and shall try to find out something about him.

I will be very grateful for your kindness in sending a copy of the reprint to Mr. Charles M. Smith, 1833 Jefferson Place, N. W., Washington, D. C. He is doing a summary for us on 'Planning for the South.' Enclosed a 3 cents stamp.

Thank you for the copy of pamphlet which is now duly back in the files.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:s

Enclosure

October 7, 1948

Mr. Roscoe Dunjee
The Black Dispatch
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

Dear Mr. Dunjee:

Word has reached us that the Daily Oklahoman for a date approximating September 23, 1948, carried a story saying that the secretary of the State Election Board in Oklahoma City has ruled that when a Negro is a candidate for office in Oklahoma the word Negro must be printed on the ballot beside his name.

This is an undemocratic and undesirable departure which, obviously, ought to be stopped at its beginning.

It is hardly likely that the matter will have escaped your attention, but I take the precaution of writing to be sure that you and your friends know of it and are unrolling measures to stop it.

I would appreciate any further information that you care to give us about the matter.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

See ltr. from O.D. Duncan, 7 Oct. 48 — filed under "SRC - Fellows"

GSM:t

9-Di-Misc-
DuBois, W.E.B.

November 16, 1948

Mr. W. E. B. DuBois
Department of Special Research
NAACP
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Mr. DuBois:

It is a pleasure to send you a copy of the October, 1948 New South, containing the Council's annual report.

We will look forward to getting your pamphlet, PROGRESS AND PORTENTS FOR THE NEGRO IN MEDICINE.

With cordial regards,

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t
enclosure

COLOR AND DEMOCRACY
COLONIES AND PEACE

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE
ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
20 WEST 40TH STREET
NEW YORK 18, N. Y.

DEPARTMENT OF SPECIAL RESEARCH
W. E. BURGHARDT DuBOIS
DIRECTOR
HUGH H. SMYTHE
RESEARCH ASSISTANT

November 12, 1948

RECEIVED
NOV 15 1948
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George Mitchell, Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell: Would you be so kind as to send this department a copy of your latest annual report. We have seen publicity on some of its contents in THE NEW YORK TIMES.

Under separate cover we are sending you a copy of the latest pamphlet released by the NAACP, PROGRESS AND PORTENTS FOR THE NEGRO IN MEDICINE, by Montague Cobb.

With thanks for your courtesy and cooperation in this request, I am

Sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

W. E. B. DuBois

WEBD:

9-D - DuBois, W. E. B.

June 11, 1948

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
20 West Fortieth Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

You will recall my promise at Chicago the other day to send you what information I could find on convictions of lynchers.

We have brought together the attached information* from standard sources.

The penalties in most of these cases are so slight that they amount to a qualification merely of your statement, if I recall it aright, that there had been no convictions for the crime of lynching.

We have thought it important to keep the South aware of the fact that lynchers have been convicted. In the absence of any knowledge of any precedents, future juries will all too easily fail to convict.

All whom I talked with at the Chicago meeting greatly enjoyed your rich and earnest paper.

I am hastening to set these scraps of information against what you have drawn together over these many years.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:eb

Enclosure*: data from the files on convictions of lynchers.

8-D- Misc -
Davis, Annie Lee

December 6, 1948

Miss Annie Lee Davis
Children's Bureau
Federal Security Agency
Washington, D. C.

Dear Miss Davis:

You were going to be good enough to give me some idea about how to reach various parent-teacher groups in North Carolina and in other southern states, in such a way as would get us some members and a better sale of our literature with them. I would greatly welcome advice from you.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

P. S. We looked up your address. We still had you in the Department of Labor. Now that our red tape is caught up with the government's red tape, you should get New South directly each month.

G.S.M.

New South Carolina teaching:

Annie Lee Davis
Children's Bureau
Federal Security Agency
Washington D. C.

see if sub. has been out, & tell if need to.

Over

M. Lewan

~~Badly need to support.~~

~~Give her a note.~~

Also ask her how to
read מדמ (N) עפ
N.E. → often grow
in rock crevices.

Memo

11/29

Carole:

Lady on this slip says she has not been receiving New South. Dr. Mitchell has dictated a letter to her, but asks that you check to see if she is a subscriber or member or just what her status with SRC is, if any.

met

Elizabeth:

For some mysterious reason this dear lady's stencil read as follows:

Mrs. Annie Lee Davis
U. S. Department of Labor
Children's Bureau
Washington, D. C.

instead of:

Mrs. Annie Lee Davis
Children's Bureau
Federal Security Agency
Washington, D. C.

could be that had something to with her not receiving NEW SOUTH. However, I will correct her stencil and fervently hope that she will receive it in the future without interruption. cac

The Southern Regional Council, Inc.

63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.

ATLANTA, GA.

Miss Annie Lee Davis

This paragraph to be in her letter:

You were going to be good enough to give me some idea about how to reach various parent-teacher groups in North Carolina and in other southern states, in such a way as would get us some members and a better sale of our literature with them. I would greatly welcome advice from you.

Sincerely,

GSM

GSM

Is "better sale of our literature" what you said? Sounds uglily commercial.

Finally

OK

GSM

D-Misc

December 15, 1948

Mrs. Annie Lee Davis
Consultant on Minority Groups
Social Service Division
Children's Bureau
Federal Security Agency
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mrs. Davis:

How very kind and generous of you to send us such a long and detailed letter. I have dictated letters which should put us in touch with half or better of the people you listed. In each case, I asked some trusted member in the neighborhood to go and see the official you listed and tell them about our materials, and try to interest them in using some of the things.

I am to be in North Carolina soon, and will look up Mrs. Jarnigan in person.

I have written Mrs. Brown of the National Council of Negro Women in Washington.

As to your dues, you are listed on our records as a subscriber to New South. When your subscription falls due for renewal, you will be notified in time to continue receiving the publication without interruption. However, we would like to have you as a full-fledged member of our Council! There is a membership blank on the enclosed leaflet.

This is the kind of promotional work that will be most helpful, and again, we are grateful to you for steering us.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

IN REPLY REFER TO
FILE NO. 12:SS

FEDERAL SECURITY AGENCY

SOCIAL SECURITY ADMINISTRATION

WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

CHILDREN'S BUREAU

December 10, 1948

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Rm. 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED
DEC 13 1947

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I have your letter of December 6 asking for information regarding parent-teacher groups in North Carolina and in other Southern States.

The National Congress of Colored Parents and Teachers is composed of State branches of the organization which are largely located in Southern States where there are segregated school systems. The National Congress holds annual meetings at which time they are always anxious for materials to be used in their exhibits. The State branches also hold annual meetings and usually have exhibit materials. I know that these organizations would like very much to have for exhibit in these meetings samples of materials that have been prepared by the Southern Regional Council. If order blanks could be sent with the samples of material showing where copies can be bought and the prices of the material, I am sure that you would get a response from the members attending these meetings. Contact either through letters or personal interviews when you are in the area would make the officials aware of the work of the Southern Regional Council and the use of the material with the local groups.

Following is the name and address of the National president of the colored parent-teacher association and of the State presidents. Through the State presidents, you will be able to determine the active local groups.

National President
Mrs. William W. M. Henry
123 South Queen Street
Dover, Delaware

Alabama
Mrs. P. R. Montgomery
2702 Loveless Street
Birmingham, Alabama

Arkansas
Mrs. Irene McCollum
2922 Ringo Street
Little Rock, Arkansas

Delaware
Mr. J. Stanley James
Milsboro, Delaware

Florida
Mrs. Mayme E. Williams
1200 N.W. 6th Avenue
Miami, Florida

Georgia
Mrs. Ethel Kight
309 McCall Street
LaGrange, Georgia

Kansas
Mrs. B. Bernard Watson
1104 Washington Blvd.
Kansas City, Kansas

Louisiana
Mrs. M. J. Devore
4807 Magazine Street
New Orleans, Louisiana

Mississippi
Mrs. Z. E. Moman
247 Adelle Street
Jackson, Mississippi

New Jersey
Mrs. Rosa M. Mosby
231 Washington Street
Mt. Holly, New Jersey

North Carolina
Mr. B. F. Ferguson
301 Moore Street
Fayettevile, North Carolina

South Carolina
Rev. Z. Townsend
c/o Morris College
Sumter, South Carolina

Texas
Mrs. D. C. Rayford
Paul Quinn College
Waco, Texas

Washington, D. C.
Mrs. M. E. Carpenter
1503 "B" St. N.E.
Washington, D. C.

Kentucky
Mrs. M. J. Hitch
Kentucky State Teachers College
Frankfort, Kentucky

Maryland
Mr. Charles Cornish
106 Pine Street
Cambridge, Maryland

Missouri
Mrs. Burt A. Mayberry
2446 Harison
Kansas City, Missouri

New Mexico
Mrs. Isable Evans
908 So. Kentucky Avenue
Roswell, New Mexico

Oklahoma
Mr. Ira D. Hall
1021 N. E. 7th Street
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

Tennessee
Mrs. Ethel B. Beck
1307 Dandridge Pike
Knoxville, Tennessee

Virginia
Mr. Henry Davis
2646 Middle Avenue
Norfolk, Virginia

West Virginia
Mrs. Nokomis Shelton
Box 1023
Welch, West Virginia

In North Carolina, I would suggest that you get in touch with Mrs. Ada M. Jarnigan, 1010 Smithfield Street, Raleigh, North Carolina. Mrs. Jarnigan is very active in the local colored parent-teacher councils in North Carolina and spearheads the activity in this organization throughout the State.

The National Association of Colored Women, Inc. is an organization composed of Negro women's clubs. This organization also has State branches. Both the State and local organizations have annual meetings at which time materials are exhibited and used by persons attending these meetings. Following is the list of the National and State presidents:

Alabama
Mrs. I. K. Campfield
P. O. Box 303
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

Arkansas
Mrs. M. B. Stilson
717 Pleasant Street
Hot Springs, Arkansas

Florida
Mrs. F. M. Walker
705 12th Street
West Palm Beach, Florida

Louisiana
Mrs. H. W. Johnson
105 - 7th Street
Monroe, Louisiana

Mississippi
Mrs. Ruby Stutts Lyells
1116 Montgomery Street
Jackson, Mississippi

North Carolina
Miss Ruth Rush
North Carolina State College
Durham, North Carolina

Tennessee
Mrs. Frances J. Pierce
2702 Meharry Blvd.
Nashville, Tennessee

Virginia
Mrs. Connie M. Sharpe
452 A Harding Street
Petersburg, Virginia

Arizona
Mrs. Emma Gardener
1229 N. Washington Street
Phoenix, Arizona

Delaware
Mrs. Fannie Hamilton
204 E. 10th Street
Wilmington, Delaware

Kentucky
Mrs. Rosa L. Greene
900 Hall Street
Owensboro, Kentucky

Maryland
Mrs. Alice Arrington
1301 Madison Avenue
Baltimore, Maryland

Missouri
Mrs. Willa P. Allen
3019 LaClede Avenue
St. Louis, Missouri

South Carolina
Mrs. Hattie Duckett
121 Broad Street
Greenville, South Carolina

Texas
Mrs. I. W. Rowan
Brady State Institution
Brady, Texas

Washington, D. C.
Mrs. Mary E. C. Gregory
1719 - 13th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

West Virginia
Mrs. Jane Spaulding
510 Morris Street
Charleston, West Virginia

North Carolina has a very strong and active State association of colored women's clubs. I am sure that you will find Miss Ruth Rush a very important person to know and a person through whom I think the materials developed by the Southern Regional Council can be disseminated to the local clubs in North Carolina.

I am sure you are acquainted with Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethume's organization the National Council of Negro Women, 1318 Vermont Avenue, N. W., Washington 5, D. C. Mrs. Jennetta Welch Brown is the Executive Director. The organization has a monthly publication called Telefact and a journal. I am sure Mrs. Bethune would be willing to give the Southern Regional Council a write-up in her publication telling of the work of your organization and of materials that will be useful to local councils especially in the Southern area.

Thank you kindly for arranging for me to receive New South regularly. Will you let me know if my subscription is due? Also am I a paid member of the Southern Regional Council?

I do hope that the leads that I have given you will prove fruitful and that the excellent material that has been put out by the Southern Regional Council will have a wider circulation.

Very truly yours,

Annie Lee Davis

Annie Lee Davis
Consultant on Minority Groups
Social Service Division

1/21

Harold:

What do I do to get him on the mailing list, free for nothing?

met

Carole:

Please put this man on complimentary mailing list.

Will do — C.A.C.

8-D-Misc-
Douthit, Glenn

January 24, 1949

Mr. Glenn Douthit
New Orleans Item
722 Union Street
New Orleans, Louisiana

Dear Mr. Douthit:

I enjoyed the conversation with you the other morning in New Orleans.

Here is some printed material about the Council.

A lot of southern papers have used this or that of our string of magazine issues and pamphlets as the basis for news stories. I will see to it that you get each new thing that we put out.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

cc: Harold Fleming

case 2-A

Sending him: Vance, Educated South, Healthy South, Dec.-Jan. New South, police issues, reprint of Honest Answer, paste-up.

8-D-Misc.
Davis, Bert H.

January 28, 1949

Mr. Bert H. Davis
Box 236
Utica 1, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Davis:

A staff member of ours who hails from North Carolina has suggested some possible leads for Classmate, which I am glad to pass on to you:

(1) Credit unions reflect the growth of the cooperative movement. Mr. D. R. Graham, N. C. Dept. of Agriculture, Raleigh, can supply information.

(2) You might be interested in the status of trade unions in the state. William Smith, state director of CIO, 4th St., Charlotte, is a good source.

(3) A good selection of pictures is available from Mrs. James Gust, Division of Research Interpretation, Institute for Research in Social Science, Box 1078, Chapel Hill.

(4) A valuable innovation is the Communications Center at the University of N. C. which offers classes in visual education, radio, and other media. The Center has the largest broadcasting studio in the state. The director is Earl Wynn.

As for race relations generally, the new governor, Kerr Scott, has publicly announced a determination to grant equal opportunity to Negro citizens. He has promised to appoint Negroes to the Board of Education and to boards of institutions serving Negroes. This policy -- which is in keeping with North Carolina's reputation as the most progressive Southern state -- will be watched closely for performance by progressive Southerners of both races. As for North Carolina's standing in specific fields -- health, education, housing, suffrage, etc. -- most of our data have been presented in New South.

I shall be on the lookout for leads in the other states you mention. If we can help in other ways, please let us know.

Sincerely yours,

BERT H. DAVIS
BOX 236 **UTICA 1, N. Y.**

January 21, 1949

RECEIVED
JAN 25 1949
Southern Regional Council

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Attention Mr. Harold C. Fleming

Gentlemen:

Classmate, national youth weekly of the Methodist Church, which goes regularly into a third of a million homes, plans a series of illustrated feature articles on a number of the States. We have listed, among Southern States, the following to be covered in such features, in approximately the order named: North Carolina, Georgia, and Kentucky. Others will be included in later features, if the idea clicks with Classmate's million and more of readers, young and old.

Our usual approach will be the Governors' offices, chambers of commerce, and railroads and selected industries, to get an all-around selection of facts and photos which are likely to interest young people. We are saying less about tourist attractions than about both educational and vocational opportunities in these States, and we are also planning to emphasize some of the cultural and economic developments to be expected in the 1950s, which should have more than casual interest to Methodist young people.

I am receiving at present your monthly, New South, and shall watch it fof items that deal in particular with the three States listed for first treatment in the series. However, if you have at any time special releases or leads for stories of success in the lines of progress in which the Council is most interested I would be most grateful for any of these aids. North Carolina news would be most useful if it reaches me by March 1, probably the deadline for the first of the three projected articles dealing with the South. With appreciation and best wishes to you in your fine work,

Sincerely,

Bert H. Davis

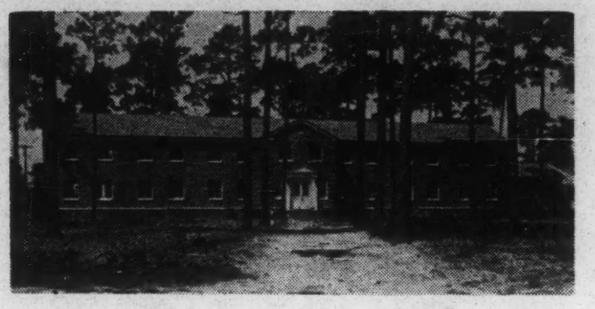
8-D-Misc. — Davis, C. Edward

C. EDWARD DAVIS, MINISTER
525 O'HEAR AVENUE

G. C. VIA,
CLERK OF SESSION

S. B. TINGLEY,
CHURCH TREASURER

MISS GRACE PAYNE
DIRECTOR OF RELIGIOUS EDUCATION



Park Circle Presbyterian Church
(FORMERLY COSGROVE AVENUE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH)
DURANT AVENUE AT PARK PLACE, WEST
North Charleston, S. C.

February 3, 1949

No reply

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

Thank you for the materials, which were sent to me recently. I have read them with interest.

Let me say, as one who is vitally interested in this whole problem, that one of the things that bothers some of us who sincerely want the lot of the Negro improved is what seems to us to be the danger in the FEPC. I certainly have no desire to keep the Negro from equal employment rights, and, yet, it seems a great danger in violating the employer's right of hiring whomever he pleases. It seems to me that an employer should be allowed to say what men will best fit into his organization to do the job that he wants to get done most efficiently.

Yours very truly,

C Edward Davis

C. Edward Davis

CED/p

8-D-misc-
Davis, Lambert

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA PRESS

Chapel Hill, N. C.

March 10, 1949

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

It was a real pleasure to meet you, after many years of hearing about you, both in the North and in the South. I am counting on many more meetings in the future, either in Chapel Hill or in Atlanta. And I hope you will think of yourself as a kind of counsellor to the Press. Aside from the tips that I hope you will send me from time to time as to writers or book projects that I should know about, please feel free to let me have general criticism, both pro and con, of the Press' policy as you see it. Any organization such as this faces the danger of ingrowing, and needs a word from outside from time to time to put it into a proper sense of its own condition. I want you to know that any comment you make on the Press will be taken in the spirit in which it is made.

Sincerely yours,

Lambert Davis

Lambert Davis
Director

RECEIVED
MAR 14 1949
Southern Regional Council

LD:k

8-0-Misc -
Davis, Lambert

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA PRESS

Chapel Hill, N. C.

March 10, 1949

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Just a note to tell you how much I enjoyed our brief conversation when I was in Atlanta several weeks ago. I think I understand a little better now the set up of the Southern Regional Council, and I feel assured that the Press can count on your friendly cooperation to the extent that your powers permit. I am keeping in mind the possibility of making use of your offer to let us send you an occasional circular on a book for stuffing in your mailing. I realize that this can't be done frequently, but only when there is a book we both feel is appropriate.

I am looking forward to the prospect of seeing more of you in the future, either in Atlanta or Chapel Hill.

Sincerely yours,

Lambert Davis

Lambert Davis
Director

LD:k

8-D-Misc -
Davis, Lambert

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA PRESS

Chapel Hill, N. C.

February 11, 1949

RECEIVED
FEB 14 1949
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Just a note to tell you that I am going to be in Atlanta on Monday and Tuesday, and will give you a ring then. If you have any tips as to people I should see while I am there, I would most appreciate them.

Sincerely yours,

Lambert Davis

Lambert Davis
Director

LD:k

Noted
MEJ

8- D- Misc
Davlin, William

March 30, 1949

Mr. William Davlin
National Planning Association
800 - 21st Street, NW
Washington, D. C.

Dear Bill:

I never have been able to get from the National Planning Association any of your even preliminary reports on the South. Many months ago you were going to try to get action on that.

I would like to be prepared, as far as I can, for your publications when they formally come out.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

8-D-Misc- Davlin, Wm.

August 10, 1948

Mr. William Davlin
National Planning Association
800 Twenty-first Street, NW
Washington, D. C.

Dear Bill:

Thank you very much for the very helpful talk with Charles Smith and me.

I have sent Charles a copy of your memorandum listing forthcoming publications. You were going to be good enough to send copies of what is now available in preliminary form, one set to me and one set to Charles Smith at 2710 North Twenty-fifth Street, Arlington, Virginia.

I will read these for information only.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:eb

8 - D - Misc - Davis, Michael

April 9, 1949

Mr. Michael M. Davis, Chairman
Committee on Research in Medical Economics
1790 Broadway
New York, N. Y.

Dear Sir:

Thank you for your very well written report on "How A National Health Program Would Serve The South."

I would like for the members of our Executive Committee and Directors to have a copy, and trust that the Governor and other State officials will eventually receive one.

The names and addresses of the Executive Committee and Directors are:

Executive Committee
Dr. R. B. Atwood, President
Kentucky State College
Frankfort, Kentucky

Dr. Hugh A. Brimm
c/o Southern Baptist Theol. Seminary
Lexington Road
Louisville, Kentucky

Mrs. Hortense Young
818 S. 6th Street
Louisville, Kentucky

Mr. Sidney Baer
601 West Market Street
Louisville, Kentucky

Directors
Mr. W. M. Young, President
Lincoln Institute
Lincoln Ridge, Kentucky

Directors Cond.
Mr. Robert T. Burke, Jr.
Kentucky Home Life Building
5th and Jefferson Streets
Louisville, Kentucky

Dr. John T. Dorris
Eastern Kentucky State College
Richmond, Kentucky

Bishop Wm. R. Moody
436 West 6th Street
Lexington, Kentucky

Miss Juliet J. Poynter
Shelbyville, Kentucky

Dr. Irwin T. Sanders, Head
Department of Sociology
University of Kentucky
Lexington, Kentucky

With every best wish for your success.

Sincerely yours,

J. M. Tydings

J. M. Tydings

JMT:oh
cc: Dr. Geo. S. Mitchell

8-D-Misc-
Davis, Michael M.

March 22, 1949

Dr. Michael M. Davis
Committee on Research in Medical Economics
1790 Broadway
New York 19, New York

Dear Dr. Davis:

Here is a list of forty-odd people over the South who could give you useful criticism on the draft report on "How a National Health Program Would Serve the South."

I did not put any medical people on, feeling that you had your own lines to them. The list is perhaps half white and half Negro.

We will be glad to help in any way you may wish.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm/t
enclosure

Mr. J. M. Tydings
Business Manager
Lincoln Institute
Lincoln Ridge, Kentucky

Mr. Gordon Lovejoy
Professor of Human Relations
University of Miami
Miami, Florida

Mr. Cyrus Johnson
P.O. Box 1208
Raleigh, North Carolina

Reverend Mr. C. Emerson Smith
Director of Virginia Department
of Interracial Cooperation of
Virginia Council of Churches
109 West Grace Street
Richmond, Virginia

Mrs. W. H. Ratliff
President South Eastern Jurisdiction
Woman's Society of Christian Service
Methodist Church
Sherard, Mississippi

Mrs. James S. Crate
Texas Commission on Interracial
Cooperation
2410 Inwood Drive
Houston, Texas

Mr. A. D. Beittel
Talladega College
Talladega, Alabama

Mrs. Hortense Young
The Louisville Defender
418 South Fifth Street
Louisville, Kentucky

Dr. Guy Johnson
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dr. Harold Trigg
St. Augustine's College
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dr. Alonzo Moron
Acting President
Hampton Institute
Hampton, Virginia

Dr. Charles Gomillion
Tuskegee Institute
Tuskegee, Alabama

Mr. William H. Gray, President
Florida A & M College
Tallahassee, Florida

Mr. J. Lewis Henderson
706 Hancock Street
Bay St. Louis, Mississippi

Mr. Paul R. Christopher
CIO Director for Tennessee
218 South Gay Street
Knoxville 2, Tennessee

Mr. R. W. Starnes
544 Camp Street
New Orleans 12, Louisiana

Dr. John R. Eubank
Philander Smith College
Little Rock, Arkansas

Mr. Paul Clanton
Fourteenth and Pine Street
Pine Bluff, Arkansas

Dr. Stephen A. Stephan
Department of Sociology
University of Arkansas
Fayetteville, Arkansas

Miss Sayde Thompson
Urban League
914 Gaines Street
Little Rock, Arkansas

Paul Foreman
Department of Sociology
Oklahoma A & M College
Stillwater, Oklahoma

Mr. John R. Larkins
Consultant on Negro Work
North Carolina State Board of
Charities and Public Welfare
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dr. Dorothy Jones
Department of Sociology
Winthrop College
Rock Hill, North Carolina

Miss Josephine Hamilton
Chattanooga High School
East Third Street
Chattanooga, Tennessee

Mr. Nat Caldwell
Special Staff Writer
Nashville Tennesseean
Nashville, Tennessee

Mr. George Hull, Photographer
Chattanooga Times
Chattanooga, Tennessee

Pauline Watkins Campbell
Jeanes Supervisor
Walker County
Huntsville, Alabama

Mrs. Nathan Lantor
South Boston, Virginia
Box 528

Dr. V. L. Wharton
Millsaps College
Jackson, Mississippi

Mr. George Stephens
48 Walnut Street
Ashville, North Carolina

Mrs. Henry Havens
2845 Corinthian Avenue
Jacksonville 5, Florida

Miss Josephine Wilkins
Citizens Fact Finding Movement
of Georgia
Forsyth Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Mr. Aubrey Williams, Publisher
Southern Farmer
Montgomery 1, Alabama

Mr. Myles Horton
Highlander Folk School
Monteagle, Tennessee

Mr. Carter Wesley
P.O. Box 3086
Houston, Texas

Mr. C. H. Parrish, Jr.
Louisville Municipal College
Louisville 3, Kentucky

Reverend Father V.J. O'Connell, S.M.
South Carrollton Avenue
New Orleans 18, Louisiana

Judge Richard Foster
1317 East North Street Extension
Greenville, South Carolina

Mrs. Julia Hill
3607 Seminary Avenue
Richmond, Virginia

President Hollis F. Price
LeMoyne College
Memphis, Tennessee

Mr. Howard McClain
Mercer University
Macon, Georgia

Mrs. Grace Hamilton
Executive Secretary
Atlanta Urban League
239 Auburn Avenue., N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Mr. Norman Fenn
Berea College
Berea, Kentucky

Dr. George Snowden
2601 Gentilly Road
Dillard University
New Orleans, Louisiana

Miss Dorothy Dickens
Mississippi Agricultural
Experiment Station
State College, Mississippi

Miss Margaret C. McCulloch
Field Associate - Race Relations
Department of American Missionary
Association Division
Board of Home Missions
Congregational Christian Churches
858 Whitford Place
Memphis, Tennessee

Mr. James Sells
Southeastern Jurisdictional Council
Methodist Church
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Committee On
Research in Medical Economics
Incorporated
1790 Broadway
New York 19, N. Y.

Michael M. Davis, Chairman
Nathan W. Levin, Treasurer
Paul Kellogg, Secretary

Telephone—Circle 5-4660

Morris Llewellyn Cooke
Channing Frothingham, M.D.
Walton H. Hamilton
Nathan W. Levin
Harry A. Millis
Claude W. Munger, M.D.
Joseph Halle Schaffner
George Soule
Fred M. Stein
Ruth Taylor

March 15, 1949

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Rm. 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED
MAR 17 1949
Southern Regional Council

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I appreciate ever so much your valuable suggestions about our report, "How A National Health Program Would Serve The South".

We have decided on the following procedure: We have mimeographed 100 copies (1 enclosed) and want to send about 85 of these out to selected people asking for comments on the subject matter and presentation, and also for suggestions as to how the report, when published, can best be distributed.

Could you give me a list of say 50 persons to whom we might send the mimeographed copy immediately? We will meanwhile bear in mind your suggestions for comprehensive distribution.

I should appreciate very much your reply in the near future as we want to get the pre-publication copies out the first of next week.

Sincerely yours,

Michael M. Davis

Michael M. Davis

MMD:bke
Enc.

March 4, 1949

Dr. Michael M. Davis
Committee on Research in Medical Economics, Inc.
1790 Broadway
New York 19, New York

Dear Dr. Davis:

The Council has its 3,200 paid-up members in the South, and an additional 1400 subscribers to its magazine, making a total mailing list of about 4,500. These are people scattered over thirteen southern states, and they are influential in their local communities. Perhaps half are white and half are Negro. I could probably mail out to them your study, when it is done. I know it would be good for our people to get. We are so broke that we have to feed the postage meter in tiny sums as we can get them. Any possible chance that your Committee could meet the postage-only cost of our mailing the pamphlet out to our 4,500 people?

You would strike probably a somewhat larger mailing list with Jim Dombrowski and his Southern Conference Educational Fund, 808 Perdido Street, New Orleans. It would have a good many duplications with mine but, by and large, it would reach people a bit more agitated than my people.

I could supply you with the names and addresses of head persons in each southern state of white parent-teacher associations and, similarly, of each state Negro teacher association.

I have also the addresses of all of the church papers in southern states. There are about sixty of them.

You would doubtless help your cause greatly by getting the NAACP in New York to send copies out to their local chapters over the South. A

supply also to each of the eleven Urban Leagues in the South would do good.

The southern office of the National Farmers Union (Myles Horton, Highlander Folk School, Monteagle, Tennessee) reaches directly 2,500 southern members of the Farmers Union. I should think that Horton could make excellent use of 150 to 200 copies for his people.

Were I in your shoes, I think I would get in touch with the CIO Political Action Committee and the AFofL's Political Education League. They operate a pamphlet distribution engine. You would have little chance of getting your material out to local unions except through some official channel like that. If necessary, I could supply you also with membership lists of the Southern Political Science Association, the Southern Sociological Society, and the Southern Economic Association.

Be at pains to get the pamphlet listed with the various library indices. We find those things get a deuce of a lot of pamphlets into people's hands. Another one to get into is: Pamphlet Index
Schultz Press, Inc.
119 West 23rd Street
New York 11, New York

All success.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

Committee On
Research in Medical Economics
Incorporated
1790 Broadway
New York 19, N. Y.

Michael M. Davis, Chairman
Nathan W. Levin, Treasurer
Paul Kellogg, Secretary

Telephone—Circle 5-4660

Morris Llewellyn Cooke
Channing Frothingham, M.D.
Walton H. Hamilton
Nathan W. Levin
Harry A. Millis
Claude W. Munger, M.D.
Joseph Halle Schaffner
George Soule
Fred M. Stein
Ruth Taylor

RECEIVED
MAR 2 1949
Southern Regional Council

February 28, 1949

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

We are completing the preparation of a study, "How a National Health Program would serve the South." It will take the form of a report of perhaps twenty pages, analysing briefly health conditions and needs in eleven southern states, describing the substantial steps which many of these states have already taken toward meeting their needs, and further describing how a national health program, through federal grants-in-aid and health insurance, would assist the states further.

I am writing to ask your suggestions and help in distributing this report to interested individuals and organizations. Can you furnish me lists or suggestions of the sources of lists, particularly of organizations? The report will be in non-technical language, although designed for already interested persons rather than for the man in the street.

With cordial regards and appreciation of your cooperation, I am,

Sincerely yours,

Michael M. Davis

Michael M. Davis

MMD/lb

Pamphlet Index
Schultz Press, Inc
119 West 23rd St
NY 11

9- Di-Misc. -
Dombrowski, James

SOUTHERN CONFERENCE EDUCATIONAL FUND
808 PERDIDO STREET
NEW ORLEANS 12, LOUISIANA

46

April 22, 1949

RECEIVED
APR 25 1949
Southern Regional Council

Dear George:

Thanks for the kind words and two bucks. I hope before too long we can get together for a conference. There are many things I should like to talk over with you.

Sincerely,

Jim

9-Di-Misc.
Dombrowski, James

April 20, 1949

Mr. James Dombrowski
The Southern Patriot
808 Perdido Street
New Orleans, Louisiana

Dear Jim:

I see I owe you two bucks.

The Patriot is doing a good job.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:t

9- Di- Misc
Dorris, J. T.

EASTERN KENTUCKY STATE TEACHERS COLLEGE

RICHMOND, KY.

May 20, 1949

RECEIVED
MAY 24 1949
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I concluded after you failed to arrive last week that I should have answered your communication. It occurred to me, however, that if I had written you, my letter would not have reached Atlanta before you started on your itinerary.

Yes, I am sorry that we did not get to have the conference on the work of the Southern Regional Council at the time you had planned. I hope that you will be coming this way again soon and that we shall find something for you to do on the campus. I expect to teach the course in Inter-racial Relations again next semester. I shall also plan to take my class to visit Kentucky State College.

If I can be of any assistance to you or others in directing the work of the Council, please instruct me what to do.

Sincerely,

J. T. Dorris

J. T. Dorris

JTD:JT

9 - Mi Dorris
Dorris, J. T.

May 13, 1949

Mr. J. T. Dorris
Eastern Kentucky State Teachers College
Richmond, Kentucky

Dear Mr. Dorris:

My apologies for not getting in touch with you on my Tuesday-Wednesday-Thursday sally into Kentucky. The Berea people were wound up in some sort of celebration and couldn't take on an extra lecturer. Kentucky State College at Frankfort kept me there until mid-afternoon of yesterday. Although I came on back to Lexington and called your home a couple of times, I couldn't reach you, so I got myself back to Atlanta by plane last night.

I hope I will succeed next time in getting to see you. I also hope I caused you no inconvenience by raising the possibility that I would get to your campus.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

May 4, 1949

Mr. J. T. Dorris
Eastern Kentucky State Teachers College
Richmond, Kentucky

Dear Mr. Dorris:

We have all been interested in your kind letter which Mrs. McKoy answered the other day.

I am to be in Lexington May 10 to talk to the meeting of the Catholic Committee of the South, about the Council. I am spending the two or three days after that talking here and there at colleges--on the 11th at the University of Kentucky, on the 12th at Kentucky State College, and possibly on the 13th at Berea.

I will try very hard, in the course of the afternoon of the 12th, to get to your college and hunt you up. Meanwhile, if you happen to have an afternoon class that you would want me to talk to, I will try to work out some close connections on the Kentucky bus system and get there at what time you might set. I am probably necessarily in Frankfort, however, until 12 or 1 o'clock on the 12th.

Maybe if I could be of any use to you on the 13th, you and Miss Adelaide Gundlach at Berea could work out some gearing in of schedules.

Howsomever, my main need is not to talk to classes (I will have done about enough of that in those few days), and it would be a pleasure to stop by the campus and get acquainted with your work.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSMit

May 3, 1949

Mr. J. T. Dorris
Eastern Kentucky State Teachers College
Richmond, Kentucky

Dear Mr. Dorris:

Thank you so much for your check covering dues for the current year. This has been credited to your account and now can be forgotten until 1950.

I was much interested in your letter with its account of the work you have been doing in interracial relations. The contribution that is being made by teachers like yourself to sound development and helpful change is of basic importance in any assessment.

Mr. Tydings is indeed chairman of our Kentucky State Division and we esteem him most highly.

I am passing along to Mr. Fleming, editor of New South, your suggestion as to the possibility of reviewing once in a while the work that is being done by colleges and universities of the South in the field of bringing about better race relations. Thanks so much for your offer of help in any of our undertakings here. I will make a note of this. It is good to know where help can be found.

With all good and best wishes for you in your own endeavors, I am

Cordially yours,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

AM:s

EASTERN KENTUCKY STATE TEACHERS COLLEGE

RICHMOND, KY.

March 18, 1949

Mrs. Agnes McCoy
Secretary Treasurer
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Osborne Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. McCoy:

3.00 ck
Mr. K.
C.A.C. for this

I am enclosing a check for three dollars to pay my current dues in the Southern Regional Council. I thought, by the way, that they were already paid for the current year. You may be interested to know that I had planned to attend the meeting of the Council last fall, but at the last moment found it inadvisable to attend. I am expecting to come to Atlanta at the next meeting.

Your office would be interested to know that for a few years I have been teaching a course in Inter-racial Relations. On four different occasions I have taken my class to visit the Kentucky State College in Frankfort. This last time the class of thirty-two met for more than two hours with some hundred students and faculty members of Kentucky State College in a conference on inter-racial relations. This meeting was in the afternoon after we had visited parts of the campus and had dined with the students in their cafeteria. The conference was a most profitable experience. My students regarded it has the most helpful part of the course in Inter-racial Relations. The fact is students in that course look forward to the visit to the Kentucky State College as a red letter day in their college experience. I had two Filipinos and one Chinese student in the class last semester. Of course, they appreciated the privilege of visiting this negroe college. They said they would not have missed it for anything.

Out of this conference there has developed a joint relations committee consisting of six students of each college. The object of this inter-college committee is to promote more cordial relations between the two colleges and to encourage better inter-racial relations generally in the state and nation at large. Just now I am expecting to offer the course in Inter-racial Relations the first semester of the next year. The class will visit the college in Frankfort as formerly, and another conference of white and negroe students will be held during the visit.

Mr. John Tydings, who represents Kentucky in the Southern Regional Council, paid our campus a visit last week. We like John very much and believe that his work will result in bringing about better race relations in Kentucky.

It seems to me that the publication of the Council might review once in a while the work that is being done by colleges and universities of the South particularly in bringing about better race relations. Perhaps such information has been given already, and I have omitted seeing it. I just want to say that if I can contribute anything to the work which is being done in Atlanta, I shall be glad to do so.

With best wishes for the good work of the Council, I am

Sincerely yours,

J. T. Dorris

JTD:JT

Enclosure

RECEIVED
APR 7 1949
Southern Regional Council

RECEIVED
Southern Regional Council

8-d-Misc.
Davis, J.S.

June 27, 1949

Mr. J. S. Davis
Food Research Institute
Stanford University
Stanford, California

Dear Mr. Davis:

I remember most pleasantly your visit, and greatly appreciate your kindness in writing to me.

If the Council can ever serve you in any way, let us know.

If you strike a gold mine of financial interest in Stanford on matters of our sort, we would be delighted to get a nugget or two from the mines.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

FOOD RESEARCH INSTITUTE
STANFORD UNIVERSITY
STANFORD, CALIFORNIA

June 15, 1949

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Doctor Mitchell:

My long chat with you in your office in mid-April stands out as one of the most significant of many interviews that I had on our 2 1/2-month automobile trip through the South. I am grateful to you for giving me your time. In the course of our journey we saw a number of members of your council, both white and Negro. Though I am far from having mastered the intricacies of the problem of race relations, I feel much less ignorant on the subject than when I started out, and I am most grateful to you for your information and suggestions.

My wife and I both will be reading the New South and trying to do our bit to help along in this region. I have already been asked to talk on the subject to the little social action committee of our local Congregational Church.

With best wishes, I am

Cordially yours,

J. S. Davis

J. S. Davis

JSD:gm

RECEIVED
JUN 20 1949
Southern Regional Council

8 - D Misc
Department of State

June 27, 1949

Miss Margaret R. T. Carter, Chief
Division of Public Liaison
Office of Public Affairs
Department of State
Washington, D. C.

Dear Miss Carter:

In reply to your letter of June 14, I regret to state that the Southern Regional Council has not the means to be represented at the ninth session of the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations at Geneva.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

RECEIVED
JUN 20 1949
Southern Regional Council

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Office of Public Affairs

June 14, 1949

Dear Organization Leader:

The Economic and Social Council of the United Nations will begin its ninth session on July 5, 1949 in Geneva, Switzerland. It is expected that it will be in session for approximately six weeks. This meeting of the Council is of particular importance since it will discuss and outline the projected program of technical assistance to underdeveloped areas. The United Nations Secretariat will present plans for the administrative structure and the substantive program which the Council will examine.

In addition, the Council will examine the world economic situation together with current international cooperative efforts to improve conditions. The question of East-West trade, including United States trade policies toward eastern Europe, will come up in the study of the report of the Economic Commission for Europe. The status of business in the United States will be another important matter which will be discussed. Forced labor and refugees are among the items included in the agenda.

We would be interested to know if your organization is planning to have a representative as an unofficial observer at this meeting in Geneva, and if so, the name or names of those to be expected. Gilbert W. Stewart, Jr., press officer of the United States Mission to the United Nations, has been designated as the U. S. delegation representative to maintain liaison with non-governmental organizations.

Will you please notify the Division of Public Liaison if you are planning to send a representative? Further details will be sent to those organizations indicating their intention to be represented at this meeting of the Economic and Social Council. This does not apply to those organizations which are affiliated to international non-governmental organizations which have been granted consultative status under Article 71 of the Charter. These organizations should seek representation through their international affiliates.

Sincerely yours,

Margaret R. T. Carter

Margaret R. T. Carter
Chief
Division of Public Liaison

ANNOUNCING THE PUBLICATION OF INFORMATION ON --

THE PROPOSED U.S. MILITARY ASSISTANCE PROGRAM

The publications described below were especially prepared by the Department of State to give the people of the United States concise factual information on the background, purposes, and provisions of the proposed U.S. Military Assistance program. These publications are designed to fill the different needs for information expressed in requests received by the State Department on this important foreign policy matter.

Publications listed are available without cost to organizations, groups, associations, and individuals who wish to be better informed about this development in American foreign policy.

The Request Form below may be used to order copies of the publications listed.

- -

REQUEST FORM

Division of Public Liaison
Department of State
Washington 25, D.C.

_____
(Date)

Please send copies as indicated below.

No. Copies Requested

THE U.S. MILITARY ASSISTANCE PROGRAM. Foreign Affairs Outline No. 22. Discussion of purposes and general provisions of proposed military assistance program. 7 pages . . . . . _____

BACKGROUND INFORMATION ON THE MILITARY ASSISTANCE PROGRAM. Statement by Walter S. Surrey, Deputy Coordinator for the Military Assistance Program in the Department of State. Detailed presentation of various aspects of the program with question and answer section. 15 pages . . . . . _____

FACT SHEET - THE PROPOSED MILITARY ASSISTANCE PROGRAM. Brief, concise summary of major aspects of the program. 2 pages . . . . . _____

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS ON MILITARY ASSISTANCE. Selection of questions most frequently asked in connection with the military assistance program. Approximately 16 pages . . . . . _____

Requested by: _____

Address: _____
(Street)

_____
(City) (Zone) (State)

8-2-Misc
Derieux, James C.

September 1, 1949

Mr. James C. Derieux
Collier's
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Jim:

Nice to hear from you.

I send you several things which may be helpful. The most topical is the account of the law suit in King George County, Virginia. A similar suit has lately been introduced in a South Georgia County and others are popping over the South. It is clear to me that, after the impact of these suits has become a little more severe, the members of Congress from the Southern States will be active on behalf of Federal aid for the construction of school buildings. Such a bill has been in Congress for some time.

A neat story with a good lesson is in what North Carolina did eight or ten years ago about equalization of salaries. On that occasion, as now, law suits popped in Virginia. The Governor of North Carolina read the handwriting on the wall. He called in thirty-odd Negro leaders, whome he talked with in his office, and told them he knew what the suits meant and that he hoped that North Carolina had reserves of statesmanship which would enable the working out of an orderly program of equalization without law suits. For his part, he undertook that over a five year period salaries would be equalized. He made no effort to bind the Negroes not to introduce suits. There was never a suit on the subject in North Carolina, salaries were equalized, and white people and colored people are still patting themselves on the back because North Carolina handled that one so well.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

7

Now, this new one should be handled the same way, in states, in counties, and in cities.

That Governor of North Carolina was Broughton, and he is dead, but plenty of people in the North Carolina State Department of Education could give you the story accurately.

On the King George and Gloucester suits in Virginia, there have been interesting recent events which people in Richmond could give you.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

Enclosure

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Collier's
THE NATIONAL WEEKLY
THE CROWELL-COLLIER PUBLISHING COMPANY
250 PARK AVENUE
New York 17, N.Y.

OFFICE OF
WASHINGTON CORRESPONDENT
601 Thirteenth Street, N. W.
WASHINGTON, 5 D. C.

August 29, 1949

RECEIVED
AUG 31 1949
Southern Regional Council

Dear George:

I wonder if you could give me, in one or two or three easy lessons, a comprehensive look into the status of Negro education in the southern states. I'm interested in facts now and formerly, so that I may arrive at some kind of conclusion concerning the speed at which we are progressing, assuming that we are.

This request may be an awful lot of mooching. But, anyway, my motive is good. I'm hoping that you have some pamphlets that you can put in the mail to me without too much trouble.

How are you? In the best of health and spirit I hope. Regards to y'all.

Sincerely,

Jim Derieux

JCD:ms

James C. Derieux

Mr. George Mitchell, Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, Northeast
Atlanta, Georgia

8-D-Misc
Department of Justice

ADDRESS REPLY TO
"THE ATTORNEY GENERAL"
AND REFER TO
INITIALS AND NUMBER

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

WASHINGTON, D. C.

AMC:SB:evf

144-18-117

September 2, 1949

George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

The Department acknowledges with thanks the receipt of the New South article, "Mobile Violence, Motorized Mobs in a Florida County," constituting an analysis of the events which occurred in July 1949 at Lake County, Florida.

We appreciate your having given us this opportunity to examine the article.

Respectfully,

For the Attorney General

A M Campbell

ALEXANDER M. CAMPBELL
Assistant Attorney General

RECEIVED
SEP 6 1949
Southern Regional Council

8-D-Miss
Department of Justice

August 26, 1949

Miss Elinor Bontecou
Civil Rights Section
Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

Dear Miss Bontecou:

Here is a useful analysis of the outburst of violence last month in Lake County, Florida, which I thought should find its way into the Civil Rights Section.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

card filled out and returned
AGD

DIRECTOR
DIVISION OF PUBLIC INFORMATION

Department of Justice

8-D, Misc
Department of Justice

Washington

August 15, 1949

Executive Officer:

By now you should have received the Fourth National Conference number of the Citizenship Quarterly. I hope that you have found it of interest.

This number has been sent you in accordance with our promise shortly following the Conference.

If your organization is interested in participating or continuing to participate in the National Conference on Citizenship will you kindly fill in and return the enclosed card immediately?

Sincerely,

Carl B. Hyatt

Carl B. Hyatt, Director
Attorney General's Citizenship Program

RECEIVED
AUG 18 1949
Southern Regional Council

D - Mucel

October 13, 1949

Mrs. Maenelle Dempsey, Consultant
Georgia Negro Elementary Schools
Box 242, Atlanta University
223 Chestnut Street, S. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Dempsey:

Thank you for your letter about the Jeanes conference October 24-26. I am looking forward to being with you again, and will watch for the program.

We will arrange to have on hand, as we did last year, some Council publications that may be of interest to participants.

Sincerely,

Elizabeth Taylor

M. D. COLLINS
STATE SUPERINTENDENT
OF SCHOOLS

State Department of Education

STATE OFFICE BUILDING
Atlanta 3, Georgia

October 7, 1949

Box 242, Atlanta University
223 Chestnut Street, S.W.

Miss Elizabeth Taylor
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Miss Taylor:

Plans are in the making for the annual Jeanes conference October 24-26 which will be held at Atlanta University in the Exhibition Room as last year. We shall be pleased to have you attend and exhibit the materials of the Council.

As soon as the programs are available, we will send you a copy. May we expect you?

Very cordially yours,

Maenelle Dempsey

Maenelle Dempsey, Consultant
Georgia Negro Elementary Schools

MD:eb

RECEIVED
OCT 11 1949
Southern Regional Council

8-D-Misc
Dennison, Doris

October 21, 1949

Dear Doris Dennison:

Now you are no longer a "Methodist lady" but a comforting Tennessean in the wilds of Stockholm, a determined appearer at HSB headquarters. So I am hoping especially that you can make our November 9 meeting.

It would be good to see you again. I have a yen to know what has come of the copious notes and the products of the two cameras.

Sincerely yours,

Elizabeth Taylor

Dabney

October 28, '49

Dear Virginius,

We will miss your, greatly.

Very many thanks for the generous $20.00. It came at a time of need, and we appreciate it. We've applied 3.00 to dues, as you wished.

We are hoping the Virginia letters are about to go out. 'Tis good of you to sign them.

I have great hopes of Race in the News. It has been sold in large blocks widely through the South. Everyone notices the change in the Atlanta papers since it came out.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Clear copy Onion Skin

9- Di- Misc-
Domas, I. J.

November 10, 1949

Mr. I. J. Domas
50 Chestnut Street, SW
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Domas:

Thanks for telling me about the problems of your membership.

We have no record of your ever having joined the Southern Regional Council per se, and suppose that you have not. If you will be kind enough to join the Council, there is a blank on the back of this leaflet with the map.

Apparently you are a member of the Georgia Interracial Committe, which is in quasi-independent affiliation with the Southern Regional Council. You joined it in November, 1947, and probably paid its full dues, plus a dollar to cover subscription to New South. Your New South subscription would have run along in '48 and '49 without new dollars from you. As we find no stencil in our addressograph stack, we suppose that when copies were returned from the West Peachtree address, and when a tracer failed to turn up to our clerical staff your new address, your stencil was simply pulled.

You have several choices:

(a) Pay up your membership in the Georgia Interracial Commission for '48 and '49, plus a dollar for New South for each of those years. Georgia IRC's dues for two years amount to $6.00.

(b) Do that and also join the Southern Regional Council (omitting the extra dollar for New South, because membership in SRC will bring you New South.

I send with this the last three issues of New South.

Sorry this is so complicated. We hope someday to make it easier.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm/t

① HCF
② GSM

D-Miscel

Daytona Beach Evening News
DAYTONA BEACH MORNING JOURNAL
The Sunday News-Journal

November 12, 1949

OFFICE OF THE EDITOR

DAYTONA BEACH, FLORIDA

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Enclosed find three copies of an editorial from yesterday's Evening News. One copy is for the redoubtable Mrs. Tilly. /Detached by MEJ

I much enjoyed the annual meeting. It did much to restore my confidence in human beings.

As ever,

Editor

Herbert M. Davidson/mr

RECEIVED
Southern Regional Council

9 - Di - Misc -
Drake, Freeman

December 1, 1949

Mr. Freeman Drake, Sr.
Roanoke, Alabama

Dear Mr. Drake:

We missed you at the annual meeting but appreciate your letter of the other day.

Here are some new leaflets that may be useful.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

Enclosures

Southern Regional Council
Atlanta. Ga..

Roanoke. Ala.
Rout. 4.
Nov 28 .. 1949

Dear sirs:

I regret that I were not at our Anual Meeting Nov 9th at the same time failing to get some vauleble booklet plus information.

Look for my anual dues soon for I will never be without being a member of the great Organization. I am hoping to learn of some of the meeting high lights and findings.

Sincerely yours.

Freeman Drake. Sr.

RECEIVED
1949
Southern Regional Council

white unfiled
MP's prospective
member file -

9-D[illegible]
Drake, Freeman

October 28, 1948

Mr. Freeman Drake, Sr.
Route 4
Roanoke, Alabama

Dear Mr. Drake:

Thank you for your letter of October 15. We are glad that you could use the material so well. We shall be delighted to supply you with additional copies of the leaflet, "Which Way Is Better", whenever you can use them.

We shall look forward to seeing you at the annual membership meeting on November 10. It will be a pleasure to meet you then and talk to you. We hope that you will become a member of the Council.

I am afraid that we would need more information about your misunderstanding with the Federal Agency before we could properly advise you. However, the "grant-in-aid" referred to in the pamphlet, "To Secure These Rights", means federal to states for various programs and is not directly concerned with individuals.

Your congressman might be able to help you straighten out the matter, or you might see a representative of the Veterans Administration. If there is a Veterans Administration contact officer in Roanoke, you might talk to him, or to the contact officer in a town near Roanoke.

Without knowing more about your problem, I am afraid we are of little help to you in suggesting specific remedies.

Sincerely,

Margaret Price
Research Assistant

MP

Roanoke. Ala.
Rout. 4
Oct 15th 1948

RECEIVED
OCT 18 1948
Southern Regional Council

Southern Regional Council
Atlanta. Ga.

To. whom it may concern:
This is to acknowledge of me receiving the leaflets and booklets that mrs. Morgan Called by your Office and secured for me.

And I realy appreciate you sending me a Notice about the Annual meeting Nov 10th which I am sure planning to be present.

Speaking of the Literature I shall not stop until its all put in other hands.

I desire to know if one can feel free to ask of your service and advice before becoming a member.

I have a date to visit one of our State Congressmans in the near future to discuss some financial Problems that I have with a Federal Agency Supervisor a my Vet. Son where I am in a Squeeze between the Agency the Vet Administration the Vet Son and the Federal Land Bank.

I noticed in one of the booklets Title. "To Secure these Rights" on Page 14 it reads of Taxing and Spending Powers.

It Speaks of Article 1. Section 8. of Congressional Powers and of Federal grant-in-aid. I have decided to ask him for such Could your dept Put me up-to-date in asking for such or would it realy Pay me to

Call by your Office before such contact. Please tell me if Possible where I might read this or who might Properly inform me of it.

And again the literature was what I ask for and beyond my expectations. in times of the near future I wants more of the leaflets of title: "which way is better" about the Tenn, K.K.K. Organizer.

Your Sincerely,
Freeman Drake Sr.

9-Di, Misc
Drake, Freeman

October 26, 1949

Mr. Freeman Drake, Sr.
Route 4
Roanoke, Alabama

Dear Mr. Drake:

We were so glad to have your letter of October 22, and to know that you are going to try your best to come over for the annual meeting. We greatly want you to get here and to bring your five good friends along.

Miss Brett went to Germany for the Quakers -- the American Friends Service Committee.

I have written as enclosed to those who names you were kind enough to give me. I hope some or all of them will join the Council.

A whole lot of our members did very kindly send in ten dollars. It amounted all told to $3,000. We are still mighty bad off, but no worse off than a man with a cotton crop that the weevils got into badly, so I don't beg you for ten dollars. Come to the meeting and that will be enough.

Sorry about the McCoy boy. It looks by the paper like he hasn't been treated fair thus far.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm/t

The S.R.C.
Attanta Ga.

10-22-49.
Roanoke Ala.
Rout 4

Dear sirs:

thank you for your notice to me in regards of our annual meeting I will try to be precent and to bring some one else.

I am sending you a clipping of the occurance in my County I know you have read of it this is a young man that were boys along with my sons.

Mrs, T. Ruth Brett. of Tuskeegee as I have read in the news Papers are now in Germany did you all send her my reason for asking is she are our state. S.R.C. Committee for Ala. She asked me to ask 5 different ones to join up with us I sent her 5 of the most enterested ones that I could think of. is why I learned of her

I am going to try my best to bring them with me.

we pledged to pay the sum of $10.00 is that yet pending I am a farmer and the weed-ils ruint my Cotton crop.

Yours very truly.
Freeman Drake. Sr.

(over)

our school system is in a very very bad shape
for a real leading principal teacher here in the
rural, our Supervisor is too old our young Superen-
tendant is begging to stay on and help him
out and it is just going onto a bigger failure
I wish I could have time to my all clear but
you can realize.

please write these 5 men that I am
writing their name elsewhere and give them
an enteresting invitation by my representation
thoughts are coming to me and I am in a
great hurry

... these are the names I sent to

Mrs or miss T. Ruth Brett. at Tuskegee

Mr. Tommie Thompson. undertaker.
a real lover of race advance ment.
Roanok. Ala.

Mr. Zack Allen. a farmer.
a church worker School trustee.

Fine Pointe. Ala.
P. O. Box ?

Mr. B Otis. Magbee. a big land owner
a School and world war II Vet' teacher, and of
good will
Buffalo, Ala.
Rout. 1.

Mr. Jessie Terry. a real advancement advo-
cater.
Roanoke. Ala.

Mr. J. C. Stoghill a Post Office employee
and a county Training School Trustee.
and x Publishing employee.
Lafayette. Ala.

write them will you. if so please write me
of it

10 - Musical

December 2, 1949

Mr. Herbert M. Davidson
Daytona Beach Evening News
Daytona Beach, Florida

Dear Mr. Davidson:

I am late in telling you just how much we liked and appreciated the editorial of November 11 which you were kind enough to send up.

The main pleasure of this job is the friendships it gives us.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

D - Mexico

December 6, 1949

Mr. J. H. Daves
Tennessee Valley Authority
Knoxville, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Daves:

I saw Paul Christopher the other day at Highlander Folk School. In discussing various people in Tennessee, he mentioned that you have a new Baptist minister in Knoxville named James. Paul said he is a particularly good guy. If you would be kind enough to send me the Rev. James' name and address, I would like to write him and see if he could be interested in becoming a member of the Council.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

8-D-Misc -
Davidson, Herbert

December 23, '49

Mr. Herbert Davidson
Daytona Beach, Fla.

Dear Mr. Davidson,

I am to be in Miami January 13, for a talk to something called the Kind of Clubs. I'll work my way back up during the week January 13-21.

Meanwhile Mr. Morton McDonald has kindly asked me to talk to the Rotary Club at Deland on January 13, which I have of course agreed to do. That gives me Daytona Beach as at least a pausing place on the way down, and the 14 as a free day between.

I thought perhaps there might be some opportunity to further my project for getting the Good Neighbor Club into some close link with the Council. If I can be useful to you or your friends on the 14th. or after the 17th, let me know!

Kindest wishes to you both,

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

8 - D - Misc. - Davidson, H. M.

April 12, 1949

Mr. Herbert M. Davidson, Editor
Daytona Beach Morning Journal
Daytona Beach, Florida

Dear Mr. Davidson:

The trip into the District Conference of the Rotary Club went all right, I thought. I made my speech to them and, in the next couple of days, talked three times to classes at Miami University. On the way back up I got in the map speech again at the Rotary Club at Vero Beach.

I want to thank you for your kindness in helping me to get these opportunities to get the Council's ideas out.

With warm regards to you and Mrs. Davidson,

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

8-D-Misc-
Davidson, Herbert M.

January 12, 1949

Mr. Herbert M. Davidson, Editor
Daytona Beach Morning Journal
Daytona Beach, Florida

Dear Mr. Davidson:

Mrs. Davidson's story was a beautiful job.

I am still recalling with pleasure that good visit.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

Daytona Beach Evening News
DAYTONA BEACH MORNING JOURNAL
The Sunday News-Journal

January 4, 1949

OFFICE OF THE EDITOR

DAYTONA BEACH, FLORIDA

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

This is again to express our appreciation of your coming down, and to tell you how much we enjoyed having you.

Enclosed is Liliane's story of the Rotary meeting.

Sincerely,

Herbert M. Davidson
Editor

Herbert M. Davidson/mr

RECEIVED
JAN 6 1949
Southern Regional Council

8-D-Misc-
Davidson, Herbert

January 4, 1949

Dear Mr. and Mrs. Davidson:

The excursion to Daytona Beach was pleasant in every way.

Thank you both for arrangements and hospitality and friendship.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

Mr. and Mrs. Herbert Davidson
2 Braddock Avenue
Daytona Beach, Florida

8-D-Misc. - Davidson, Herbert

December 30, 1948

Mr. Herbert M. Davidson, Editor
Daytona Beach Morning Journal
Daytona Beach, Florida

Dear Mr. Davidson:

I will fly to Daytona Beach Sunday, January 2, arriving at your home between 3:30 and 4:00 that afternoon.

I expect to fly back in the early afternoon of the third.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

Daytona Beach Evening News
DAYTONA BEACH MORNING JOURNAL
The Sunday News-Journal

December 6, 1948

OFFICE OF THE EDITOR

DAYTONA BEACH, FLORIDA

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

So glad you can come, and January 3 is fine. Will see you then on Sunday afternoon. Let me know when and how you expect to arrive, and we'll call for you in our car.

As ever,

Editor

Herbert M. Davidson/mr

RECEIVED
DEC 8 1948
Southern Regional Council

December 2, 1948

Mr. Herbert M. Davidson
Daytona Beach Morning Journal
Daytona Beach, Florida

Dear Mr. Davidson:

That's a very nice idea and, of course, I will be delighted to come.

Things are more free for me January third than the tenth.

Because of the children, there doesn't seem to be any way in which I could bring Mrs. Mitchell, much as I would like to show her your part of Florida.

I would plan to reach your home on the Sunday afternoon preceding the Monday that you pick. I ought then to be back in Atlanta Tuesday morning.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

Daytona Beach Evening News
DAYTONA BEACH MORNING JOURNAL
The Sunday News-Journal

November 29, 1948

OFFICE OF THE EDITOR DAYTONA BEACH, FLORIDA

RECEIVED
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

The job has been assigned to me to provide two Rotary Club programs for the 3rd and the 10th of January, respectively. I thought it would be of value if you could fill one of these engagements, speaking on "Can the South Solve Its Own Problems?" or something of the kind. There are many tourists here at that time of year, and we might expect an audience of about 150, of which at least one-third would be visitors from the North. I can see how this could be valuable promotion for the Southern Regional Council.

Meetings are held on Mondays at 12:15. If you could come down on Sunday, we'd be glad to put you up at our home. I can't remember ever knowing whether there is a Mrs. Mitchell, but if she cares to come with you and spend a couple of days with us, we'd be glad to have her too. Daytona Beach is much nicer in January than Atlanta.

With kind regards,

Sincerely,

Herbert M. Davidson

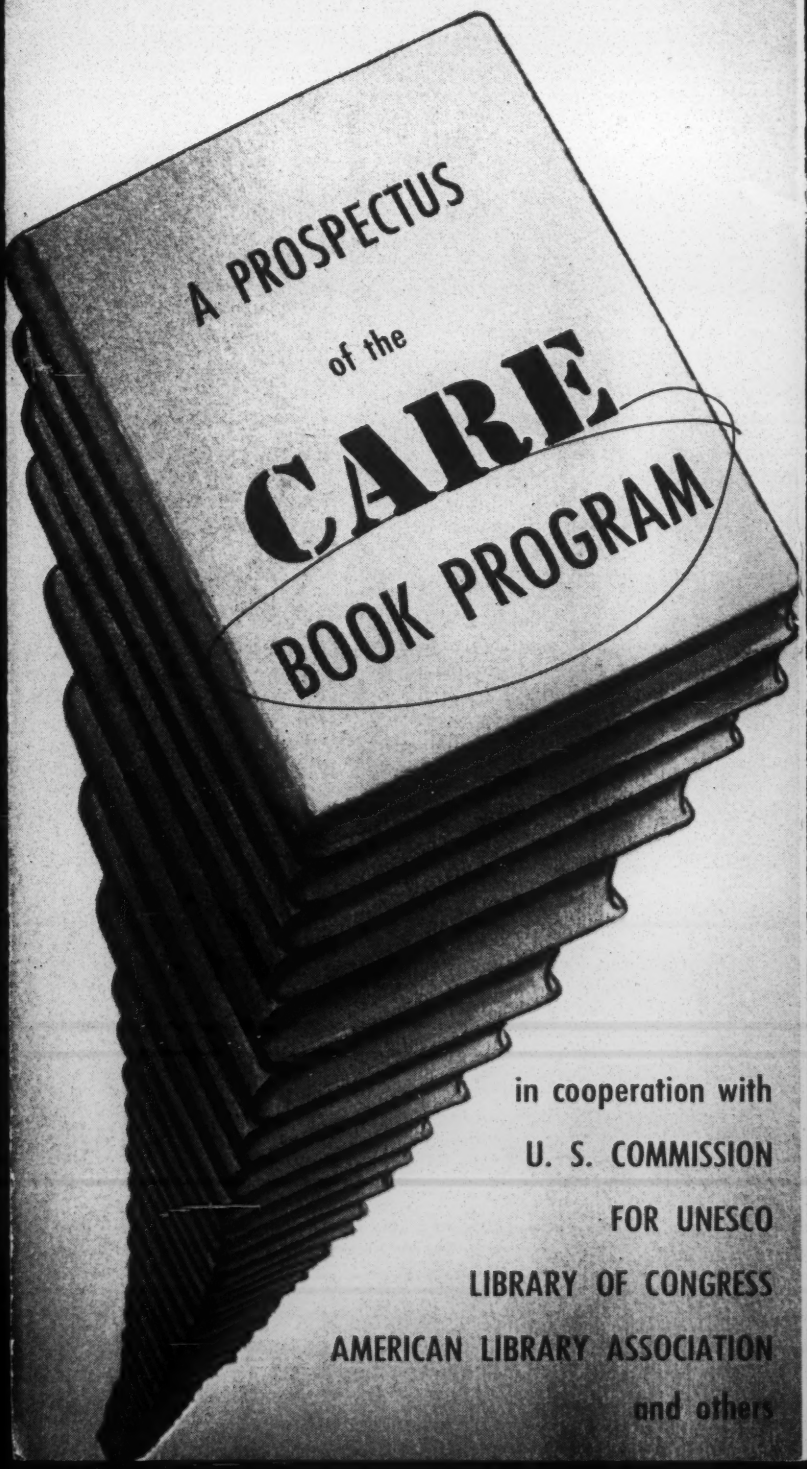
Editor

RECEIVED
DEC 1 1948
Southern Regional Council

Herbert M. Davidson/mr

RECEIVED
Southern Regional Council
RECEIVED
Southern Regional Council

SHARING . . . OUR KNOWLEDGE



in cooperation with

U. S. COMMISSION

FOR UNESCO

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

AMERICAN LIBRARY ASSOCIATION

and others

R

Memo to attach for files:

I talked today by telephone with Julian Brown, State Director, in Alabama.

Freeman Drake is a famous complainer and in the state office is not thought to be farming with any degree of diligence. I explained the matter of the mailing to him and Julian told me they would be observant on that.

WGD

January 23, 1950

Mr. Freeman Drake, Sr.
Route #4
Roanoke, Alabama

Dear Mr. Drake:

I have been out of town and only today got back to your letter of January 14.

I know several of the people in the office of the Farms Home Administration in Montgomery and know them so well that I am satisfied that they will not let any one be unfairly treated.

If you will simply point out what has occurred and will at all times hold up to the best of your ability your end of your arrangements with the covernment, I am satisfied you will get fair treatment.

I do hope everything works out all right.

Let us hear from you again.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

Southern Regional Council
Atlanta. Ga.

3.7521

ROANOKE, ALA.
Rout H
Jan 14-1950

Dear sirs:

As I have read in some your literatur some time in the past if its seen where friction are seeming to arise is to report it to you.

It seems to me it brewing I am a Farm & Home Administration Client. and have ben behind with my account for some time then 1949 boll weevil damage doubled it up.

My supervisor is very ridgid when the odds is against me. He wrote me a letter Dec 23rd to come to his Office Dec 28th he or some one mailed the letter at Fine Points Ala the 28th and I never recieved it untill the 29th the next day after the appointed time Lafayette the County seat is where his Office are 20 miles from me Fine Points is on half way ground between us. see the frame ups? and he stated the State Official said the 29th was the limited time and the 28th was my day and he were just in Office just one day per week

I wrote him stating the failure and I aint heard from him since. I feel that he should wrote some reason what do you think

Sincerly yours.

Freeman Drake Sr.

RECEIVED
JAN 17 1950
Southern Regional Council

March 7, 1950

Mr. J. M. Dabbs
Rip Raps
Mayesville, S. C.

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

We totalled up today all the contributions from South Carolina that came in response to your most generous appeal.

Five hundred and twenty-eight dollars. We think that is a whole lot. And it came in when we were in the greatest need.

I am getting up a list of all the South Carolina contributors, with notations as to amount where it was ten dollars or above. We'll send that to you, as partial thanks ourselves, and as a means of making it easier for you, in getting about the State, to thank such kind people.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF
GEORGE S. MITCHELL

Dear Mr. Dabbs,

We totted up to-day all the contributions from South Carolina that came in response to your most generous appeal.

Five hundred and twenty-eight dollars. We think that is a whole lot. And it came in when we were in the greatest need.

I am getting up a list of all the SC contributors, with notations as to amount where it was ten dollars or above. We'll send that to you, as partial thanks ourselves, and as a means of making it easier for you, in getting about the State, to thank such kind people.

Sincerely,

Misc - D -

April 10, 1950

Division Against Discrimination
New Jersey State Department of Education
1060 Broad Street
Newark 2, New Jersey

Gentlemen:

Please send us one copy of your Fourth Annual Report (for 1949), which was mentioned in the March Report of the American Council on Race Relations.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Secretary

Duncan

May 5, 1950

Mr. O. D. Duncan
Department of Sociology
Oklahoma A & M College
Stillwater, Oklahoma

Dear Mr. Duncan:

Here are the minutes of the call meeting of the Board April 22. Our efforts promise to be successful, and they ought to pull us through this year anyway.

The next push, I think, will be to increase greatly the number of ten-dollar memberships. That would put a stable base under the show.

Stay with us!

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:er

Signed in Dr. Mitchell's absence

O D Duncan

May 8, 1950

Mr. O. D. Duncan
Dept. of Sociology
Oklahoma A & M
Stillwater, Oklahoma

Dear Mr. Duncan:

Paul Williams and I have both been sensible of your two letters as to what the Council ought to do.

Actually, when the Board met, they found that they themselves and the Divisions in the various states could conservatively undertake to raise by June 1, around $11,000, and some largish gifts brought the total pledge to $15,500. That's enough to see us through till the end of the year except for $8,000 still lacking, and we reasonably hope to turn up some good big gifts to cover almost the balance. So by one means or another we think we will get through till the end of the year.

The chief device put forward to raise funds in the future is to get several thousand sustaining members who will undertake to give $10 a year for five years. A Finance Council is working on that scheme.

All this you will see from the minutes, which have already gone forward.

We are grateful for your good letters. Perhaps the future will close in on us, but with a pulse or two more of firm endeavor we think the Council can be pulled through.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

P.S. Here is a nice story from the Herald-Tribune which bucked us up a good deal.

GSM:ar/[illegible]

Mis D

May 11, 1950

President A. W. Dent
Dillard University
New Orleans, Louisiana

Dear Mr. Dent,

I have read with interest and praise your 1950 Report.

We are grateful for your inclusion of the Council.

I wish I could find you the money for those books!

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:er

Signed in Dr. Mitchell's absence

President A W Dent
Dillard University
New Orleans, La.

Dear Mr. Dent,

I have read with interest and praise ~~the~~ your 1950 Report.

We are grateful for your inclusion of the Council~~xxxxxx~~.

I wish I could find you the money for those books!

Sincerely,

M.S. D

May 23, 1950

Mr. Curtiss Dixon
Southern Education Foundation
918 Cypress Street, N. E.

Dear Curt:

Could you be kind enough to supply me with a list of state agents in charge of Negro education.

I would like to circularize them on behalf of some of our pamphlet materials.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

Misc D

May 29, 1950

Mr. Lawrence A. Davis, President
Arkansas State College
Pine Bluff, Arkansas

Dear Mr. Davis:

I am writing you in your capacity as President of the Association of Negro Land Grant Colleges.

It has occurred to me that a new vocation is opening up in the field of rural home plumbing. Rural housing is improving rapidly and farmers are finding the means to install electric pumps and kitchen sinks and bathrooms -- let alone barn installation? So far as I know the situation, few States are sufficiently supplied with personnel who can supervise the installing of such equipment. It involves, of course, septic tanks and trench disposal fields and pipes and pumps and so on. I think it is beyond the capabilities of the ordinary farmer to do such installing without outside advice. It is also probably beyond the purse of most farmers to fetch out a city craftsman for the work. I have in mind somebody who in this modern time would fill the place once occupied by the old-fashioned chimney builder. He had a piece of land of his own, maybe a farm, and did not try to make a living out of installing an occasional chimney, but he got most of the jobs and was a great convenience. If, similarly, the South had dotted over it men who were good at such rural installations, I believe they could substantially help their incomes. I suppose that they would generally strike a deal under which the farmer dug the ditches and perhaps roughed in some of the plumbing. But there is all the business of getting a level for the disposal field and taking care of surface drainage (safeguarding the well) and hooking up a septic tank (sometimes casting one), plus the siting of the pump to protect it from freezes or other interference.

You are of course aware of the new funds available in the Housing Act for farmhouse repair with loans and of grants from the Farmers Home Administration. Probably here and there a certain amount of the subsistence checks from Veterans On the Farm Training classes is going into such facilities.

So far as I know, this is a field which Negroes have thus far not entered in any number. It is also one in which the Negro mechanic would be widely

welcomed. Their patronage would be both white and Negro.

I am suggesting that various of the Negro Land Grant Colleges might wish so to sharp their courses in agricultural engineering as to turn out a body of men who would have this particular skill. I have also thought that it might be a good idea for campuses to display for the public, sample installations.

I have talked about this with people at Tuskegee and Tennessee A & I and Fort Valley and Hampton, and it has seemed in all those places to be an idea worth digging into further.

I thought probably that you would care to reproduce this letter or any parts of it and send it out to your various Colleges.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

File by name — "Darden"

July 3, 1950

Miss Sue B. Whetstone
Office of the President
University of Virginia
Charlottesville, Virginia

Dear Miss Whetstone:

Thanks for your letter of June 29.

I send back a now out of print pamphlet which contains the Durham statement and the Atlanta statement.

We are most grateful to Governor Darden for paying up his dues.

The Council will be happy to serve you in any way that it can.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

Encl.

UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA
CHARLOTTESVILLE

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

June 29, 1950.

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.,
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

After Mr. Darden wrote you this morning he left the office but phoned me and asked me to communicate with you asking if you had a copy of the conclusions reached by the Southern Negro leaders in their meeting in 1942 in Durham. The meeting is referred to in the reprint of Mr. Lesesne's article in the Herald Tribune which you sent him along with your letter.

He would also like to have, if you have it, any declaration, if a declaration was made by the group of white leaders who met in Atlanta when the declarations of the Durham meeting were considered.

Sincerely,

Sue B. Whetstone

Secretary.

RECEIVED
JUL 3 1950
Southern Regional Council

THE NATIONAL CYCLOPEDIA OF AMERICAN BIOGRAPHY
THE FOREMOST BIOGRAPHICAL AUTHORITY OF THE UNITED STATES
101 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 3, N.Y.

JAMES T. WHITE & CO.
PUBLISHERS
(Founded in 1873)

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENT

39985

July 26, 1950

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Wesley Memorial Boulevard
Atlanta, Georgia

Gentlemen:

We are preparing for publication in this Cyclopedia a biography of Plato Tracy Durham, and believe that you may be able to help us by supplying a few facts which we have been unable to obtain from other sources.

Could you tell us the year in which he founded the Commission on Interracial Cooperation? We should also like to know in what year he founded the Commission on Church Cooperation and the Christian Council of Atlanta, and during what years he was president of the latter.

If this information is available to you, we should appreciate hearing from you. May we thank you in advance for any assistance you are able to give us.

Very truly yours,

John Dickson

JOHN DICKSON
Managing Editor

JD:jsb

Mrs. T. who could help on the Xn. Council - will she dictate a letter to the proper person -

RECEIVED
JUL 28 1950
Southern Regional Council

Dr W A Smart
E U Gr

[illegible]

D

August 1, 1950

Mr. W. H. Dinkins
Selma University
Selma, Alabama

Dear Mr. Dinkins:

I enjoyed the small visit with you, and your kind recollections of my father.

I do wish you and others at the College would become members of the Council. We need more strength in your good State.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

DL Muscel

July 17, 1950

Mr. John Wesley Dobbs
330 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dobbs:

This little leaflet, of which the Council printed several thousand, will be quite useful if it can be circulated.

I have sent it to all our members and I have asked various church bodies to get it out. I thought possible some of your lodges would be interested in it.

More if they can do any good.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er
Encls.: 20

D - pencil

February 20, 1950

President A. W. Dent
Dillard University
New Orleans, La.

Dear Mr. Dent:

I was in Chicago the other day and happened into the offices of the Henry Strong Educational Foundation, 50 South LaSalle Street, Chicago, Illinois. This is an old foundation making loans to students. They prefer to help Juniors and Seriors and an occasional graduate student. Loans usually run from around one hundred dollars to three, four or five hundred dollars. The interest is three per cent, which begins to accrue only upon graduation. The first tenth of the principle repayable one year after graduation and in later years, increasing amounts. Their money accumulated pretty well during the G.I. period, but is currently in great demand.

They do not help students in eastern institutions but bracket the South with the West as their territory. They have no affiliation with the Hattie Strong Foundation in New York, which merely happens to have a similar name and do a similar job.

I was told that Dillard University, along with Tuskegee, Morehouse, and Fisk, was some years ago put on the Strong Foundation's approved list. Few or no loan requests have come from any of these institutions. The implication was obvious that the Strong Foundation was prepared to help students in those colleges.

They were proud of the minimum of red tape involved in a loan from them. In ordinary applications, the loan is approved by the appropriate college official (frequently a loan officer) and an application so approved usually gets a check from them mailed on the same day the request was received. I thought perhaps it would be well to let you know of this current opportunity.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

August 3, 1950

Dr. C. B. Wilmer
Rattlesnake, Florida

My dear Dr. Wilmer:

I have had this interesting letter from the National Cyclopedia of American Biography.

Would I ask too much for your kindness in writing me what you recall as to these matters?

With highest regards,

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Execurive Director

GSM:er
Encl.

See Mrs Riley

Revive Aug 15

August 3, 1950

Mr. John Dickson, Managing Editor
The Natl. Cyclopedia of American Biography
101 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, New York

Dear Mr. Dickson:

I have your letter of July 26 about Mr. Plato Tracy Durham, of whose connection with our work we are duly proud.

I am of a later generation, and have had to write to several survivors of that time for further information. I hope to be able to write you in ten days or so with all that I can get.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

September 8, 1950

Dr. W. A. Smart
Emory University
Emory University, Georgia

Dear Dr. Smart:

We received the enclosed letter from Mr. John Dickson, Managing Editor of the National Cyclopedia of American Biography, and I am turning to you to help us out in gathering this information. We would deeply appreciate it if you will look up the years in which Dr. Durham worked in the Christian Council and aided in forming the Commission on Interracial Cooperation.

With the best of wishes to you always, I am

Yours sincerely,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly

MET:er
Encl.

EMORY UNIVERSITY
EMORY UNIVERSITY, GEORGIA

CANDLER SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY

September 27, 1950

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

My dear Mrs. Tilly:-

I have just returned from a rather extended absence from home, and I find in my mail your letter of September 8th. I am sorry for the delay, and I hope you have not considered me rude or indifferent.

Having made my apologies, I think that I cannot be of much help to you. I should imagine that the Southern Regional Council would have the records of the old Interracial Commission which it absorbed, and could therefore trace the date of its origin. I know that it was just after the First War, and that it was organized as a result of the meeting here of the defunct Inter-Church World Movement, but I do not know the exact date.

None of the things about which Mr. Dickson asks had any relation to Emory or to Durham's connection with it, and so there are no records here on the campus.

Mrs. Durham, Plato's wife, is still living and active. She is in Richmond, but unfortunately I do not know her address. If you are interested in following it up, you can find her address by writing to Rev. B.S.Via, Methodist Home for the Aged, Richmond. She is not at the home, but the Vias know her, and were talking to me about her only a few days ago.

I am sorry not to be of more help, but I will confess that I didn't even know that Durham founded the Commission on Church Cooperation or the Christian Council - if he did.

With sincere personal regards,

Cordially,

N. A. Smart

October 2, 1950

Mr. Guy Friddell
923 Kent Road
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Guy:

As though you hadn't enough to do, I presume to ask you to take on another interviewing errand.

The National Cyclopedia of American Biography has asked us to run down a fact or two about a now deceased minister, Plato Tracy Durham of Atlanta.

The question: In what year did he found the Commission on Church Cooperation and the Christian Council of Atlanta? During what years was he president of the latter?

I have queried various people and don't get an answer.

I now learn that his widow is living in Richmond. I haven't her accurate address, but it can be had from the Rev. Mr. B. S. Via, who himself (not Mrs. Drham) resides at the Methodist Home for the Aged in Richmond.

Do you suppose you could see out Mrs. Durham and ask her those questions and let me know?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:er

October 2, 1950

MEMORANDUM

Jane Fleming: — see attached notes

Could you lift lightly the corners of the archives about the Commission on Interracial Cooperation and get an approximate answer to the Cyclopedia's first question about when Plato Durham founded the Interracial Commission?

I don't think Plato Durham founded the Interracial Commission, though he was a big wheel.

I think the year is 1919.

But a light application of archival material would be helpful.

GW

GSM

D-Misc -

October 3, 1950

Mr. John Dickson
National Cyclopedia of American Biography
101 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, New York

Dear Mr. Dickson:

We have not forgotten your request of July 26, for certain information about Plato Tracy Durham.

This much I can now state assuredly: Plato Durham was one of the small number of principal founders in 1919 of the movement (at first called the Southern Interracial Commission) which later on became the Commission on Interracial Cooperation.

As to his work on the Commission on Church Cooperation and the Christian Council of Atlanta, I am resorting to a Richmond friend to interview Mr. Durham's widow, who still lives in that city, and shall let you know as soon as I have that information.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

9-D-Miscel

October 18, 1950

Mrs. Mary Kate Duskin
Georgia Academy of Social Sciences
37 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Duskin:

Enclosed is $2.00 for my membership in the Academy.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er
Encl.

November 1, 1950

Mr. J. M. Dabbs
Route 1
Maysville, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

That was very kind indeed of you to be kind to Mr. Mommsen. I know the quality of your kindness.

And I praise warmly the letter you sent out October 20 to all your members. You will have a good crowd.

Mrs. Tilly organized on October 30 the Louisiana Division of the Council. Enthusiastic first meeting at Baton Rouge. So now we are at work in an organized way in every Southern state except Oklahoma. The Virginia arrangement is peculiar, but then any Virginia arrangement always is.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSMier

Speech by Dr. Dowell at Tuskegee Inst.
Sent by Albon Holsey

My trip over from Georgia to Alabama was one of peculiar pleasure as I recalled the many associations I had with Alabama, Auburn, and Tuskegee in my official capacity as State Superintendent of Education and as President of the Alabama Polytechnic Institute. The pleasant memories of those official relations were heightened by the many courtesies and the consideration shown me, personally as well as officially, and by the first hand opportunity I enjoyed of meeting Dr. Washington, Dr. Moton, Dr. Carver, and other members of the faculty and staff, various members of the Tuskegee Board of Trustees and other notable friends.

I had learned long since to think of Tuskegee Institute as the lengthened shadow of Dr. Washington, a truly great educator, orator, patriot and a statesman of the first rank. The story of his life, of his long and eminently successful administration as President of Tuskegee Institute, of his matchless oratory, and of the monumental service he rendered entitle him to a place with those of highest honor in the annals of American history.

The inscription on his monument, the gift of one hundred thousand members of his race, summarizes in terse and telling fashion the nobility and the spirit of his distinguished life: "He lifted the veil of ignorance from his people and taught them the way to peace and prosperity through education and industry." One of the sublimest sentences in the English language and one which epitomizes the guiding principle of his life is also inscribed on this monument: "I will never let any man drag me down so low as to make me hate him."

In looking back over his life and the marvelous story of his achievements, we do well to recall his interpretation of the "Tuskegee Spirit" -- the spirit of cooperation and consecration. As he expressed it, "In the

relation to our government, then, what is the fundamental mission and what should be the spirit of such an institution as the Tuskegee Institute?" As I conceive it, a part of the mission of this school is expressed in the purpose and determination to assist the race in laying such a gradual and permanent foundation in right living, through the accumulation of property, industry, thrift, skill, education of all character, moral and religious habits, and all that which means our usefulness to the community in which we abide, that naturally, logically, sympathetically we shall make ourselves grow into the full and rightful enjoyment and intelligent use of the privileges and rewards of citizenship."

And so Tuskegee and Booker T. Washington came to be regarded as national assets of the first importance, by North and South, white and colored, alike.

Following Dr. Washington's death, literally hundreds of thoughtful people were deeply concerned about the future of Tuskegee and were inquiring who would take up the mantle of Elijah. Again Hampton Institute led the way in the person of Dr. Frissell, who arranged for a conference of the trustees with Major Moton as they returned from the memorial exercises in Tuskegee. The invitation to Dr. Moton to succeed Dr. Washington resulted and his acceptance followed after serious deliberation. In this connection Colonel Theodore Roosevelt expressed his impressions in the following excerpt from a letter to a fellow trustee who was present for the conference. We all of us ardently wish you had been with us on the train when we saw Major Moton.....it is the greatest relief to me to say that I believe if he is appointed we insure for ourselves every reasonable probability of success in carrying on the great work of Booker T. Washington. I believe that he can run the institution. I believe that he can get on with the Southern people as well as any Negro now living.....I believe that he will get on with Northern white men and be able to help us in getting the necessary funds. He has a very powerful, and at the same time, an engaging and attractive personality. I cannot speak too

strongly about the favorable impressions he has made on me. Finally I believe that he will be able to wisely interpret the feelings and desires of his own people to the white people of both the North and the South."

Dr. Anson Pehlps Stokes in his Founders' Day address at the 50th anniversary celebration at Tuskegee closed with a stroking contrast between the two great Negro leaders. He called attention to the pretty general feeling that Booker T. Washington's ability was due to the white blood in his ancestry while Dr. Moton was of pure Negro stock and known to go back to an African chief of the 18th century. Dr. Washington showed that some Negro blood does not prevent outstanding character and ability. Dr. Moton has shown that a man of Negro blood purely can measure up to great responsibilities and exacting duties in the most praiseworthy fashion.

Dr. Moton's force and his wisdom found prompt expression in his inaugural address from which we quote: "In order that this institution shall continue to carry forward the ideas and ideals of its great founder; in order that it shall not cease to render large service to humankind; in order that we shall keep the respect and confidence of the people of this land, we must, first, every one of us, principal, officers, teachers, graduates and students, use every opportunity and strive in every reasonable way, to develop and strengthen between white and black people, North and South, that unselfish cooperation which has characterized the Tuskegee Institute from its very beginning. Second, we must patiently and persistently and in the spirit of unselfish devotion, follow the methods of education, which in this school have been so distinctive, so unique, and so helpful. Third, we must consecrate and reconstruct our lives to this work as instruments in God's hands for the training of black men and women for service, in whatever capacity, or in whatever locality they may find a human need. Fourth, there must be no cantankerousness here -- we must all work absolutely together."

Perhaps the most revealing paragraph in that address is the following: "If we are to be true to this great and sacred trust, if we are to carry out the aims and purposes of Booker T. Washington, the Founder of Tuskegee Institute, we must each cherish and maintain the spirit which has always permeated the life and work of this place-- the spirit of self-forgetfulness-- the spirit of service and sacrifice -- the "Tuskegee Spirit" -- the spirit of cooperation and consecration."

In his report to the Board of Trustees in April 1, 1930, Dr. Moton further defined the policies of the Founder and his own objectives. Tuskegee first, was to be a demonstration of Negro capacity in maintaining "a community in which Negroes are responsible for all the activities incident to the maintenance of community life;" second, a social laboratory for the advancement of the Negro race as a whole and for national welfare; third, a research center for investigation and study of the problems and the processes of racial development and interracial contact. Furthermore, it was to be a point of interracial contact between the two races in America in their efforts toward understanding and cooperation and in the promotion of good will, without which one of the major instruments for justice and equality before the law and for the promotion of self respect and mutual good will between the races would be sadly lacking. "If we meet this demand," he declared, "I have faith to believe that succeeding generations will supply the institution with resources necessary for its successful functioning."

He closed the report with this highly significant paragraph: "Because of its past, as well as its prospects for the future, I am anxious that whatever we do at Tuskegee shall be done as well as it can possibly be done by anybody under the circumstances. I am anxious that our equipment shall be of the best, consistent with rational economy and intelligent efficiency. I am anxious, too, that, our teachers and workers should be representative of the

best in character, culture, training, and spirit that are to be found anywhere. In our methods of service, changes are unavoidable to meet the changing times and conditions; but always the institution must be faithful to the heritage of unselfishness, service, and good-will left us by the Founder. It is a proud privilege to work at Tuskegee Institute. My own conviction is that nowhere else in the world is a larger opportunity presented to be of direct, helpful, and lasting service, not only to the Negro race, but to all mankind. It is our constant desire to measure up to this opportunity and its responsibilities."

Among the careful plans and effective agencies for realizing his idea that whites and Negroes should work together without suspicion and prejudice was the Conference for Education in the South, initiated by a few Northern and Southern men for the purpose of developing sentiment and securing the facilities for educating all the children of the South. Among those attending the conferences were Robert C. Ogden, renowned business executive and statesman, William H. Baldwin, Jr., First Chairman of the General Education Board which had its inception in the Conference, Walter Page, Albert Shaw, George Foster Peabody, John D. Rockefeller, Jr., Edgar Gardner Murphy, Edwin A. Alderman, Charles D. McIver, Wallace Buttrick, H. B. Frissell, and other men of like vision and dedication. Let it be noted that these men were both Southerners and Northerners. No movement in America has been quite so influential in creating and spreading sentiment and support for the improvement of educational service, and ~~the monumental work for~~ the General Education Board and ~~of~~ the Rosenwald Fund which grew out of it, and of the Anna T. Jeanes Foundation and the John F. Slater Fund, which ~~is~~ were greatly improved by it, have all made their respective contributions to the advancement to the Negro race and to the public welfare.

All along during this period Tuskegee Institute was and still is the center of many conferences by representatives of the two races for understanding and good will. The most important of these have been those sponsored by the Commission on Interracial Cooperation. According to Dr. Will W. Alexander,

foremost among the leaders in the South, it was begun in France soon after the signing of the Armistice that marked the close of World War I, and the original idea was conceived in the mind of Dr. Moton. In this connection Dr. Anson Phelps Stokes, a great patriot and philanthropist, gave this appraisal of Dr. Moton's influence in this movement, "When the history of the South is dispassionately written, Dr. Moton will be inscribed permanently as one of the half dozen most useful and distinguished Southerners of this generation."

At the dedication of the Lincoln Memorial in Washington, Dr. Moton proclaimed the gospel of cooperation between the races in this forceful language: "In the providence of God there has been started on these shores the great experiment of the ages -- an experiment in human relationships where men and women of every nation, of every race and creed are thrown together in daily contact. Here we are determining how different races can not only live together in peace, but cooperate in working out a higher and better civilization than has yet been achieved. At the extremes the white and black races face each other. Here in America these two races are charged under God with the responsibility of showing to the world how individuals, as well as races, may differ most widely in color and inheritance and at the same time make themselves helpful and even indispensable to each other's progress and prosperity."

The various conferences at Tuskegee in which Dr. Moton played the major role, the work of the Interracial Commission, centering in Atlanta and directed by Dr. Will W. Alexander, the work of the University Race Commission centering about the University of North Carolina and the University of Virginia, and the career of Dr. James H. Dillard and the interests he represented were all highly influential in the remarkabel progress in race relations that took place in the South. Just how to evaluate the work of the Southern Interracial Commission and the cooperating organizations and agencies and their capable officers is too intricate and complex a task for me to attempt, but I venture

to mention the names of a few great leaders whom I had the honor to know personally and to learn first hand something of their stature and spirit: Dr. James H. Dillard, Dr. Jackson Davis, Dr. H. Ashby Jones, Dr. F. M. Favrot, Dr. James A. Gregg of Hampton, Dr. Isaac Fisher of Fisk, Dr. John Hope of Moorehouse and a score of others who helped both to mold and to execute the policies of the Commission.

Great praise is also due to the University Race Commission, the Southern Sociological Congress and more recently to the Southern Regional Council, "a group of Southerners representing both races, many occupations, all faiths and denominations who got together in 1943 and decided IT'S UP TO US as Southerners, to join together, face up to the South's problems honestly, and work to solve them."

The activities of our national government in defining and establishing the rights guaranteed in the Constitution, of those public spirited organizations and agencies that played worthy parts in cultivating and in advancing the principle and practice of friendly relations and fair play, and of the churches of every denomination in working for a genuine Christian attitude in all our relations owe much to the life, the labors, the spirit, and the ideals of Robert Russa Moton, patriot, priest and prophet, who merits our everlasting gratitude and honor for his grand motive and his great mission to mankind.

Recognizing the implications and importance of the race problem in America the Carnegie Corporation decided to attack the problem practically, scientifically, and thoroughly. ~~The great social economist,~~ Dr. Gunnar Myrdal, a distinguished social economist of the University of Stockholm and economic adviser to the Swedish Government, was secured. His searching and scholarly study and findings were given in his two volume report, "An American Dilemma", and in four other volumes by members of his staff of noted scholars. Dr. Myrdal declares that the problem is not based on any separate factor such as economic exploitation, color prejudice, or Southern malice and

conservatism, but that it is a combination of many factors, intricate and subtle, which basically have to do with a moral issue.

You understand, of course, that the time limit prevents me from attempting more than a brief summarizing of this all-important book which has attracted the attention of the whole country. The moral issue, the author insists, is the differentiation between the American profession and practice of its democratic creed and its many ramifications. Politically, that creed defines democracy as government by the majority through duly elected representatives where the voice and right of the minority are always heard and respected. Economically, that creed defines democracy as looking after the welfare of the people so that no group shall fall below the minimum standard of living, arbitrarily set in terms of the nations growing sense of values and its increasing economic production. Socially, that creed defines democracy as a good society in which there is free intermingling of peoples according to their abilities, essential equality of all people and the recognition of the right of all to develop their abilities, to contribute to their self-realization and to the total welfare.

If this creed is admitted to be a moral issue, we must accept it as a religious issue, for on what does democracy as formulated in the Declaration of Independence and in the Constitution itself rest except on Christianity? From what does our sense of values of personality and individual worth derive except from the Christian tradition? From whence comes our sense of the unity of the great human family in which each is given according to his needs and to which each contributes according to his ability, except from the revelation in Christ of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man?

And so the thing that concerns us politically is not so much the civil rights program per se as the extra-legal interpretations by which most of the discrimination against a minority group has been justified in the past.

To be sure we stand for the guarantee of civil rights but by the same token we need to be constantly reminded that so long as the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments are all too frequently misconstrued to selfish ends we will not have won the fight by legislation. The thing that concerns us economically is not only sub-standard housing, clothing, or diet, but the drage, the hindrance to the over-all economic progress of our commonwealth that persists so stubbornly among our citizenry. As Christians we can not help from being indignant that many are deliberately kept from employment, or from employment that is wholesome and profitable, that they, therefore, are denied their share of the goods of this life. The thing that concerns us socially is not only the ghetto --like existence imposed upon so many of our fellowmen but the moral callousness, the all too prevalent insensitivity to humane feelings and the psychological frustration of those who think themselves superior and would keep others inferior, a spirit that not only damages, but destroys. In this connection I think I ought to say that I am well aware of many unjst things that have been done to members of the Negro race and that my own heart has been torn by the evidences of discrimination and oppression.

Measured by Christian principles the violations thatMyrdal calls "Moral" become downright sin. "For he who loves not, knows not God", and "He that loveth not his brothers whom he has seen, how can he love God whom he has not seen?" are the clear statements of the Scriptures.

For those of us engaged in the field of Christian education the thing that concerns us especially, in the light of the tremendous progress being made in public education and the prospect of more phenominal progress from year to year is, how are like facilities for the higher education of Negroes as well as whites interested in Christian education to be provided and maintained? We know that the State and Federal Government are going to provide the facilities for public education on the higher level. But what of the private and church-related institutions whose supporters in the past have led in the pursuit of truth, free from bias or complications? What about the

private and church-related colleges that pioneered in providing the pattern and that have served as custodians of liberal education? Are they not the bulwark against teaching and seeking truth in terms of some special interest, or as propaganda?

In the light of the conditions that prevail today and the part that Drs. Washington, Moton, Patterson, and others who share their faith and courage have played and are playing in the life of our country, what should we do as citizens of liberty-loving America do about it? What are the difficulties to be overcome? (Is it not true that the problem is complicated by the fact that the Negroes remember slavery and emancipation and with theliberating rights of education and progress are claiming full freedom, and that the whites remember war and reconstruction and hold on tenaciously to the traditional role of master, still regarding the Negro as a servant race? Is it not also pertinent to say that as long as two self-conscious races live together in the same teritory there will be continuing problems of adjustment that must be solved rationally and in the spirit of mutual concession and good will? Are we not already convinced that the solution does not lie in some law or theoretical device, but in the spirit of mutual respect and regard? Have we not learned from sad experience that men of good will in both races may come to understand each other through conferences and collaborations participated in by members of both

groups, in which ways of cooperating are discussed and developed and to which each contributes according to his ability?

The race problem here in America involves in the main certain national racial groups with their sharp differences, Jews, Japanese, Indians, and Negroes. By reason of religious differences as in the case of the Jews and because of physical characteristics in the case of the Negro, intermarriage and assimilation, it has been said, are too remote to afford much hope to those who would solve the problem in that way, or to cause fear to those who resent the idea of amalgamation. Neither the law or the Constitution can remove the tensions or correct the injustices that stem from prejudice and passion. The Negro must be regarded and respected as a person and he must be given "the rights granted to him under the Constitution of the United States including the right to vote, to serve on juries, to receive justice in the courts, to be free from mob violence, to secure a just share of the benefits of education and other funds, and to receive equal service for equal payment on public carriers and conveniences." Myrdal called attention to the facts that the American Creed, involving the "ideals of the essential dignity of the individual human being, of the fundamental equality of all men, and of certain inalienable rights to freedom, justice, and a fair opportunity,"

The adequate remedy for racial antagonism is not primarily economic, political, or cultural, but spiritual, and in the practical application of the principles of Christianity we must find our way out. This principle was stated clearly in a resolution passed by the Southern Baptist Convention representing a constituency of more than six million members, "That the Convention recognize its responsibilities for the promotion of interracial good will and urge upon our Baptist people and all Christians the duty of ordering our racial attitude and actions in accordance with Christian truth and Christian love." In this connection may I venture to suggest in all frankness that we may well beware of the two extreme points of view which are manifest today. There is grave danger that we may undo the work that has been so constructive by impatience and by the

demand for all or nothing. I feel that I am voicing the sentiment and deliberate judgment of the best Southern leaders - not only of those whom I have already mentioned but of those who today are looking forward confidently and actively to a better era in the South and in the Nation. Things of permanent value are not brought about by radical measures. They grow out of the lives of such leaders as Washington and Moton, as I have already indicated. Accordingly we must not let the traditions of Tuskegee and of the other best Southern institutions and agencies be lost either by reason of a revival of reactionaries and prejudiced Southern leaders of the white race or by the bitterness and radicalism of the leaders of the Negro race and their friends.

In the life of Major Moton we have the embodiment of certain qualities of character, consecration, and culture that are both elemental and fundamental, that have perpetual validity, and that provide the pattern for universal peace, good will and brotherhood, namely: integrity, love, faith, courage and patience.

If, as we all believe, Robert Russa Moton, belongs in the company of those whom Carlyle defined as men of superior power, courage, and understanding, who draw up into and concentrate in themselves the thoughts and qualities of masses of men, who sum up an age or create it, and who render themselves immortal by making themselves masters of their time, may we not on this hallowed anniversary honor him and honor ourselves by dedicating ourselves to the perpetually contemporaneous service of trying to sort out, cultivate and establish those qualities and qualifications that connote true goodness and greatness? May we not also hope that if we can indoctrinate our youth with these precious and priceless character constants, we will have traveled far in building into the lives of our people the criteria that will

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bring to the lowest individual, black or white, "that full measure of justice and equality of opportunity for which America stands as a symbol before all the world.

There come to me in visions of the night
The schemes of men who compromise with right
For common usage now proclaims as good
The evils that bring wealth and plentitude,
The wealth that in entrenched in human greed.

Behind the mask of profit, who will heed?
For practice makes acceptable the laws
And conscience seared by gold counts not the flaws.

The world needs men, upright, stalwart men,
The kind of men that money cannot buy or promised fame.
The kind of men who will refute the lie,
That each man has his price,
That if the lure is big enough
The best will not endure.
There are brave men who will not count the cost,
There are true men or else the world is lost.

The ethics of the present will not do,
Our age must build it's moral code anew.
The past has said that money is success,
The future must be built on righteousness.
And service to mankind shall findr reward,
Esteem of men and "Well Done" of the Lord.

Then ring ye out the clarion call again,

to build a better day,

This world needs men.

TO ALL MEMBERS OF THE GEORGIA ACADEMY

FROM: Mary Kate Duskin, Treasurer

The Program Committee is at work planning meetings that will be interesting and will help us to find answers to many of the perplexing problems with which we are confronted today. From the things I hear, I believe it is going to be a program worth supporting.

I hope that all who were members last year will immediately send in their memberships and thus assure us of continued interest and support for the coming year. All memberships are due October 1, and it would be wonderful if we could know by the end of the month what our budget will be. Remember memberships are as follows:

Individual	$2.00
Two in family	$3.00
Student	$1.00.

If you know of people who might be interested in joining, please send their names to Cullen B. Gosnell, Emory University, Emory University, Georgia.

Thanks for the cooperation I am sure we are going to have, and please send you checks to:

Georgia Academy of Social Sciences
37 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia.

-- Mary Kate Duskin

Plato Durham, D.D. – Minister & Professor, Emory Univ.

Member, ~~C.I.C., 1919~~ for Georgia, Southern Interracial Commission, organized 1919 with 45 white & Negro leaders from 13 Southern States (John J. Eagan, Chairman)

Supported by Nat'l War Work Council of YMCA, 1919, 1920, 1921

Did Not attend organizational mtg. held at Blue Ridge, NC, July 17, 1919.

Mtg of Inter-Racial Ctee, Atlanta, July 24-1919

Durham attended

Eagan, Ashby Jones, R.H. King, & Durham appted as ctee to consult with Moton re program

Aug. 8th (1919) Mtg – attended (informal mtg, local members)

Inter Racial Conf. (with YM Reps. & Ctee), Atlanta, Sept 17-1919

Attended

(Reported activities re org. interr. ctee in Atlanta.)

Appted member of ctee to investig. poss. of public address

Nov. 6, 1919, Mtg – attended

Durham spoke before, & got the endorsement of, the S. Presbyt. Gen. Ass. in 1920, for work of Int. Ctee.

One of orig. incorporators + Directors, C.I.C.
(Charter filed, 1979 - July 2)
Also, member of Executive Cttee